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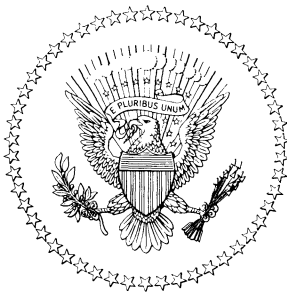
Gerald R. Ford

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and  
Statements of the President*

1975

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JULY 21 TO DECEMBER 31, 1975



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Secretary of Defense.....	James R. Schlesinger Donald H. Rumsfeld (November 20)*
Attorney General.....	William B. Saxbe Edward H. Levi (February 7)
Secretary of the Interior.....	Rogers C. B. Morton Stanley K. Hathaway (June 13) Thomas S. Kleppe (October 17)
Secretary of Agriculture.....	Earl L. Butz
Secretary of Commerce.....	Frederick B. Dent Rogers C. B. Morton (May 1)
Secretary of Labor.....	Peter J. Brennan John T. Dunlop (March 18)
Secretary of Health, Education, and Wel- fare.	Caspar W. Weinberger David Mathews (August 8)
Secretary of Housing and Urban Develop- ment.	James T. Lynn Carla A. Hills (March 10)
Secretary of Transportation.....	Claude S. Brinegar William T. Coleman, Jr. (March 7)

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\*Dates in parentheses indicate date sworn in.



Gerald R. Ford

1975





415

**Statement on the Interagency Task Force for Indochina.***July 21, 1975*

I AM today formally announcing the transfer of principal operational responsibility of the Interagency Task Force for the resettlement of refugees from Indochina from the Department of State to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Since I formed the Task Force in April, the resettlement of refugees has become primarily a domestic rather than foreign affairs concern. A great deal has been accomplished in evacuating, caring for, and resettling refugees from Indochina. However, much remains to be done. I ask all Americans to open their hearts to these refugees as we have to others throughout our history.

Mrs. Julia Taft, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who has been acting as Director of the Task Force since the departure of Ambassador Dean Brown, will continue as Director. All decisions and activities regarding the domestic and international resettlement of refugees from Indochina will be coordinated by her. She will act under my direction and in close coordination with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the President's Advisory Committee on Refugees. Mrs. Taft's responsibilities will continue to involve numerous governmental departments, and I am directing each of them to offer her their full cooperation and support in this important task.

416

**Remarks on Receiving a Collection of Day-of-Prayer****Proclamations. *July 21, 1975***

LET ME first welcome you, Mr. Stewart, and all of you representing different faiths and creeds and beliefs. I thank you very, very much for this collection, which will be a significant part of the White House memorabilia.

I didn't realize until I talked to you and read some material on it, but there have been proclamations issued either by a congress or the Congress and by the President since June 12, 1775. I was delighted, of course, to issue the proclama-

tion for July 24, 1975. The point that I think significant is the following: Our forefathers for almost 200 years have prayed, regardless of their beliefs or their faith, and this has helped them, and they are doing it today as they have in the past.

But equally significant, it has been the prayers of our forefathers, as it is the prayers of our fellow countrymen today, that have made America strong. And I am convinced, as we move ahead, individual prayer will help not only the person but the country, and prayer today means as much to Americans as it did on June 12, 1775.

And I thank you very, very much for this beautiful collection. This is a beautiful collection, and I thank you on behalf of the Presidency and thank you again, all the people who are here representing the various faiths in America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:55 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Peter P. Stewart, president of the Thanksgiving Square Foundation, presented him with the first collection of 181 day-of-prayer proclamations issued by Presidents and Congresses since 1775, when the first National Day of

Prayer was proclaimed by the Second Continental Congress.

On June 12, 1975, the President signed Proclamation 4379, proclaiming July 24 as National Day of Prayer, 1975.

## 417

### Remarks on Greeting the 1975 Wimbledon Tennis Champions. *July 21, 1975*

WE ARE real honored to have the two Wimbledon champions—Arthur Ashe and Billie Jean King. We are pleased to have them in the White House. They represent the excellence in athletics in the field of tennis.

I just told them I watched them both on television and envied their competence and regretted that I could only watch and not participate.

We are proud of them and delighted to have them back after having done such a first-class job.

We are glad to have you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:10 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Mrs. King won the women's singles title and Mr. Ashe, the men's

singles title at the 1975 tournament held in Wimbledon, England, from June 23 to July 5.

418

**Veto of a Petroleum Price Review Bill.***July 21, 1975**To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning without my approval H.R. 4035, the Petroleum Price Review Act, because it would increase petroleum consumption, cut domestic production, increase reliance on insecure petroleum imports and avoid the issue of phasing out unwieldy price controls.

H.R. 4035 would go counter to the Nation's need to conserve energy and reduce dependence on imported oil. It would increase petroleum imports by about 350,000 barrels per day in 1977, compared to import levels under my phased decontrol plan. It would even increase imports by about 70,000 barrels per day over continuation of the current system of mandatory controls through 1977.

The provisions in this bill to roll back the price of domestic oil not now controlled, to repeal the "stripper well" exemption from price controls and to establish a three-tier price system which would require even more complex regulations would be counterproductive to the achievement of energy independence.

The bill does contain an Administration requested provision which would continue the coal conversion program through December 31st. Since coal conversion authorities authorized last year in the Energy Supply and Environmental Coordination Act expired June 30th, I urge rapid enactment of a simple one year extension of these authorities.

Last Wednesday, July 16, I submitted to Congress a compromise plan to phase out price controls on crude oil over a thirty-month period. Coupled with administratively imposed import fees, this plan will reduce the Nation's imports by 900,000 barrels per day by 1977. It will reduce our vulnerability to another embargo by adding slightly over one cent per gallon to the price of all petroleum products by the end of 1975 and seven cents by 1978.

If Congress acts on this compromise and on other Administration proposed energy taxes, including the "windfall profits" tax and energy tax rebates to consumers, the burden of decontrol will be shared fairly, and our economic recovery will continue.

I veto H.R. 4035, because it increases our vulnerability to unreliable sources of crude oil and does not deal with the need to phase-out rigid price and alloca-

tion controls enacted during the embargo. I urge Congress not to disapprove my administrative plan of gradual decontrol. If it is accepted, I will accept a simple extension of price and allocation authorities. If decontrol is not accepted, I will have no choice but to veto the simple six-month extension of these authorities now being considered by Congress.

For too long, the Nation has been without an energy policy, and I cannot approve a drift into greater energy dependence.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
July 21, 1975.

NOTE: The House of Representatives reconsidered H.R. 4035 on July 24, 1975, and the bill was referred to committee.

## 419

### Remarks on Greeting Members of the Future Farmers of America. July 22, 1975

*Mr. Secretary, Mr. President, and all of you from the Future Farmers of America:*

It's just nice to see you in the White House, in the Rose Garden particularly, and I know that you look forward to the opportunity of actually going through the White House and having a tour of that wonderful building.

Let me thank you for the opportunity of meeting with a number of you about a year or so ago, when I was over in the EOB [Old Executive Office Building] as Vice President. And thank you very, very much for the warm welcome that you all gave me out in Kansas City when some 17,000 of you future farmers gave me a wonderful welcome on that occasion.

The 100 of you here represent almost 500,000 fine young farmers who believe in a great profession and who can contribute significantly to a better America.

I would also like to welcome the representatives from, as I understand it, Wales, Scotland, Italy, and Colombia. We are delighted to have all of you here.

As I travel around the country and see people from all walks of life, and as I meet with many, many young people such as the Future Farmers of America, I believe that the American people have great hopes, wonderful expectations for a better America in the future. And each and every one of you can contribute

very significantly to the kind of America that we believe our country represents and the future that we need for younger generations.

The farmers of America, representing some 6 percent of our population, are a tremendous force for a better America. The productivity of American agriculture is one of the wonders of this century, but American agriculture can do even better with the kind of young people that are here today and those that you represent.

Agriculture is vitally important in the future of America. We have many problems. We are faced with an oil shortage; we are faced with an energy problem. And the productivity of agriculture can help us immeasurably in trying to resolve some of these international differences that we have. Agriculture and what is produced by the farmers of America can be extremely important as we try to work out some of these delicate relationships in the many commodities of the world.

I happen to believe that young people such as yourselves are the real hope for the America that we want now and in the future. You have done a great job in being elected State presidents or State officers, and you are here to learn how our Government works so that you can go back and instruct your associates in your respective States that our Government is a good Government.

But it can be improved, and we are working at that. But we need understanding that we are working at making our Government the kind that is responsive in agriculture, in industry, in business, in labor. This Government can work better and it will work better, but we need understanding in the process.

And as you spend your time here meeting with many, many people—people in the Government, people outside of it—become an expert so you can go back and talk about what we are trying to do in the executive branch, what the Congress is seeking to do in the legislative branch, and what the judiciary is seeking to do in its role as a part of the Government.

But I think there is another benefit from your visit here. I hope you will get an inspiration to be a part of the Government as you grow older and mature. We need the kind of leadership in government that each of you can give, and what you learn here in this experience will be tremendously significant in how you pattern your life in the months and years ahead.

It's not inconceivable—in fact, it's very possible—that at some time in the future one of you, as presidents of your State organization, can be President of the United States. And all that you have learned and all that you will experience in the future can help prepare you for that great opportunity.

So, I urge you to absorb everything you can, and I urge you to take back with you this great experience of being in Washington, representing some 500,000 other Future Farmers of America, so that you can tell them about the National Capital, the Government, and the opportunities to make it better.

I have a lot of faith in all of you. And I have a great belief that the United States can continue to be a leader in the world, not only for ourselves but for all mankind.

Thank you and good luck.

ALPHA TRIVETTE [national president, Future Farmers of America]. Mr. President, I am sure we all remember and hold very fond memories of the meeting we had with you in Kansas City. And it's hard for us to conceive the real impact of your being with us and visiting with us on that night had for all vocational education, more specifically, the FFA and the industry of agriculture.

And on that night, you also received the Honorary American Farmer Degree, and we want to welcome you now, officially, as a member of probably the largest group of squares in all the world.

Now, in Mark Twain's time, "square" was completely a different term than it is today. If you fed someone well, you gave him a square meal. If you treated him right, you gave him a square deal. You stood foursquare if your debts were paid, and you stood square against everything that was wrong. And, Mr. President, we feel that this term "square" fits you aptly because you stand square for everything that is right in America.

We would like to present to you then this flag set that bears all the flags that have flown over our country and also in the center the American flag which stands next to the Future Farmers of America flag, for we feel that the ideals represented in both of these flags are very similar, and the ideals that you stand for as President of our country bear out these ideals more perfectly than anyone else could.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me express my very deep appreciation and gratitude for your kind words, and I will do my utmost to justify the compliments and to live up to the ideals that you have expressed. I think they are sound. I think they are good, and you represent them. And I will do my best to follow in those footsteps.

I thank you for this gift of the flags that have flown over the United States. And I especially thank you for the meaning and significance that comes with this gift, and I am deeply grateful. Thank you very, very much.

I just said to Alpha, as you leave the Rose Garden, if you would like to go into the West Wing and go through the Cabinet Room, you might have an opportunity to see what the Cabinet Room looks like and get some of the atmosphere that comes from that historic room.

As I look out through here, as I said earlier, I am sure that you have got some potential Presidents of the United States, and obviously you have some potential candidates for Secretary of Agriculture. [*Laughter*] No, I think Earl Butz does a great job as Secretary of Agriculture, and it may take a couple of years for you to come along and occupy that position.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:28 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

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### Statement on House Action Disapproving Compromise Plan To Decontrol Domestic Oil Prices. July 22, 1975

I WAS disappointed to learn that the House has voted to disapprove the phased decontrol plan I submitted last week. Under my plan, price controls on old oil would have been gradually lifted over a 30-month period. This was a fair plan which would have achieved significant energy saving while not hindering economic recovery.

My energy plan includes an appropriate windfall profits tax program and tax refunds to the American people to offset higher energy costs.

The 30-month plan would have resulted in about 300,000 barrels per day less imports in 1977 and would have added about 1.4 million barrels per day of domestic production by 1985. Under the plan, petroleum prices would have risen by about a penny per gallon in 1975 and an additional 3 cents per gallon in 1976 and 1977.

I remain convinced that this Nation must achieve energy independence in 1985 by increasing domestic supply, encouraging conservation, and removing the complex regulatory system which affects every American. We must start towards energy independence now and stem our increasing vulnerability before our dependence becomes too great.

The gradual decontrol plan I sent to the Congress was an important step toward these goals. The Congressional disapproval of this plan occurs before any

acceptable energy legislation has been sent to my desk. Six months have passed since my comprehensive energy program was delivered to the Congress.

We cannot stand still or move backwards. We must make progress or the threat to our economy and American jobs will continue to increase.

I will continue to work for a comprehensive energy program and urge the Congress and the American people to work with me toward that end.

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**Remarks on Greeting Delegates to the Annual Boys Nation Convention. *July 23, 1975***

GOOD MORNING to all of you, and let me thank the head of the American Legion, who heads the organization that I am proud to have been a member of since late 1945, even before I got out of military service in World War II, and let me congratulate all of you who are here at Boys Nation, representing some 48 States and the District of Columbia.

It is nice to have all of you here, those from the Legion and those that are here because of the Legion. I would be very, very remiss if I didn't speak up very strongly on behalf of the American Legion.

The post that I belonged to in Grand Rapids, Michigan, I know firsthand has done a tremendous amount of fine work in the community, helping the less fortunate, helping in activities for the youth, helping in the community as a whole. So, I am proud to stand here as a member of the American Legion and compliment that organization for its long and fine record.

I'd also like to congratulate each of you, who have been selected from your respective States. I have had the opportunity, on a number of occasions, to speak to the gathering in my State of Michigan. What an enthusiastic group of young people. That is the kind of energetic enthusiasm we need in politics. That is the kind of enthusiasm that is required to make our country an even better place in which to live.

You are down here and have been here to learn a great deal about our Government. You will learn something about the Congress, the White House, and hopefully the judiciary. It is a great form of government, but it can only be great and greater if we get people like yourselves as participants.

You can have an organization chart, you can have a structure, but if you don't have people that have the right motives and the right kind of enthusiasm and the right training, it won't work. And all of you, like the others who have



been here on the previous experiences—I think this is the 30th get-together of Boys Nation—I am positive that some who have gone through the training or the experiences you have gone through are now down here working with and being a part of this Government. And you will be better prepared because of your experiences this week.

What are some of the problems that we face—and when I say “we,” I mean the Congress and myself. We face an energy problem—and I spent about 2 hours last night on the *Sequoia* talking to the Democratic and Republican leaders of the House and Senate trying to find a key to the impasse that we are faced with at the present time.

The United States right now is extremely vulnerable to foreign oil sources, and those sources in 1973 turned off the spigot and we had an embargo. We had waiting lines at gas stations, we had to conserve, and we had some unemployment that resulted from the lack of foreign oil.

Fortunately the problems in the Middle East were solved; the oil embargo was raised. But those problems in the Middle East are still very volatile, and the differences are still very serious.

And although we are working literally night and day to find an answer with the Arab nations and the Israelis, it might not work. And if it doesn't and a war flares up there, as it has four times in the last 20-some years, we could have another oil embargo, and we would be worse off now than we were in 1973.

All of the problems we had then would be multiplied, not eased. So, somehow the Congress and the President have to find an answer to do two things: one, to stimulate additional domestic production of oil. The charts show that in the last 2 years, our domestic production of oil has gone down, which means that we are buying more and more foreign oil, and that makes us inevitably more vulnerable to a cutoff if it should occur.

Secondly, we have to conserve. That means that all of you might have to drive a little bit less. Others will have to conserve in one way or another—in the winter, not turning the temperature up as high or, in the summer, not turning it down as low. But we have to conserve this year enough so that we are buying less, not more foreign oil.

And we have to find a total answer to our energy problem in the next 10 years. And that involves a tremendous amount of research and development in the exotic fuel areas—solar heat, additional nuclear power, and a wide range of other things that don't seem feasible today.

But our scientists and technicians tell us it is worth the effort in research and

development. We hope to find an answer within the next few days, the next week, so that the Congress and the President can work together, not at odds.

What I am saying to you is that despite political differences—and there are some—if we are going to continue to be a great country—and I am optimistic that we will—you have to find a way to disagree without being disagreeable. You have to find a way to solve a problem with no one losing face and everybody doing a job for the country. And the experiences you are having right here at the present time—that is a training ground for the time when all of you have an opportunity at the local, the State, or the Federal level to come down and be an active participant.

A long time ago, back when the ball was round, I played a little football for the University of Michigan—[laughter]—and that is the truth, it was round, and some of these older fellows can remember it here.

But anyhow, you know in those days we had some other problems. But by working together, the American people finally found a way to solve most of them. And somehow I and others my vintage found an inspiration to come here and to be a part of the Congress—House, Senate—and to be a part of the executive branch of the Government. And that is what we need from all of you—that desire, that stimulation to be a part of your Government.

And I am absolutely convinced that, as I look around here, you have got all the talent, all the enthusiasm. We are not going to solve all the problems—my generation—but we are building slowly to a better America.

But you, because of your better education, better opportunities, and all the other things that bless us in this country, can take what we built and make it the kind of America that we dream about and hope for. And that is the message I would like to leave with you from the Rose Garden and the White House.

Thank you very, very much.

JAMES M. WAGONSELLER [national commander, American Legion]. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for those very inspiring words to these young people who are here with us this morning.

Mr. President, you will recall a day this past December, at the Alexandria railroad depot, when you launched the Bicentennial American Freedom Train on its historic 21-month journey throughout the United States.

Aboard the Freedom Train is the American Legion's Freedom Bell, a bell twice the size of the revered Liberty Bell. But unlike the Liberty Bell, our bell has no crack in it and is perfectly capable, Mr. President, of ringing loud and clear to remind Americans now and in the future of their precious liberties.

To that end, American Legionnaires and their Auxiliary throughout the

Nation are raising funds to insure the permanent enshrinement of the Freedom Bell in an appropriate location here in the Nation's Capital.

At the conclusion of the Freedom Train journey, the American Legion will present this Freedom Bell to the Nation as a gift on behalf of America's children, who represent, as these young people do, our future. It is our fervent wish that the Freedom Bell will become a permanent and prominent symbol of the celebration of the Nation's 200th birthday and will provide an inspiration for future generations of Americans.

On behalf of American Legionnaires and their Auxiliary members everywhere, Mr. President, it is my great pleasure to present you with this replica of our Freedom Bell.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Mr. Commander, and I am deeply appreciative and most grateful for the Legion Freedom Bell. And I can assure you it will be prominently displayed in the Oval Office and in my private office.

Thank you very, very much.

COMMANDER WAGONSELLER. Mr. President, I have a few introductions I would like to make to you, sir, and since you brought up the subject of football, I might tell these young people here this morning that the President and I find ourselves in violent disagreement every November on the outcome of the Ohio State-Michigan football game.

Mr. President, there are two young people here from your home State that I would like to introduce. First of all, Mr. Jonathan E. Brand of Huntington Woods, Michigan, and Jonathan Davis Mays of Charlevoix, Michigan.

Mr. President, as you well know, in every election there are winners and losers. And this morning I would like to present to you two young gentlemen that ran for president and vice president of Boys Nation and were defeated very narrowly. First is James H. Sugarman of Marblehead, Massachusetts, and Daniel T. Henley of Bolair, Wisconsin.

The gentleman that won the election—and they would like to make a presentation to you, Mr. President—the president of Boys Nation, Joe Davis, whom you met, and Vice President John E. Frank.

MR. DAVIS. On behalf of myself, President of Boys Nation Joe Davis, and Vice President John Frank of Idaho and the staff of Boys Nation and Boys Nation itself, Mr. President, we present you with an official Boys Nation T-shirt.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

MR. DAVIS. My vice president, Mr. John Frank of Idaho, will come and pre-

sent you with another gift, and then we have a special song for you, Mr. President.

MR. FRANK. Mr. President, on behalf of the American Legion, for taking time to come see Boys Nation, I would like to present you with a Boys Nation pin for participating in our program.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

Let me thank you again for the thoughtfulness, for the gifts, and I will probably wear the shirt and also the pin, but I am not going to be under any illusions. I am not as young as all of you who would also wear it, but I thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The American Legion sponsored the annual Boys Nation convention.

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### **Letter to the Senate Minority Leader Urging Extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. *July 23, 1975***

[Dated July 18, 1975. Released July 23, 1975]

*Dear Hugh:*

As I said to you during our discussion yesterday, it is most important that Congress extend the temporary provisions of the Voting Rights Act before the August recess.

These provisions expire August 6, 1975, and they must not be allowed to lapse.

My first priority is to extend the Voting Rights Act. With time so short, it may be best as a practical matter to extend the Voting Rights Act as it is for five more years; or, as an alternative, the Senate might accept the House bill (H.R. 6219), which includes the important step of extending the provisions of the Act to Spanish-speaking citizens and others. To make certain that the Voting Rights Act is continued, I can support either approach.

However, the issue of broadening the Act further has arisen; and it is my view that it would now be appropriate to expand the protection of the Act to all citizens of the United States.

I strongly believe that the right to vote is the foundation of freedom, and that this right must be protected.

That is why, when this issue was first being considered in 1965, I co-sponsored with Representative William McCulloch of Ohio a voting rights bill which

would have effectively guaranteed voting rights to eligible citizens throughout the whole country.

After it became clear at that time that the McCulloch-Ford bill would not pass, I voted for the most practical alternative, the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In 1970, I supported extending the Act.

Last January, when this issue first came before me as President, I proposed that Congress again extend for five years the temporary provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The House of Representatives, in H.R. 6219, has broadened this important law in this way: (1) The House bill would extend the temporary provisions of the Act for ten years, instead of five; and (2) the House bill would extend the temporary provisions of the Act so as to include discrimination against language minorities, thereby extending application of the Act from the present seven States to eight additional States, in whole or in part.

In light of the House extension of the Voting Rights Act for ten years and to eight more States, I believe this is the appropriate time and opportunity to extend the Voting Rights Act nationwide.

This is one nation, and this is a case where what is right for fifteen States is right for fifty States.

Numerous civil rights leaders have pointed out that substantial numbers of Black citizens have been denied the right to vote in many of our large cities in areas other than the seven Southern states where the present temporary provisions apply. Discrimination in voting in any part of this nation is equally undesirable.

As I said in 1965, when I introduced legislation on this subject, a responsible, comprehensive voting rights bill should "correct voting discrimination wherever it occurs throughout the length and breadth of this great land."

I urge the Senate to move promptly—first, to assure that the temporary provisions of the Voting Rights Act do not lapse. As amendments are taken up, I urge you to make the Voting Rights Act applicable nationwide. Should the Senate extend the Act to American voters in all 50 states, I am confident the House of Representatives would concur.

I shall be grateful if you will convey to the members of the Senate my views on this important matter.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable Hugh Scott, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510]

NOTE: The President sent similar letters on July 21, 1975, to Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, Assistant Senate Minority Leader Robert P. Griffin,

and Senator Roman L. Hruska, ranking Republican member of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

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## Remarks to Congressional Summer Interns.

*July 23, 1975*

IT IS nice to see so many fine young people. I feel really at home, not because I happen to be living here now—[*laughter*]*—*but I feel at home because for better than 15 years of my 25-plus years service in the House of Representatives, I had a close and very warm relationship with interns, not only in my office but interns that served the Members of the House as well as the Senate.

I enjoyed that relationship; I benefited from it. And I know this group is just as qualified, just as dedicated, just as interested as those that I knew in the past, and I congratulate you for being here.

Let me just tell you a little of the history of the intern program. Well, you know you have 700 or 800 here. I can remember the days when if there was one intern in an office, there was apprehension and eyebrows were lifted. They wondered, wasn't this effort, wasn't this program going to destroy the Congress and all that went with it? [*Laughter*]

I can go back and show you records where my office was one of the first, if not the first that worked on the program and helped to expand it. And I am darn proud that we now have 800 or 900 young people every year who come down here and make a substantial contribution to the legislative process and go back to your respective colleges, your communities, and explain to the American people that the Government does work, can work, and will be helpful in solving some of the problems that we have.

Now, I know it is awfully hot in here, but it is a little cooler than if we had had it out on the lawn. Let me assure you that this Administration and I, particularly, welcome all of you here, and I am delighted with the atmosphere that I have found in going from one university or college to another over the last year.

The warmth of the reception, I assure you, was not always agreeing, but at least I approached those from the student bodies of Notre Dame, Tulane, et cetera, with the open mind, and they did, as far as I was concerned. And the net result was we had a dialog, and this is what we need and this is how we can work together in the solution of some of the problems that have to be solved.

So, as you work with your committees or you work with the Member of the House or Senate or you work with those that you are involved with, I can assure you, whether they are Democrats or Republicans, they want your views. And I hope and trust they just don't put you in the job of licking stamps. [*Laughter*]

I used to have some staff members who would look at these interns that would come into the office and they would be suspicious of them. And finally, we got my staff people to understand that the young people who came down here really were interested in making the Government work and finding out so they could go back and do a better job at home.

I think throughout the Congress and elsewhere in Washington, we have been able to establish a new attitude and a new view. So, I think most of you—and I hope all of you—have an opportunity to make a contribution.

Now, let me just talk a little bit about how you can help us. I don't mean me personally, but I mean us as a country. We do have some problems, and we have some differences in this Government. We have differences politically. We have differences, maybe, philosophically. We have differences between the executive and legislative branches. But that does not mean that we can't solve some of these problems or make some headway in those solutions.

I spent a couple of hours last night with some of my good friends on both sides of the political aisle and both sides of Capitol Hill, trying to find how we could take some views I have and how we can take some views they have to try and get an energy program.

Doesn't it frustrate you up there to see that there is not any real meaningful progress in trying to conserve on the one hand and stimulate production on the other? I think it ought to frustrate you, as it does me, that we can't move ahead with greater alacrity and more——

INTERN. Stop vetoing.

THE PRESIDENT. You know, I am very glad—I think a young lady raised that question. And let me tell you, a veto is a constructive method for a President under the Constitution to get good results. Let me tell you why. Our Founding Fathers decided that a system of checks and balances had a lot of merit, and that is why they provided under the Constitution, we would have a judicial branch, an executive branch, and a legislative branch.

They did not want any branch or any segment of our society running the whole country freehanded, and so they provided in this delicately balanced Constitution that we have the right of the Congress to pass legislation and they also gave in that Constitution the authority of the President to veto legislation

to give the Congress time to reassess, to see whether they did the job right or wrong.

If you take a look at the veto record this year, in each case where there has been a veto, the Congress has had an opportunity to reconsider and to see if there was not some way that they could end up writing better legislation, and they did.

And the net result is that no part of the Government has a totally free hand to decide exactly what ought to be done. At least it requires more than two-thirds for a branch of the Government to make a single decision.

This is one of those very important ingredients that our forefathers were smart enough to include in the Constitution, that they wanted checks and balances so that no person, no segment of our society, no branch of the Government could run the Government without any control from the minority.

I think this is something we have to protect. One year I may, or a President may want something done, and the Congress will check him. On the other hand, you will find that on other occasions, the Congress may want to do something that is not necessarily the right thing, and the Constitution gives the President the right to have a slowdown until there has been adequate reconsideration.

So, when you get right down to it, a veto is a constructive effort on the part of a President, and legislative action with more than two-thirds can be a way in which the Congress can exercise its authority to prevent a President from doing something that is not right either. So, you know this balance really has proven over almost 200 years to be a darn good tool for the benefit of all of us.

I do want to thank you for coming here. I do appreciate what you have contributed during this summer that you have been here and the time that you will be here in the future.

I used to have the privilege of talking to the interns in the House Chamber when I was minority leader, and the Speaker and I used to participate in that experience. I hope that the Speaker and the minority leader will do the same this year, if they have not already done it. They can give you an insight that is important, and I am sure that the Vice President and the majority and minority leaders in the Senate will do the same.

I happen to think—whether I agree with everything the Congress does—that the Congress is a good institution. And I happen to believe that a President tries to do what is right and that the batting average of a President is pretty good, too.

But the main thing we have to achieve in this country is an understanding that working together—and I think despite what you read and what you hear,



we are working together—and where we disagree, as Sam Rayburn used to say, “We disagree without being disagreeable,” and that is a pretty good criteria for all of us as we try to, in the best way we can, seek some answers to these nagging problems that we have, whether they are at home or abroad.

Good luck, God bless you, and don’t forget this: that we are trying to build a better America, so when you come down here and run this Government, whether in the Congress or in the Supreme Court or in the White House, you will do a better job than we have done, and I think you will.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. in the East Room at the White House to approximately 800 college students who were participating in the program sponsored by the Senate and House leadership.

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## Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the Federal Council on the Aging. July 24, 1975

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am transmitting herewith the Annual Report of the Federal Council on Aging, together with my comments and recommendations.

The Federal Council on the Aging was established by the 1973 amendments to the Older Americans Act of 1965 to advise and assist the President on matters relating to the special needs of older Americans, and for other purposes specified in the enabling legislation. Members of the Federal Council on the Aging were confirmed by the Senate on June 5, 1974.

As the annual report indicates, the Federal Council on the Aging has undertaken a number of advocacy activities pursuant to its legislated mandate. The report, as submitted to me by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for transmittal, does not include supporting data or analysis which would provide the basis for a detailed review of policy positions and recommendations.

Since the Council was only recently formed, the Administration, on behalf of the Federal Council on the Aging, has requested that the Congress authorize an extension until January 1, 1976, of the date for submission to the Congress of the two legislatively mandated studies.

One study calls for a review of the interrelationships of all benefit programs—Federal, State, local—serving the elderly. Such information could be useful to the Executive Branch and the Congress to identify duplicative and overlap-

ping programs and to propose the necessary reforms so that our resources may be more effectively applied to help those most in need.

A second study, dealing with the combined impact of all taxes on the elderly, could also be helpful in determining the burdens and benefits of government actions as they affect the Nation's elderly.

I look forward to the study reports to help us provide an effective and economical delivery of services to our elderly citizens.

The Council specifically recommends "legislative action to develop high standards of safety and care in nursing homes." The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has set high standards of nursing home care and safety that must be met by nursing homes participating in the Medicare and Medicaid programs. The enforcement of these standards is one of my Administration's highest priorities. Federal funds pay 100 percent of the costs of inspection to monitor compliance with these standards. The Federal Government pays its share of the costs of meeting nursing home standards through health care financing programs, primarily Medicare and Medicaid. Financial assistance is also made available by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to assist nursing homes in meeting selected fire safety standards.

The Council also expressed its concern about the level of funding for programs to assist the elderly. I sympathize with this concern, but I am determined to reduce the burden of inflation on our older citizens, and that effort demands that government spending be limited. Inflation is one of the cruelest and most pervasive problems facing older Americans, so many of whom live on fixed incomes. A reduction of inflation, therefore, is in the best interests of all Americans and would be of particular benefit to the aging.

The perspective and recommendations of this report are limited to a particular area of interest and advocacy.

The report does not reflect the Administration's policies, which must reflect a broader range of responsibilities and priorities.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
July 24, 1975.

NOTE: The 13-page report is entitled "Report to the President—Federal Council on the Aging."

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Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports of  
Six River Basin Commissions. July 24, 1975

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am transmitting herewith the annual reports of the six river basin commissions, as required under section 204(2) of the Water Resources Planning Act of 1965.

The act states that commissions comprised of State and Federal members may be established at the request of the Governors of the States within the proposed commission area. Each commission is responsible for planning the best use of water and related land resources in its area and for recommending priorities for implementation of such planning. The commissions, through efforts to increase public participation in the decisionmaking process, can and do provide a forum for all people within the commission area to voice their ideas, concerns and suggestions.

The commissions submitting reports are New England, Great Lakes, Pacific Northwest, Ohio, Missouri, and Upper Mississippi. The territory these six commissions cover includes part or all of 32 States.

The enclosed annual reports indicate the activities and accomplishments of the commissions during fiscal year 1974. A brief description of current and potential problems, studies, and approaches to solutions is included in the reports.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
July 24, 1975.

NOTE: The six reports are entitled:

"New England River Basins Commission: 1974 Annual Report."

"Great Lakes Basin Commission: 1974 Annual Report."

"Pacific Northwest River Basins Commission: Annual Report—Fiscal Year '74."

"Ohio River Basin Commission: 1974 Annual Report."

"Missouri River Basin Commission: Annual Report—1974."

"Upper Mississippi River Basin Commission, annual report."

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Remarks on Greeting the Captain of the SS *Mayaguez*  
and Crewmembers of the U.S.S. *Greenville*.

July 24, 1975

IT IS great to have you here, and let me thank you very much. You all were just tremendous.

Believe me, it is of great significance not only to the American people but I think its significance goes well beyond that to the world as a whole. I want to congratulate you, Captain Miller, and through you my congratulations to the crew who were so strong and so resourceful.

The American people are proud of every one of you. You did a wonderful job in a very difficult situation, and we were sort of watching it as best we could from afar. I want you to know I am proud of you and the American people are proud of you.

CAPTAIN CHARLES T. MILLER. I thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I should mention this group of young people over here volunteered, as I understand it, to go from the SS *Greenville* and to join the boarding party that went aboard the *Mayaguez* at the time that the military went in and took possession.

So, these fine seamen, when they went aboard, took charge of the ship and got it underway. We are equally proud of you for the fine job you did. But the fact that you volunteered—this is in the best spirit, I think, of America. Thank you very much.

I am just trying to decide where to put this wheel. I think we will have it available here, at least we are going to keep it right in the Oval Office for a few days and maybe longer, because it, to me, was a very significant incident that has had very broad and, I think, tremendous impact not only on our people but people around the world.

You look pretty healthy. How badly did they treat you?

CAPTAIN MILLER. They didn't treat us badly. They treated us fairly well. We didn't get much sleep.

THE PRESIDENT. Did they do anything to the ship when they made you get off of it?

CAPTAIN MILLER. Some of the rooms were locked, and they kept them all in rooms on the ship. They locked the seamen in their quarters. They felt we had

surveillance here as a spy ship. I convinced them that I wouldn't go along with that, that we were just a commercial operation. We had no warfare or combat materiel—rifles, ammunition, and bombs. We had no electronic surveillance equipment aboard.

THE PRESIDENT. Those American planes looked pretty good to you?

CAPTAIN MILLER. Those American planes looked like angels coming out of the sky.

THE PRESIDENT. I bet it was good to see these fellows when you saw them on board.

CAPTAIN MILLER. Yes, sir. I boarded the ship at 12:05, and I walked up to the bridge and all the men were up there. And they were telling me what happened as we got underway, or under tow—the destroyer escort towed us.

THE PRESIDENT. What does the ship's log say? I used to be the assistant navigator on a carrier out there in the Pacific, and part of my job, along with the quartermaster, was to keep the ship's log. Was there a vacant space in there from the time you were boarded until you all got on board?

SEAMAN. Right, one space.

THE PRESIDENT. It would be nice to have a copy of the ship's log the day that it all happened and a copy of the ship's log the day that you all boarded it and you all got back home.

CAPTAIN MILLER. We can give you a copy of the log, Mr. President. We can also give you a copy of our charts and all the navigation reports that we had on it.

THE PRESIDENT. That would be very interesting.

What kind of a ship is the SS *Greenville*?

SEAMAN. It is a victory ship, 21 years old.

THE PRESIDENT. It is a Government-owned one?

SEAMAN. Yes, sir, U.S.S. *Greenville* CAK 237.

THE PRESIDENT. You all are part of the civil service crew that operates it. Where did they find you all?

SEAMAN. We were part of the refugee operations in Saigon and Cam Ranh and Danang. We were on standby.

THE PRESIDENT. In the Philippines? They picked you up by helicopter?

SEAMAN. Yes, in Manila Bay.

REPORTER. Was a report on the *Mayaguez* turned in to the White House? Is a report on the operation to be made public?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it will be made public, but there is a book being written <sup>1</sup> that I gather will be very complete.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:40 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House where Captain Miller presented him with the wheel from the SS *Mayaguez*.

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### Statement on House Action Refusing To Modify the Embargo on United States Military Assistance to Turkey. July 24, 1975

I AM deeply disappointed by the refusal of the House of Representatives to partially lift the embargo on the shipment of arms to Turkey. It is my strong conviction that this negative vote can only do the most serious and irreparable damage to the vital national security interests of the United States, including our normally excellent relations with the Government of Turkey, U.S. security interests in the Atlantic Alliance and the Eastern Mediterranean, and U.S. efforts to assist the governments of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus to reach a just and equitable Cyprus settlement. It will also seriously affect important interests elsewhere.

I and members of my Administration worked hard to persuade Members of the House of Representatives that vital, national defense interests are at stake in this issue. I am very proud of those 206 Members of Congress of both parties, as well as the Members of the Senate who supported a similar measure, for casting their votes in the national interest. I deeply appreciate the efforts of the bipartisan leadership of the Congress and the members of the House and Senate Committees on International Relations and Foreign Affairs who supported the legislation. I will continue to make every effort to assist in achieving an equitable settlement of the Cyprus dispute. I will work to reassure our allies, Turkey and Greece, of our continuing desire to maintain strong and effective relationships with them despite this setback. I hope the House of Representatives will reconsider its failure to act affirmatively.

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<sup>1</sup> "The Four Days of the *Mayaguez*" by Roy Rowan.

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**Telephone Conversation With the Astronauts of the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project Following Recovery of Their Spacecraft. July 24, 1975**

TOM and Deke and Vance, welcome home. On behalf of your fellow Americans—about 214 million of them—congratulations and thanks for a very successful and extremely productive flight in space. We are delighted to have you back safely, and we are very, very proud of the great job that you did.

Your safe return marks the close of the Apollo program. And you and all of the rest who have been participants should be extremely proud of its success, from the beginning to the present. And as you know better than all of us, your particular flight also adds a new dimension, that of international cooperation, and that is extremely vital now and in the days ahead.

And I understand from the technicians that your new docking system offers a foundation on which to build future cooperative efforts and in the next decade could be a very valuable tool for space rescues.

I know, of course, that all three of you are darn glad to get home, or almost home, and that your wives—Faye, Marge, and Joan—are probably listening to this conversation—at least I hope so, because I want them to know we are all proud of their husbands who have done a superb job on behalf of our country.

Tom, if I might add a lighter note, I understand that as soon as you get checked out, you are going to spend a little time in the next few days helping Vance with his Russian.

BRIG. GEN. THOMAS P. STAFFORD. Maybe it was an Oklahoma accent, Mr. President. Vance was superb at his Russian.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Tom, since this was your fourth mission, I understand you have spent more than 500 hours in space. Would you tell us how this mission compares with your previous one?

GENERAL STAFFORD. Mr. President, it was completely different in one phase, as far as the international part of it. The other parts were somewhat similar, but it was just so meaningful to us to have this opportunity to work in both the diplomatic and the management areas, besides flying the spacecraft—from all three of us.

Deke?

DONALD K. SLAYTON. Yes, sir, Mr. President, I think it was a great honor to be

able to fly this flight, and I am surprised it came off as well as it did. We are looking forward to doing more.

THE PRESIDENT. I hope it was not so routine that it was dull.

MR. SLAYTON. It wasn't dull at all. It was beautiful. And we had a lot of work to do, and I think we enjoyed it a lot.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Deke, one of your colleagues that I talked with told me that you are aging a bit to be an astronaut. How does it feel for an old-timer to be in space?

MR. SLAYTON. Well, it feels great, sir. I can't really explain it. I hope we can show you a few pictures when we have an opportunity, and that might help to make you appreciate it as much as we did. But I think the only way you are really going to appreciate it is to get up there. And I hope some day we can take you up there in the old space shuttle.

THE PRESIDENT. I saw you moving around there a few times. You looked as agile as those younger fellows that you were helping out.

Let me say that the word that I would like to pass on to Deke is that your brother and his wife, who had an unfortunate accident just a day or two before you took off, I understand have come along well, and we certainly wish them all a very rapid recovery following that accident.

MR. SLAYTON. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I certainly appreciate your concern.

THE PRESIDENT. Vance, would you mind making a comment or two? You brought the Apollo in. What was your biggest challenge in the encounter on this particular mission?

VANCE BRAND. I think probably the last 2 days, where I had the most to do. The entry itself was probably the biggest challenge, Mr. President, and I thought it was really interesting. That fireball was really beautiful, and it was really pretty neat skimming over the Earth at 25,000 miles an hour.

THE PRESIDENT. To all three of you, how will it feel to have an opportunity to sleep in a regular sack for a change?

GENERAL STAFFORD. Fantastic, Mr. President, fantastic.

Say, the two cosmonauts said they certainly appreciated the call from you while they were up there, and they were remembering when they were with you down there at the picnic.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am sure you were as glad as we were that their recovery went without any incident, without any problem, and I am sure that they feel the same way about the successful landing of all of you.

I know you have got a lot of important business to do, so let me just say your



achievements—that of all three of you, with the two cosmonauts—your achievements are historic. It is a part of our history, which was written by the recovery forces that have been ready at any time in each case of reentry.

Before I do hang up, I would like to extend my congratulations for a very outstanding performance to Captain Neiger, Commanding Officer of the U.S.S. *New Orleans*, and to his ship's company. They, of course, were standing by and did a first-class job and have achieved an outstanding record.

The crew, as you know better than I, picked up the Apollo 14 crew in February of 1971 and was responsible for the safe recovery of both the Skylab 3 and Skylab 4 astronauts. We thank them and congratulate them on their performance as a part of this overall team.

Your successful completion of this mission, I say with emphasis, has opened a new era of international cooperation. I strongly hope—as I am sure the Americans that are listening or watching and all others do—we hope that this first international manned flight will provide all of us with an example to remember for many, many years to come.

We are proud of you, and we thank you, and good luck. And I will see you back in Washington soon, I hope. It is nice to wave to you on the screen. Okay, good luck, fellows.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:15 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House to the astronauts on board the U.S.S. *New Orleans*. The conversation was broadcast live on radio and television.

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## Remarks to Reporters on Proposed Compromise With the Congress on the Decontrol of Domestic Oil Prices.

*July 25, 1975*

I HAVE a short statement that will indicate some action that I am going to take later today, and I will read the statement and then Frank Zarb will brief on the details of the proposal.

In the effort to break the deadlock on energy legislation prior to the August Congressional recess, I am prepared to compromise on the critical issue of oil decontrol. I will submit to the Congress later today my second administrative decontrol program.

This Nation desperately needs cooperation, not confrontation on the critical energy issue. The new compromise decontrol plan I will propose will answer

the legitimate concerns raised by Members of the Congress during the very lengthy discussions which have been held on this problem.

This plan will gradually phase out price controls over a 39-month period—through November 30, 1978. As part of the decontrol plan, a price ceiling of \$11.50 per barrel will be imposed on all domestically produced oil.

Although this represents a rollback on all current uncontrolled oil prices, the \$11.50 ceiling will gradually increase by 5 cents per month over the length of the program. However, this ceiling will assure that future increases in the price of imported oil will not affect our domestic market prices.

This plan is a critical first step in reversing our growing dependence on foreign oil. Combined with a windfall profits tax on oil companies and rebates of energy taxes to the American people, this plan will not hinder our economic recovery nor raise prices during 1975. It will not allow unfair gains or produce undue hardships.

After Congress rejected the 30-month decontrol plan I submitted last week, I was faced with two choices: to either veto the proposed extension of price controls scheduled to expire August 31 or seek a compromise with the Congress.

I strongly urge the Congress to accept this program and simultaneously enact a simple 3-month extension of the law.

To achieve energy independence, the Congress and the President must work together on this and other parts of my comprehensive energy program. I strongly urge the Congress to accept this compromise so that we can get on with the solution of this most pressing problem.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:18 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

430

**Text of Remarks at a Meeting With Representatives of Americans of Eastern European Background Concerning the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. *July 25, 1975***

I AM glad to have this opportunity, before taking off for Europe tomorrow, to discuss with you frankly how I feel about the forthcoming European Security Conference in Helsinki.

I know there are some honest doubts and disagreements among good Americans about this meeting with the leaders of Eastern and Western European countries and Canada—35 nations altogether.

There are those who fear the Conference will put a seal of approval on the political division of Europe that has existed since the Soviet Union incorporated the Baltic nations and set new boundaries elsewhere in Europe by military action in World War II. These critics contend that participation by the United States in the Helsinki understandings amounts to tacit recognition of a status quo which favors the Soviet Union and perpetuates its control over countries allied with it.

On the other extreme, there are critics who say the meeting is a meaningless exercise because the Helsinki declarations are merely statements of principles and good intentions which are neither legally binding nor enforceable and cannot be depended upon. They express concern, however, that the result will be to make the free governments of Western Europe and North America less wary and lead to a letting down of NATO's political guard and military defenses.

If I seriously shared these reservations, I would not be going, but I certainly understand the historical reasons for them and, especially, the anxiety of Americans whose ancestral homelands, families, and friends have been and still are profoundly affected by East-West political developments in Europe.

I would emphasize that the document I will sign is neither a treaty nor is it legally binding on any participating State. The Helsinki documents involve political and moral commitments aimed at lessening tensions and opening further the lines of communication between the peoples of East and West.

It is the policy of the United States, and it has been my policy ever since I entered public life, to support the aspirations for freedom and national independence of the peoples of Eastern Europe—with whom we have close ties of culture and blood—by every proper and peaceful means. I believe the outcome of this European Security Conference will be a step—how long a step remains to be tested—in that direction. I hope my visits to Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia will again demonstrate our continuing friendship and interest in the welfare and progress of the fine people of Eastern Europe.

To keep the Helsinki Conference in perspective, we must remember that it is not simply another summit between the super powers. On the contrary, it is primarily a political dialog among the Europeans—East, West, and neutral—with primary emphasis on European relationships rather than global differences. The United States has taken part, along with Canada, to maintain the solidarity of the Atlantic Alliance and because our absence would have caused a serious imbalance for the West.

We have acted in concert with our free and democratic partners to preserve

our interests in Berlin and Germany and have obtained the public commitment of the Warsaw Pact governments to the possibility of peaceful adjustment of frontiers—a major concession which runs quite contrary to the allegation that present borders are being permanently frozen.

The Warsaw Pact nations met important Western preconditions—the Berlin Agreement of 1971, the force reduction talks now underway in Vienna—before our agreement to go to Helsinki.

Specifically addressing the understandable concern about the effect of the Helsinki declarations on the Baltic nations, I can assure you as one who has long been interested in this question that the United States has never recognized the Soviet incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and is not doing so now. Our official policy of nonrecognition is not affected by the results of the European Security Conference.

There is included in the declaration of principles on territorial integrity the provision that no occupation or acquisition of territory in violation of international law will be recognized as legal. This is not to raise the hope that there will be any immediate change in the map of Europe, but the United States has not abandoned and will not compromise this longstanding principle.

The question has been asked: What have we given up in these negotiations and what have we obtained in return from the other side? I have studied the negotiations and declarations carefully and will discuss them even more intensely with other leaders in Helsinki. In my judgment, the United States and the open countries of the West already practice what the Helsinki accords preach and have no intention of doing what they prohibit—such as using force or restricting freedoms. We are not committing ourselves to anything beyond what we are already committed to by our own moral and legal standards and by more formal treaty agreements such as the United Nations Charter and Declaration of Human Rights.

We are getting a public commitment by the leaders of the more closed and controlled countries to a greater measure of freedom and movement for individuals, information, and ideas than has existed there in the past, and establishing a yardstick by which the world can measure how well they live up to these stated intentions. It is a step in the direction of a greater degree of European community, of expanding East-West contacts, of more normal and healthier relations in an area where we have the closest historic ties. Surely this is the best interest of the United States and of peace in the world.

I think we are all agreed that our world cannot be changed for the better by war, that in the thermonuclear age our primary task is to reduce the danger

of unprecedented destruction. This we are doing through continuing strategic arms limitations talks with the Soviet Union and the talks on mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe. This European Security Conference in Helsinki, while it contains some military understandings such as advance notice of maneuvers, should not be confused with either the SALT or MBFR negotiations. The Helsinki summit is linked with our overall policy of working to reduce East-West tensions and pursuing peace, but it is a much more general and modest undertaking.

Its success or failure depends not alone on the United States and the Soviet Union but primarily upon its 33 European signatories—East, West, and neutral. The fact that each of them, large and small, can have their voices heard is itself a good sign. The fact that these very different governments can agree, even on paper, to such principles as greater human contacts and exchanges, improved conditions for journalists, reunification of families and international marriages, a freer flow of information and publications, and increased tourism and travel, seems to me a development well worthy of positive and public encouragement by the United States. If it all fails, Europe will be no worse off than it is now. If even a part of it succeeds, the lot of the people in Eastern Europe will be that much better and the cause of freedom will advance at least that far.

I saw an editorial the other day entitled: "Jerry, Don't Go." But I would rather read that than headlines all over Europe saying: "United States Boycotts Peace Hopes."

So I am going, and I hope your support goes with me.

NOTE: The President held the meeting at 11 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House with seven Members of Congress and representatives of American organizations with Eastern European ethnic backgrounds.

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## Letter Accepting the Resignation of Secretary of the Interior Stanley K. Hathaway. July 25, 1975

*Dear Stan:*

I have your letter, and it is with my deepest regrets that I accept your resignation as Secretary of Interior, effective upon the appointment and qualification of your successor. In so doing, I want you to know that I fully understand and sympathize with the health considerations which have prompted your decision.

Needless to say, I would have much preferred that you felt able to continue fulfilling your challenging and strenuous responsibilities at Interior. I am confident that the exceptional skill and genuine concern for the well-being of our fellow citizens which have always marked your public career would have served the Nation well in that capacity.

As you return to private life, I want to express my appreciation for your outstanding work on behalf of the Nation and our Party and for your friendship and support and many personal kindnesses. Betty joins me in extending to Bobbie and you our warmest good wishes for your health and every future happiness.

With warmest personal regards,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable Stanley K. Hathaway, Secretary of Interior, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Secretary Hathaway's letter of resignation, dated July 25, 1975, read as follows:

*Dear Mr. President:*

It is with deepest regret that, for reasons of personal health, I must ask you to accept my resignation.

To have been selected to become your Secretary of the Interior has been a singular honor, and I am deeply grateful for the trust and confidence you placed in me. Your Administration has achieved

great progress in restoring the Nation's morale and sense of purpose, and I know we will continue to prosper under your leadership.

I extend to you and your family my heartfelt wishes for success in the future.

Sincerely,

STANLEY K. HATHAWAY

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500]

## 432

### Remarks Upon Vetoing the Education Division and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1976. *July 25, 1975*

I AM today returning without my approval H.R. 5901, the education appropriation act, 1976.

Throughout my public life, I have believed—and still believe—that education is one of the strong foundation stones of our Republic. But that is not the issue in this appropriation bill.

The real issue is whether we are going to impose fiscal discipline on ourselves or whether we are going to spend ourselves into fiscal insolvency. This is the first major appropriation bill passed by the Congress this year. It would provide \$7.9 billion—\$1.5 billion over the budget which was submitted in January.

Earlier this year, I drew a line on the budget deficit for fiscal year 1976 at \$60 billion. Even that deficit is too high. But on May 14, the Congress drew its

own line at an even higher deficit level of \$69 billion. Today, the Congress' own July 21 budget scorekeeping report estimates a possible deficit this year of over \$83 billion.

I cannot in good conscience support a huge deficit of that magnitude, nor can the people of this country afford the inflation that would inevitably result this year, next year, and the year thereafter. Money appropriated by the Congress inevitably is taken from the people—either through higher taxes or by inflation or both.

This appropriation bill is too much to ask the American people and our economy to bear. I urge the Members of the House and the Senate to sustain my veto of this bill, and then we can work together, as we have before, to achieve a responsible compromise.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:55 p.m. to reporters assembled in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

433

### Veto of the Education Division and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1976. *July 25, 1975*

*To the House of Representatives:*

I return without my approval H.R. 5901, the Education Division and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1976.

Throughout my public life, I believed—and still believe—that education is one of the foundation stones of our republic. But that is not the issue in this appropriation bill.

The real issue is whether we are going to impose fiscal discipline on ourselves or whether we are going to spend ourselves into fiscal insolvency.

This is the first regular appropriation bill passed by the Congress this year and it provides \$7.9 billion, \$1.5 billion more than I requested.

Earlier this year, I drew a line on the budget deficit for fiscal year 1976 at \$60 billion. That line is considerably higher than I would like. On May 14, the Congress drew its own line on the deficit at \$69 billion. But now, the Congress' own July 21 budget scorekeeping report estimates a possible deficit this year of \$83.6 billion.

I cannot, in good conscience, support such a deficit, not only because of what it means this year, but next year and the year after. In fact, if this bill were to become law, nearly \$1 billion would be added to *next* year's deficit.

While I do not insist that my original budget recommendation is the only one

acceptable, I do believe major reductions must be made in this bill. The Congress could make a substantial move in that direction by simply accepting my recommendations for impact aid and higher education. In these two areas alone, Congress has added \$913 million to my proposals.

No single program is more bankrupt than the Impact Aid program. Starting with President Eisenhower, every Chief Executive has recommended reform or abolition of impact aid. Yet, the Congress would allocate three quarters of a billion dollars of the taxpayers' money to this program over the next 15 months. This program is a luxury we can no longer afford. If we are to do what *must* be done, we must stop doing what need not be done.

We must also avoid increasing the funding of other programs unless we have the money to pay for them. In that regard, I urge the Congress to reconsider the \$434 million added to my \$2 billion recommendation for higher education.

The other increases the Congress has added to this bill are a part of the trend over the past several years—a little more for every program. In this case, “a little more” adds up to nearly \$629 million.

Taken as a whole, this appropriation bill is too much to ask the taxpayers—and our economy—to bear.

I urge the Congress to sustain my veto of this bill and then we can work together—as we have before—to achieve a responsible compromise.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
July 25, 1975.

NOTE: On September 9, 1975, the House of Representatives voted to override the President's veto. With the vote in the Senate to override the veto on

September 10, H.R. 5901 was enacted as Public Law 94-94 (89 Stat. 468).

434

## Statement on Suspension of United States Military Operations in Turkey. *July 25, 1975*

I DEEPLY regret the announcement of the Government of Turkey to suspend all American activities at joint U.S.-Turkish defense installations and to take over control and supervision of these important installations.

I repeatedly warned the House of Representatives of extremely serious consequences such as this, if the United States failed to restore military sales and credits to our Turkish allies. I again want to praise those House Members of both parties who voted in the national interest. Now, as a result of yesterday's



223-206 vote in the House of Representatives, Turkey has today announced actions which I believe will work to the detriment of critically important U.S. security interests.

In view of these damaging developments, I urge the House of Representatives to reconsider its refusal to restore the traditional U.S.-Turkish defense relationship. Prompt, affirmative action by the House of Representatives is essential to the vital national defense interests of the United States, our partners in the Eastern Mediterranean, and our allies in the Atlantic Alliance.

435

### **Special Message to the Congress Requesting Additional Funds for the Food Stamp Program. July 25, 1975**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Due to the existing law which invites almost unlimited expansion of the Food Stamp program, the cost of the program has nearly doubled in the past six months. The unemployment rate has also been a factor in the increase. To continue the Food Stamp program for the remainder of this fiscal year, I am forced to ask the Congress for an additional \$3 billion over the \$3.8 billion which I requested in my budget submitted in February.

Accordingly, I am today transmitting to the Congress a budget amendment requesting these additional funds.

The flaws in the existing law easily can be seen. Only 10 years ago, there were fewer than 500,000 people participating in the program at a cost of \$36 million. Today, the number of participants has expanded to 20 million and the cost to \$6.8 billion. Furthermore, if all those presently eligible under current law suddenly signed up for the program, estimates are that between 40 and 60 million persons would be receiving food stamps.

In short, what has evolved in just 10 years is another massive, multi-billion dollar program, almost uncontrolled and fully supported by Federal taxpayers.

Some claim that the Food Stamp program cannot be controlled and that ever-increasing costs are inevitable. I refuse to accept that proposition. Every public program is controllable. The Food Stamp Act was placed on the Statute books by the Congress which has the power and authority to amend the law.

Earlier this year, I submitted a proposal which would have required all participants in this program to pay a proportionate share of their total income for food stamps. This plan would have continued assistance to those in need and

would have distributed benefits on an equitable basis. This reform was rejected by the Congress. Had it been approved, a savings of \$1 billion in fiscal year 1976 at the current rate of participation would have resulted.

In submitting this revised budget request, made necessary by the existing law, I once again ask the Congress to work with me on needed changes. We must work toward two goals:

- In fairness to those truly in need, we must focus food stamp assistance on them;
- In fairness to the overburdened taxpayers who must pay the bills, we must tighten eligibility and participation requirements.

More than 70 members of the Congress already have joined in supporting legislation which would recognize the need for changes in the Food Stamp Act. Their proposal would concentrate resources on assistance to low-income Americans and relate the Food Stamp program to other assistance programs directed toward these same families. It would introduce a number of positive objectives which should be supported by everyone who shares the desire to assist those truly in need and to control costs.

I urge in the strongest terms possible that the Congress begin hearings on these proposals at the earliest possible date. If this program is to be contained, even within its current bounds action must be taken immediately.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
July 25, 1975.

436

### **Veto of a Public Health Services Bill.**

*July 26, 1975*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I am today returning, without my approval, S. 66, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide support for health services, nurse training, and the National Health Service Corps program.

This bill is very similar to two separate bills which I disapproved during the last session of the 93rd Congress, H.R. 14214 and H.R. 17085. In my memorandums of disapproval, dated December 23, 1974, and January 3, 1975, re-

spectively, I cited a number of reasons why I could not approve those bills. Those objections remain valid for the measure before me today.

As in last year's bills, S. 66 would authorize excessive appropriation levels. I realize that in considering the bill this year, the 94th Congress made some reductions in the total cost of the measure. However, the levels authorized are still far in excess of the amounts we can afford for these programs. The bill would authorize almost \$550 million above my fiscal year 1976 budget request for the programs involved, and it exceeds fiscal year 1977 levels by approximately the same amount resulting in a total increase of \$1.1 billion. At a time when the overall Federal deficit is estimated at \$60 billion, proposed authorization levels such as these cannot be tolerated.

When I signed the Tax Reduction Act of 1975, I pledged to do everything in my power to keep this year's deficit from exceeding \$60 billion and to restrain the longer-run growth in Federal spending. I stated that I would resist every attempt by the Congress to add to that deficit. Bills currently being considered by the Congress would add \$25 billion to the fiscal year 1976 deficit and \$45 billion to next year's deficit. If they were to become law, they would lock us into a permanent policy of excessive spending and make the Federal budget a primary cause of inflation for years to come. To avoid this, I have no choice but to veto these bills if the Congress insists upon sending them to me.

Apart from its excessive authorization levels, S. 66 is unsound from a program standpoint. In the area of health services, for example, the bill proposes extension and expansion of Community Mental Health Centers projects which have been adequately demonstrated and should now be absorbed by the regular health services delivery system. S. 66 also would continue and expand such separate categorical programs as Community Health Centers and Migrant Health Centers. In addition, it would authorize several new narrow categorical, and potentially costly programs which duplicate existing authorities, including \$30 million for the treatment of hypertension, \$17 million for rape prevention and control, \$10 million for home health service demonstration agencies, and \$16 million for hemophilia treatment and blood separation centers. Three new national commissions on specific diseases also would be established. The expansion of the Federal role in health services delivery through such narrow categorical programs is not consistent with development of an integrated, flexible health service delivery system.

The Administration repeatedly and vigorously has opposed measures such as S. 66 and urged passage of a more effective and more equitable approach to Federal assistance for health services. H.R. 4819 and S. 1203, which reflect our

proposals, would consolidate various separate programs into the flexible project grant authority of the Public Health Service Act to allow funding of a wide variety of health services projects based on State and local needs. Moreover, such programs would be for demonstration purposes. Once a new service model has been adequately tested, its adoption into the delivery of services can—and should—be the primary responsibility of the private sector and State and local governments.

The Federal role in overcoming barriers to needed health care should emphasize health care financing programs—such as Medicare and Medicaid for which spending is estimated at \$22 billion this year. These programs establish specified eligibility and benefits standards and provide assistance generally available to those most in need, such as the poor and the aged. S. 66, on the other hand, would have the Federal Government select individual communities and groups for special funding assistance. In my view, this is clearly an inequitable approach to health problems and an unwise attempt to substitute judgments made in Washington for those of responsible persons in State and local governments and the private sector.

In extending the registered nurse training authorities, S. 66 inappropriately proposes continuation of large amounts of capitation and construction support. These support mechanisms have outlived their usefulness. They were introduced to stimulate nursing schools to educate more general-duty nurses because of an overall shortage. The schools responded, with enrollments in baccalaureate and associate degree programs rising by more than 90 percent during the period 1970–74. As a result, with no further Federal stimulation, we can expect the supply of active registered nurses to increase by more than 50 percent during this decade.

With these increases, the employment market for general duty nurses already is tightening in some areas. As early as January, 1973, the American Nurses' Association stated that “. . . it appears that the shortage of staff nurses is disappearing.” Our failure to limit growth now could result in our training an excess number of nurses, creating the same kind of oversupply that has left thousands of elementary and secondary school teachers disillusioned with the lack of teaching opportunities.

The general nursing student assistance provisions contained in this bill are largely duplicative of existing undergraduate student aid programs offered by the Office of Education, and represent just one more unnecessary categorical program.

The bill also fails to shift emphasis in any meaningful way from problems

of aggregate supply shortages to the problem of geographic maldistribution, which is reflected in very substantial intra- and inter-State differentials in nurse-to-population ratios.

S. 66 continues to treat nurse training separately from the other health professions. The Congress is now considering various measures for Federal support for education in other health professions. Nurse training should be considered as part of that debate to interrelate health manpower education programs rather than to perpetuate a fragmented Federal health professions policy.

Finally, S. 66 provides for a one-year extension of the National Health Service Corps. I support this fine program, and the Administration has submitted legislation to the Congress for its extension. I believe, however, that the authorization level proposed in S. 66 of \$30 million for fiscal year 1976 is excessive.

Good health care and the availability of health personnel to administer that care are obviously of great importance. I share with the Congress the desire to improve the Nation's health care. I am convinced that legislation can be devised to accomplish our common objectives which does not adversely affect our efforts to restrain the budget or inappropriately structure our health care system. I urge the Congress to pass such legislation, using the bills I have endorsed as the starting point in such deliberations.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,

July 26, 1975.

NOTE: On July 26, 1975, the Senate voted to override the President's veto. With the vote in the House of Representatives to override the veto on July 29,

S. 66 was enacted as Public Law 94-63 (89 Stat. 304).

437

## Special Message to the Congress Reporting on Budget Rescissions and Deferrals. *July 26, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith propose five rescissions and report 23 new deferrals of budget authority available for obligation in fiscal year 1976. The rescission proposals total \$90.2 million and the new deferrals total \$541.8 million. In addition, I am reporting an increase of \$1.0 million in deferrals previously transmitted.

Rescissions of budget authority are proposed for programs in the Community Services Administration and the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, and

Health, Education, and Welfare. The rescissions are proposed for a variety of reasons: to avoid duplicative efforts, to preserve the effective and limited uses of demonstration programs, and because program objectives can be met with lesser amounts than have been made available.

The majority of the new deferrals I am reporting—14 of 23—defer the obligation of funding provided by the continuing resolution for 1976 (Public Law 94-41). I have proposed that several ongoing programs be reduced, terminated, or transferred to other agencies beginning in fiscal year 1976. The Congress has not yet completed action on the 1976 regular appropriation bills or on my proposed modifications of certain programs. In the meantime, it has generally provided for all programs to receive temporary appropriations at ongoing rates. I am deferring obligations above the levels I have proposed, pending completion of Congressional action on my proposals. The remaining new deferrals are routine in nature and have little or no effect on program levels.

The details of each deferral and proposed rescission are contained in the attached reports.

This special message increases to eight the number of rescissions now pending before the Congress. I urge prompt, positive action on each of them.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
July 26, 1975.

NOTE: The attachments detailing the rescissions and deferrals are printed in the Federal Register of July 30, 1975 (40 FR 32043).

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### Message to the Congress Transmitting Quarterly Report of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. *July 26, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with section 5 of the Council on Wage and Price Stability Act, as amended, I hereby transmit to the Congress the third quarterly report of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. This report contains a description of the Council activities during the past few months in monitoring wages and prices in the private sector and reviewing various Federal Government activities that lead to higher costs and prices without creating commensurate benefits. It discusses in some detail the Council's studies of steel and metal can prices, cost-of-living escalator clauses and marketing spreads for food products. In addition, it con-

tains a discussion of wages and prices during the first quarter of 1975 and the outlook for the rest of the year. Also included is a special chapter prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on the cost of medical care.

Although it requires continuing attention, progress has been made in reducing the rate of inflation. With price increases now decelerating, moderation in wage settlements becomes very important. Wage increases that substantially raise unit labor costs could create new inflationary pressures. Moreover, the recovery of the economy should not be used as an occasion for business to raise prices in anticipation of stronger demand. The Council on Wage and Price Stability also will continue to monitor closely actions taken by the Government and will call to public attention unjustified activities that could have an adverse impact on price levels.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
July 26, 1975.

NOTE: The 71-page report, covering the period February 1 through April 30, 1975, is entitled "Quarterly Report—Council on Wage and Price Stability."

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## Remarks on Departure for Europe.

July 26, 1975

*Mr. Vice President, Mr. Secretary of State:*

We leave today on a mission of peace and progress on behalf of all Americans. Tomorrow, I will meet with our valued friends and allies in the Federal Republic of Germany. Later, I will visit Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia to assure the peoples there of America's continuing affection and to seek additional improvements in our relations. And I will pursue increased cooperation and stability between the East as well as the West.

During my first trip to Europe as President, the Atlantic Alliance—I vigorously reaffirmed our solidarity with them and our purposes with them.

On this journey, I will meet in Helsinki with the leaders of 34 other nations. We will sign the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This conference represents useful progress in our continuing efforts to achieve a more stable and productive East-West relationship.

The provisions of the Helsinki Declaration represent political as well as moral—not legal—commitments. United States policy supports—as I have sup-

ported through my entire public life—the aspirations for freedom and national independence of peoples everywhere. The results of this European Security Conference will be a step in that direction. The outcome of this Helsinki Conference remains to be tested, but whether it is a long stride or a short step, it is at least a forward step for freedom.

This Conference aims at expanding East-West contact—more normal and healthier relations. This is in the best interest of the United States and of world peace.

If honored by all signatories, the Helsinki Declaration holds great promise. It can promote wider cooperation and greater security across the entire continent of Europe. This is of great importance to the United States and to all peoples. It is in this spirit and with these objectives that we take off.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:18 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

## 440

### Remarks in Bonn to Reporters Following Discussions With Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany. July 27, 1975

THE CHANCELLOR. *Ladies and gentlemen:*

I would like to repeat here how extremely thankful the German Federal Government is—and I believe that one can say the same for all our citizens—that the American President and the American Secretary of State are visiting us here on their way to Helsinki and to other European capitals. The visit is not yet over, and for that reason I can only report at the moment on our talks up to this point.

The two chiefs of government and the two foreign ministers spoke this morning about political problems of a general nature, which will also be discussed in Helsinki. Then in a somewhat larger group, in which, on the German side, the Federal Minister for Economics took part, we turned to problems of the world economy. We are convinced of the necessity of cooperation in the areas of economic policy, credit policy, and currency policy, since we are aware that the entire Western World's economy has come into severe difficulties as a result of the current recession.

The American President is somewhat more optimistic regarding the development of the American political economy than he was when we last had the



opportunity to speak with each other. But I assume that he will tell you that himself.

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen:*

Let me express on behalf of Mrs. Ford and myself our great gratitude for the warm reception that we have received from you and Mrs. Schmidt and from the German people.

It is a great privilege and pleasure for Mrs. Ford and myself, as well as my colleagues, to be in Germany, and I have appreciated very greatly the opportunity to meet with you this morning and to discuss with you and your associates the problems that you mentioned—the general political situation and the economic circumstances, both in Europe as well as in the United States.

Let me say with great emphasis that all of us in the United States are deeply grateful for the wonderful contribution that people from your country have made in the history books of my country. And I should say that all of us, as we approach our Bicentennial in the United States, are most appreciative of the very generous gift given to the United States when President Scheel was in my country a few weeks ago.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of discussions on the economic field, of course, are very, very vital. We in the United States are making a turn toward a healthier economy. We have bottomed out, as they say in the United States, and are slowly beginning an upturn in our economy.

But we fully recognize that the economy of the United States is an integral part of the economy throughout the world and particularly that of Western Europe. It is my intention, on behalf of the United States, to work very, very closely with you in Germany and the other European countries to make sure that the progress we are making is also progress that can come in Europe as well as the rest of the world.

We, of course, are on our way to the meeting in Helsinki, where 35 nations will get together on the CSCE arrangements or agreements.

I believe that the Helsinki meeting can and will be a further step in achieving what we all want—the betterment of relations between East and West.

I am optimistic that the results achieved in Helsinki will be for the better. I look forward to my participation as a result of the long negotiations that have taken place.

Let me conclude my observations by saying that in the field of energy, in the economic field, in the political field, in the defense field, the policies of the United States will be closely aligned with those of your government, Mr. Chancellor,

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 331.

and I look forward to the further discussions that I will have with you here, as well as in Helsinki, so that your country and mine and the rest of the world will be the beneficiaries.

Thank you very, very much.

REPORTER. Mr. President, what made the first meeting run 30 minutes past the scheduled time?

THE PRESIDENT. The question was, what made the first meeting run 30 minutes past the scheduled time.

I guess the best answer is that we got so intrigued with the discussions on the various important matters that we forgot to look at the clock.

THE CHANCELLOR. Or the coffee was that good. [*Laughter*]

Q. Did you discuss the Turkish situation, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I did bring the Chancellor up to date on the very unfortunate development in the House of Representatives last week. I indicated to the Chancellor that we were deeply disappointed and that we were working with some of the leaders in the House of Representatives trying to see whether or not it would be possible in this coming week for the House of Representatives to reconsider the action that it took last week.

We have not come to any conclusion in that regard but we, of course—the Secretary of State and myself—are not only disappointed with the action, but I believe the American people will now see the net result of that action with the closing of the American bases in Turkey and with the Cyprus negotiations probably set back.

I am deeply disturbed, and we will maximize our effort, as I told the Chancellor, to try and get a change in the House of Representatives.

Q. What is the possibility of a vote being taken in the House of Representatives?

THE PRESIDENT. We have not come to any conclusion on that because we haven't firmed up any course of action with the Democratic leadership in the House of Representatives, and of course, they are crucial in this situation.

Q. Did the Chancellor make any specific recommendations in the economic field to you?

THE PRESIDENT. The question is, did the Chancellor make any recommendations in the economic field.

The Chancellor and I agreed that it was vitally important that the economic policies of Germany and the European Community be integrated with our own economic policies. We will further discuss in the meetings that are coming up more of the specifics, but we did exchange information as to the circumstances

not only in the United States but in Germany. And later today, we will probably talk about what we might do for the further improvement of reciprocal efforts in this area.

THE CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, might I add a footnote to that one, please?

The President and I, as well as President Giscard and Prime Minister Wilson, will have the opportunity in Helsinki to hold a special meeting with foreign ministers of these four countries. And the discussions of the last few days, especially this morning's discussion, have been particularly useful, serving among other things to prepare for that meeting. And at every opportunity, co-operation in overcoming the world economic recession will play a central role.

We European nations and the governments of these European nations know that the world economic recession can only be overcome if it is overcome on an international basis in the same manner by all participants—above all, when it is tackled in the same way by the industrial countries of the world. And that means that the economy of the United States of America—by far the largest, the most efficient and, as far as world trade is concerned, one of the most important economies and, as far as the finance and currency system of the world is concerned, by far the most important—that overcoming this worldwide recession is only possible if this most important economy of the Western World leads the way.

The overview which the American President has personally given us in regard to the latest developments in the American economy is one of the brightest aspects of the future development. But we don't by any means want to exaggerate our hope and our optimism; rather, we are both conscious of the fact that we—together with our other partners—will still have considerable difficulties to overcome.

Q. Mr. President, are you discussing offsets during these talks?

THE PRESIDENT. The question is, are we discussing offset. I am sure that we will, but we haven't come to that point as yet.

Q. Mr. President, you have expressed your satisfaction with the results of the CSCE talks in Helsinki. Will you push forward now to get results at last in Vienna in the MBFR talks?

THE PRESIDENT. The MBFR talks in Vienna have been stalled for the last few months. I think once the CSCE meeting has been held in Helsinki, we can now concentrate on the MBFR talks, and of course, in my discussions with Chancellor Schmidt, we will see how we can coordinate our efforts in this very important area.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The remarks began at approximately 12:05 p.m. at the Palais Schaumburg. The Chancellor spoke in German. His remarks were translated by the United States Information Service.

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**Text of a Toast at a Working Luncheon in Bonn Hosted by  
Chancellor Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany.  
*July 27, 1975***

*Mr. Chancellor:*

Thank you for your very kind remarks. Mrs. Ford and I are delighted to visit Bonn as the first stop on this trip to Europe.

I am very pleased to have had the opportunity this morning to meet with you again for a review of the bilateral and international issues of current importance to the Federal Republic and the United States.

As a result of our several meetings during 1974 and 1975, I have come to value not only our personal friendship but also your views on the great issues confronting our countries—including those of economics and finance. These continuing consultations are of fundamental importance to our efforts, as friends and allies, to achieve a more peaceful and prosperous world for people everywhere.

Mr. Chancellor, on July 30, we will meet again in Helsinki for the third stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. During this trip, I will also meet with leaders of some of the countries of Eastern Europe. This itinerary is a sign of our times. It symbolizes the resolve of both East and West to lessen the danger of hostilities, to increase contacts, and to work toward greater cooperation. These are times in which the Federal Republic of Germany has played a leading role. I would like to pay tribute to that role and to the creative leadership of the Federal Republic for the last 25 years.

I raise my glass to Chancellor Schmidt, to the Federal Republic of Germany, and to the friendship between the German and American peoples.

NOTE: The text of the President's toast at the luncheon, which was held at the Palais Schaumburg, was released at Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

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**Remarks at a Picnic at Kirchgoens, Federal Republic of Germany. July 27, 1975**

*Thank you very, very much, Colonel Wagner. Minister of Defense Leber, General Haig, members of the Armed Forces and families:*

It is a very great privilege and pleasure for me to be here with you today, but before I begin I have two questions.

The first question is: Is it true that the tent over there is filled with good old German beer?

Then the second question is: What are we doing out here? [*Laughter*]

I asked one soldier if he drank a lot of beer, and he said, "Of course not, sir." The only trouble is, then he tried to blow the foam off his sauerkraut. [*Laughter*]

But every one of you is entitled to all the beer, the sauerkraut, and anything else provided today. After your 2 hard months of intensive field training at Grafenwoehr, you deserve this picnic.

As your Commander in Chief, I am now issuing orders that tomorrow, Monday, all members of this brigade who participated in the maneuvers will be given an extra day off.

I am very, very proud to be here with the tankers, infantry, and artillery of one of the largest and most powerful combat brigades in Europe. And I am also just as pleased to be here with your wonderful families.

Let me say a very special word of commendation to our German partnership units. I thank you for the cooperation you are extending to the United States and our forces. Together you have developed outstanding skills and qualities that make first-rate fighting men. I am pleased that you are learning from each other, and I am also very pleased to meet your charming wives.

I deeply appreciate the very high standards of performance and morale of our NATO forces as represented by the Germans and Americans here today, and I thank the Federal Republic and the State of Hesse for the warm, warm hospitality extended to me and to all Americans who are stationed here.

There is a very deep satisfaction for me in this meeting here with all of you today. It is most rewarding to see firsthand this evidence of our two countries cooperating within NATO and for the common defense. It is you, together with the other forces of the Alliance, who are making our collective security a reality.

As we pursue peace together, I am aware that not all of the problems in Europe and the world have been solved. And I am convinced that under present circumstances, the best guarantee for peace is a very, very strong defense.

As President, speaking here in the presence of our allies, I affirm today that I will not allow our Armed Forces to be weakened under any circumstances. You deserve the best. You deserve the very best equipment and you deserve the strongest support of the citizens that you defend.

Chancellor Schmidt and myself will travel to Helsinki in the next few days to attend the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is not by accident, let me assure you, that I stopped here first to consult with our allies, nor that I now affirm our commitment to Berlin.

I assure the people of Berlin from this military base, which you soldiers call "The Rock," that I stand behind this rock and behind our commitment to the freedom of Berlin.

Secretary Kissinger spoke for me when he affirmed our policy on his recent visit to Berlin, and our national unity and determination in this regard were voiced there earlier this year by Senators Humphrey and [Hugh] Scott.

Soldiers, of course, do not underestimate the importance of your mission and its meaning for the entire world. You are the defenders of peace, and you have my full and unqualified support and respect.

I know that you are doing a great, great job. And you, by the demonstrations that you have given in person and by the equipment, you have boosted my morale, and let me express a deep personal gratitude.

I thank you very, very much for inviting me on this occasion.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:21 p.m. at the Ayers Caserne. The annual picnic was cosponsored by the 1st Brigade, 3d Armored Division, and the German 13th Panzer Brigade.

In his opening remarks, the President referred

to Col. Louis C. Wagner, Jr., Commander, 1st Brigade, 3d Armored Division; Georg Leber, German Minister of Defense; and Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

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## **Toasts of the President and President Walter Scheel of the Federal Republic of Germany During a Dinner Cruise on the Rhine River. July 27, 1975**

### *President Scheel and distinguished guests:*

Mr. President, you have spoken most generously and most farsightedly, as well as most eloquently, and I am pleased and honored to respond to such a gracious Rhinelander on this beautiful river, which has witnessed the growth of German-American cooperation.

I think there is something especially significant that an American President

is on this wonderful river that includes from the headwaters in Switzerland, to France, to Germany, to the Netherlands, and to the Atlantic.

There is something that seems to bind us all together, and I couldn't help but notice during the day, and as we have been sailing here tonight, many passing ships, some bearing flags of different nations, that this great river, as a result, symbolizes our hope for expanding the flow of peaceful commerce and exchange throughout the world.

Just as many solid bridges span the majestic Rhine, strong links of friendship unite our two nations. I experienced today, Mr. President, this friendship anew when I met with Chancellor Schmidt and his associates, the distinguished leaders of your Government, and received the very warm welcome of so many citizens of your great country.

As we all know, our relationship is based upon a tradition that is as old as the United States itself, which now approaches its 200th year of freedom and democracy.

Every American schoolchild knows how General von Steuben came to help George Washington win the American Revolution. All Americans are extremely proud of the infusion of German talents throughout the years into America, a nation of immigrants.

Today, I had the privilege, as you mentioned, to visit the military forces of our country and of yours, working in partnership, playing in partnership, and enjoying a family relationship in partnership.

It was an inspiring afternoon for me to meet the officers, the men on both sides, the German as well as the American. It is encouraging to me that they are working with a common zeal for a common purpose.

The commitment and the endeavor are very fundamental, as we know, to the security of the United States, to the Federal Republic and to Berlin, and to the entire Atlantic Alliance.

I thank you for the very, very warm welcome which the German people have extended to me, to Mrs. Ford, and to our son Jack, but also to every American stationed here in the German Republic and their families.

Few people are more united than Americans and Germans in their support of the principles of independence, freedom, and self-determination.

Today, we speak of both the East as well as the West with new emphasis on a common future. Much effort has gone into increasing contacts and cooperation among the peoples of Europe. We have made some significant advances.

The forthcoming meeting, as you have mentioned, in Helsinki offers hope for future progress. Obviously, we have much further to go.

Americans do look forward to continued cooperation, not only with the Federal Republic but with the peoples of Europe as a whole.

Mr. President, little more than a month has passed since we enjoyed you and Mrs. Scheel being in Washington and visiting us at the White House. The spirit prevailing among us today strongly reaffirms the genuine and continuing friendly relationship, the close relationship between our countries, our peoples, and our Governments.

If you will raise your glass with me, I would like to propose a particularly cordial *prosit* to President Scheel and to the Federal Republic and to its people.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 9:30 p.m. in response to a toast by President Scheel. The dinner was held on board the M.S. *Drachenfels*.

President Scheel spoke in German. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen:*

A few weeks ago at the splendid reception before the White House in Washington, I expressed the wish to soon be able to greet you here in Germany. To my delight, the international Conference calendar has helped to make this wish come true so soon.

Today you are here. I bid you, Mrs. Ford, and your associates a warm welcome. You do know that you are highly appreciated and highly welcome guests in our country.

We know, ladies and gentlemen, that wherever the President of the United States goes in the world, his office follows him—the White House. My house has the color in common with yours. It is white, undoubtedly. However, it is too small to accommodate a festive party in your honor. This is why I invited you to this white boat.

Outside, the banks are gliding by—things are in motion like the river. We may have been cruising against the current. We have just turned around. At any rate, the further we go together on this truly European stream, the brighter the views.

This corresponds to a political hope and to a political goal. It is our hope, it is our goal to create a solidly founded, strong Europe which, together with the United States of America, will secure a future of peace and freedom.

The closer we come to Europe, the brighter the prospects. Much has been achieved. The British people have clearly and for good decided in favor of Europe. European political cooperation has pointed up new possibilities to develop Europe institutionally. Yet much remains to be done.

All Western countries are struggling with economic problems at the present. But more and more, the view is gaining ground that individual countries by themselves cannot master these difficulties.

The talks which the Federal Government has conducted in the course of these past days make it clear that the willingness to make common efforts is on the rise.

Europe is moving in the direction of coordinating its different economic policies. This is another important step towards progress. Out of these very difficulties we gain insights and strengths to overcome these difficulties.

Europe by itself will not be able to master the economic problems of today. We can only be successful if we coordinate our efforts with those of the United States of America, and this cannot but strengthen the awareness of the benefits and the purpose of the Atlantic partnership on both sides of the Atlantic.

From the beginning, Atlantic cooperation was a requirement, as we all realize, for our security policy. Today, it is just as well, and in particular, a requirement for our economic policy.

Mr. President, you have come to our country at a very significant time. In a few days in Helsinki, the final phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will open. The negotiations in Geneva have set an example of the opportunities for constructive Western cooperation.

The negotiations have also shown—and your presence in Helsinki, Mr. President, will impressively demonstrate to the entire world—that America and Europe are inseparably linked, that one cannot talk about security and cooperation in Europe without including the United States. The Atlantic Alliance is part and parcel of Western Europe.

The Helsinki Conference should constitute another step towards détente. The documents to be signed provide a frame which needs to be filled in the future by agreements and concrete behavior. Each signatory state will then be able to demonstrate what it understands by détente.

This is the yardstick by which it will be measured. Nobody could wish more fervently than the Germans that the hopes tied to the Conference may be fulfilled.



Yet it is clear to us that no conference can guarantee our security. The Atlantic Alliance remains the foundation of our security.

Mr. President, you have already visited with your compatriots in the Federal Republic. The presence of the American soldiers in the Federal Republic and in Berlin is the clearest and the most important expression of the fact that the security of the United States and of Europe do belong together inseparably.

For the West, there is only one security. The Federal Republic contributes to the best of its ability to safeguard the common security. The American contribution, however, is irreplaceable and will remain so. Even a comprehensive European union, which is the goal of the member states of the European Community, cannot do without this transatlantic link.

We owe thanks to the American Government for having held fast to this policy unwaveringly. This

is why over 400,000 American citizens live among us as soldiers, civilian employees, and families.

You can be sure, Mr. President, that we, citizens and authorities alike, do what we can to make your compatriots feel at home with us. They are our friends; they are our guests and the good comrades of the German soldiers.

Nevertheless, they do live in a different country with a different language and different customs, and over the long run that is not easy.

Therefore, permit me, Mr. President, to say to you, the highest representative of the American people, and to all Americans who are here in Germany for reasons of our common security, very simply and very warmly, thank you.

Mr. President, as you can see, we have many reasons to be glad about your visit. It makes us happy.

Once again, a cordial welcome to the white boat.

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### Remarks at Linz During the Dinner Cruise on the Rhine River. July 27, 1975

*Mr. Mayor, distinguished citizens of Linz, my good friend, the President of the Federal Republic, and Chancellor Schmidt, and distinguished guests:*

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of being here with Mrs. Ford and receiving your warm and generous hospitality. This pause in our boat trip up and down the Rhine is a most pleasant interlude in a very busy day in your country.

The wine town of Linz, with its tradition of some 11 centuries, embodies the characteristic features of the Rhineland—good wine, pleasant people, and a beautiful setting.

I have been told that the local custom in the year 1700 was for each councilman to drink his cup of wine to the bottom, but that the general accounting office objected to the very, very high cost.

The mayor of Linz replied with this letter: "The counsellor's first task is to drink wine. A lamp without fuel cannot shine."

I am also told that the decisions of the council were always unanimous—something politicians of today can certainly envy.

It has been a great pleasure for Mrs. Ford and myself to join you on this wonderful occasion, if only for a few moments, and we extend to all of you the

very best wishes from all Americans. We thank you for your graciousness and your hospitality.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. on the dock at Linz where he was greeted by Hans Breitenbach, Burgermeister of Linz.

On the following day, the President held a working breakfast with Chancellor Schmidt at Schloss Gymnich before departing for Poland.

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**Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposed Automobile Emission Standards Legislation. *July 28, 1975***

[Dated July 26, 1975. Released July 28, 1975]

ON JUNE 27, 1975, I transmitted a special message to the Congress which described the complex problem of setting automobile emission standards which strike the best possible balance among our air quality, public health, energy, consumer cost and other economic objectives.

As indicated in that message, I have concluded that automobile emission standards should not be more rigid than those applied to 1975 and 1976 model cars because more rigid standards unnecessarily would increase car prices, reduce gasoline mileage, and increase energy demands. There is also the potential that tighter standards would require emission controls that result in new pollutants with serious health impact.

I am enclosing a draft of a bill which would implement the recommendations described in detail in my June 27th message. I urge prompt passage of this bill.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of

Representatives, and the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, President of the Senate.

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**Letter to Congressional Committee Chairmen Recommending Extension of Automobile Emission Standards. July 28, 1975**

[Dated July 26, 1975. Released July 28, 1975]

*Dear Mr. Chairman:*

On June 27th, I transmitted to the Congress a special message which described the conclusions from a detailed executive branch review of the air quality, health, energy, and consumer cost implications of alternative automobile emission standards. I recommended that 1975-76 standards for automobile emissions be extended by the Congress through model year 1981.

I believe it important that the Congress and the public have a full opportunity to hear in detail the findings of our studies and the basis for my conclusions that existing standards should be continued. I recognize that the hearings held by your subcommittee on auto emissions ended before our studies were completed. I urge you to hold another hearing on this matter so Administration witnesses can present the findings.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Jennings Randolph, chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, and the Hon-

orable Harley O. Staggers, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

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**Letter to the Speaker of the House Urging Reconsideration of House Action Refusing Modification of the Embargo on United States Military Assistance to Turkey. July 28, 1975**

[Dated July 26, 1975. Released July 28, 1975]

*Dear Mr. Speaker:*

The consequences of the House action in failing to lift the arms embargo on Turkey are now becoming apparent. As President of the United States my responsibility for the national security and conduct of foreign affairs have led me to urge in the strongest terms that the House lift the embargo. Despite the House action and subsequent events, I do not believe that the situation is irretrievable today.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the major installations we will

lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fair-minded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.

My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.

I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of the House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

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## Remarks on Arrival at Warsaw, Poland.

July 28, 1975

*Mr. First Secretary, Mrs. Gierek, Mr. Chairman of the Council of State, Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished hosts:*

Mrs. Ford and I are deeply grateful for your very cordial words of welcome. It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to return to Poland. Mrs. Ford and I had the privilege and honor of being here a number of years ago and spent some 11 days in Warsaw and in Poland, and we have fond memories of that wonderful experience.

During the 16 years since my first visit to your country, the friendly ties between our peoples have developed in a way that should provide us much mutual encouragement. Building on a foundation laid nearly 200 years ago, when courageous Poles came to our shores and helped make American inde-

pendence a reality, we have worked hard to broaden the scope of our common interests.

I am deeply gratified by the expansion of contacts between our two countries, by the rapid growth in trade, and by the new forms of bilateral cooperation which have been able to develop between our two nations.

During your visit to Washington last October, Mr. First Secretary, we signed the joint agreements of principles of U.S.-Polish relations, the joint statement of the development of economic and industrial cooperation, and our two countries, Mr. Secretary, entered into agreements on coal research, health, environmental protection, the avoidance of double taxation, and the cooperation in science and technology.

These agreements are the latest evidence, Mr. Secretary, of our ability to work together to improve the lives of our peoples, and I hope that we can achieve even greater cooperation during this visit.

I look forward to our discussions, Mr. Secretary. I am confident that in reviewing our relationships we can strengthen the traditional friendship between our two peoples and improve the prospects for world peace.

I am also very anxious to share our thoughts about the future and to hear your views, Mr. Secretary, as we both prepare to participate in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki.

I believe that we will find areas in which both our countries can further contribute to the achievement of lasting peace and progress among all nations.

In conclusion, let me express the greetings I bring with me from all Americans, including the millions of our citizens who are so proud of their Polish background and their Polish heritage.

*Niech żyje Polska!* [Long live Poland!]

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 12 noon at Okęcie International Airport in response to remarks of welcome by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. In his opening remarks, the President also referred to Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State, and Piotr Jaroszewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister).

First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*The Right Honorable Mr. President, Madam Ford, ladies and gentlemen:*

On behalf of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic, in the name of our people, I wish to welcome you, Mr. President, on the Polish soil. We are extending to you a welcome of most genuine

cordiality, while I myself am particularly satisfied over our meeting again.

We are pleased to be able to play host to Mrs. Ford and persons accompanying you, and among them the Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger. The doors of Warsaw and of the entire country of ours stay wide open for you with traditional Polish hospitality.

This is not your first visit to Poland, but it is for the first time that you are visiting us as President of the United States of America, as a leader of the nation which for over two centuries our people have been linked to with numerous and strong ties, mutual friendship, and respect.

In your person, Mr. President, we welcome and extend greetings to the American people, with whom we desire to develop cooperation and share the happiness of peace.

During my visit to the United States, which indeed has left indelible memories of the hospitality accorded to me there, I found that desire shared on both sides and that you, sir, are personally the advocate of friendly cooperation of our peoples and states. Your present visit to Poland is about the most eloquent testimony of that.

We are glad that while in this country you will be able to acquaint yourself with the great record of achievement of the Polish People's Republic, with her dynamic development, with our plans for the near and more distant future.

I am sure you will find, Mr. President, that the Polish people, who have rebuilt their country from the ravages of war with toil and self-sacrifice, are working perseveringly to build a strong, modern, and prosperous country worthy of both its best traditions and of its Socialist ideals and aspirations of today.

I am sure you will find also, Mr. President, that the most profound desire of our people is peace. You will see no ruins of Warsaw, which 30 years ago proved to be such a shocking experience to one of your predecessors, General Eisenhower.

Our capital has been restored to life—beautiful

and modern—yet the memory of the immensity of sacrifice and suffering remains, as does the desire impressed upon the hearts and minds—no more war.

Our people—and according to their will, also the authorities of the Polish People's Republic—conceive of the establishment of lasting peace as of the most important and supreme cause.

We are pleased that we are receiving you, Mr. President, on the eve of the final phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and only soon after the Soviet-American cooperation, one of paramount importance to the world peace, has been reaffirmed in the joint Soyuz-Apollo project, crowned as it was with such a magnificent success.

You are arriving in Poland, Mr. President, at a time when the process of international détente is acquiring new dimensions, a process which our country, along with her Socialist allies and friends, deem to be one of great importance.

We are greeting you as a leader of the great nation which plays its important role in the world of today, and we trust it will be making an ever greater contribution to the cause of strengthening peace.

We are happy to see you in Poland, Mr. President. We are happy to see Mrs. Ford in Poland.

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### Toasts of the President and First Secretary Edward Gierek of Poland at a Luncheon in Warsaw. *July 28, 1975*

*Mr. First Secretary, Mrs. Gierek, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am delighted on this occasion to be your guest, along with my son, and we regret that unfortunately Mrs. Ford could not be here, but she will, I am sure, be joining us later.

It is a great pleasure for me to return to this very great country in the center of Europe, a country which is so rich in tradition and so important to the contemporary world. I welcome this opportunity to reaffirm the United States commitment to friendship with Poland. And I am determined to strengthen that friendship.

When we met in Washington last October, Mr. Secretary, you and I pledged our countries to acquire a better knowledge of their respective achievements and values. Both nations can take great satisfaction in progress toward that goal. We have made vitally important advances in our bilateral relations.

This is in keeping with the spirit of the documents that we signed during the First Secretary's visit. And I am pleased to cite the continuing efforts of both sides to increase trade and commerce, the visits and the exchanges between our

scientists, industrial and mining specialists, and agricultural experts, and the educational and cultural program which each year enable more Poles and more Americans to know each other and to exchange ideas.

The United States recently presented the World of Franklin and Jefferson Bicentennial exhibition in Warsaw. It vividly depicted America's past and Poland's long and close association with us.

You may remember one of Benjamin Franklin's remarks featured in the exhibition. According to Benjamin Franklin, human felicity is produced not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day.

We have men and women of great vision in Poland and in America, but we realize that real progress in the relations between countries really comes from the millions who give form as well as substance to the aspirations of their Governments.

Distinguished host, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in a toast to all Polish and American citizens, scholars, scientists, workers, farmers, writers, musicians, and others, who day-by-day are striving to develop the little advantages so important to the growing friendship between our countries.

At this time, may I offer a toast to you, Mr. Secretary, and to the Polish people.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3:30 p.m. at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in response to a toast by the First Secretary.

First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President, Mr. Secretary of State, and ladies and gentlemen:*

Ten months ago when taking leave of you, Mr. President, in the Capital of the United States, I said that while retaining in my grateful memory our Washington meeting and talks, I would be looking forward to having your visit to Warsaw.

Today, I am both honored and pleased to receive you in my country. Our people regard your visit, Mr. President, as a confirmation of the traditional friendly attitude of the American people toward Poland and the inaugural of further development of cooperation between our two countries.

The people of Poland see in it, also, an evidence of your personal involvement in the strengthening of Polish-American ties. Poles do appreciate it—of which they have given an expression in the welcome accorded to you.

It is with utmost pleasure that we are receiving Mrs. Ford in Poland. We are happy to have you here, Mr. Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger. Your outstanding role in the American foreign policy is well known to us. We are glad, Mr. President, to be able

to play host to all your collaborators who have come on this visit.

Mr. President, you are paying your visit to Poland just before a great event in the life of Europe—before the final decisive phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation. Indeed, it is of symptomatic significance.

It was Poland that some years ago put forward the idea of such a meeting and, jointly with her allies in the political and defensive Warsaw treaty, launched an initiative to convene it.

These days, we are about to leave for Helsinki to approve and sign the decisions of the Conference which is the common achievement and success of all the participating states of our continent, of the United States, and Canada. The decisions of the Conference shall be of paramount importance for the consolidation of peace in Europe, which rests on the foundation of the inviolability of the political and territorial order established as a result of the victory of nations over Nazism, of the historic Potsdam decisions, and postwar development.

The guiding idea of those decisions is strengthening of the feeling of security and development of international cooperation embracing all fields of life.

Europe has had a long and stormy history in which peaceful development interwove with acute conflicts and conquests of other continents. The two World Wars were unleashed on its territory. Today,

both an historic necessity and an invaluable chance have emerged to establish lasting peace and make an active contribution of the whole of Europe to constructing universal peace.

That task lies in the vital and supreme interest of all European nations. Each of them can and should make its own contribution to the cause of peace and cooperation.

A particular role in this regard is played by our ally, the Soviet Union. Whereas 30 years ago it carried the heaviest burden of struggle against Nazism, today it spares no effort to promote development of the process of détente and consolidate international security.

Likewise, the contribution of the United States is of great importance. Your country, Mr. President, lent its assistance to the peoples of Europe in their struggle against forces of aggression and barbarity. Today it can do much for the establishment of lasting peace on our continent.

We are fully appreciative of the engagement of the American Government in securing the success of the European Conference. We are aware of the great weight of cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States to save mankind from a new world war, to successfully shape the international situation.

We rejoice at the constructive dialog between you, Mr. President, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev.

A turn for détente represents an outstanding beneficial change for all nations in their international relations. It is with the later process, with its permanent continuation, that we link our great hopes and growing optimism for the future of Europe and the world at large.

We also link it, Mr. President, with our plans for the further dynamic development of Poland, the implementation of which requires peace and broader cooperation—notably in the economic field—with other countries.

Mr. President, the people of Poland have had a long and very difficult history. Over the last two centuries, its chapters have been covered with heroic struggle for the right to independent existence.

In World War II, in which you too served, sir, showing your patriotism and battlefield gallantry, we lost over 6 million citizens and over 40 percent of our national property. It has been through the self-sacrificial toil of our own people and with the assistance of our unfailing friends, above all, of the Soviet Union, that we raised this country from ruins and have created for Poland a chance for lasting security development and social progress.

Within her just and inviolable frontiers, linked as she is by the unbreakable alliance with her Socialist

friends, Poland is looking forward to the future with confidence and optimism.

We would sincerely wish that our nation, so often harassed by wars and so many a time having to start life anew, could enjoy the blessings of a period of lasting peace. That is precisely what the Polish People's Republic views as her supreme objective of her activities in the international forum.

My country has made its important contribution to creating genuine conditions of security in Europe and to strengthening Europe's peaceful order. It contributed and continues to contribute its share to the process of international détente. Therefore, it is with particular satisfaction that we shall welcome the Helsinki charter of European peace and shall actively pursue the implementation of its principles.

Mr. President, our common desire is the further expansion of Polish-American relations. We assess favorably their present state and dynamic growth.

The decisions and agreements which we arrived at in Washington last year have laid down good grounds for expansion of cooperation between our two countries, especially in the economic field. We regard it as a valuable element of the development of our own country, and we trust it is likewise beneficial to the United States. Thus, there exists favorable circumstances to go still further in its programming in the future.

Mr. President, in 1976 the United States will observe its Bicentennial. A significant contribution to the making and growth of the United States has been made by Poles. The memory of our two peoples is well aligned with dignified figures of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, who fought for the independence of both Poland and the United States.

In later times, hundreds of thousands of Poles who emigrated in search for their work and bread participated in laying the foundations of the American economic potential. Numerous Polish names have permanently entered the history of American sciences and culture.

Today, millions of Americans of Polish extraction, as good citizens of the United States, work for its development and also maintain their emotional ties with the country of their forefathers.

We take great satisfaction that ever more frequently they visit Poland and take pride in her accomplishments. They are surely glad with the present development of Polish-American relations, which you, Mr. President, promote with all your heart and determination.

I wish to raise this toast to your good health, Mr. President, to the good health of Mrs. Ford, to the good health of the Secretary of State, to the good health of all persons accompanying you, for the further successful development of Polish-American relations, to the success of the Helsinki Conference, to the successes in consolidating détente and peace.



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**Joint Statement Following Talks With First Secretary  
Gierek of Poland. July 28, 1975**

AS A result of the conversations held by the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, both sides agreed to the following Joint Statement.

I.

The President of the United States of America and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party reaffirm their determination to make their contribution to the consolidation of détente, to the strengthening of international security, and to the development of bilateral relations to their mutual advantage, as defined in the course of their previous meetings and in accordance with the Joint Statement of Principles of United States-Polish Relations of 1974, as well as other agreements concluded by the two countries in recent years.

The President and the First Secretary welcome with satisfaction the convocation of the final stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on July 30th of this year in Helsinki. Both sides consider the convocation of the Conference a positive contribution to the continuing process of international détente and express their hope that it will be regarded as an historic event.

Both sides expressed their will to do all they can so that the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, contained in the final document, become a genuine and strong stimulus for positively shaping relations among the participant states. They expressed their confidence that the implementation of the decisions by all the participants of the Conference would contribute to the further strengthening of peace in Europe and developing ever broader, all-round cooperation among them. Both sides are in full agreement that security in Europe is indivisible and that it remains closely linked with peace and security in the world as a whole.

Both sides note that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will be followed up by future meetings at the level of representatives appointed by the ministers for foreign affairs of participant states.

In the course of their exchange of views, both sides fully agreed that efforts to strengthen political détente in Europe should be supplemented by a process of military détente. In this context, the United States of America and the Polish

People's Republic attach significant importance to the Vienna talks on the Mutual Reduction of Armed Forces and Armament in Central Europe and Associated Measures and expressed their will to achieve progress in these talks.

The Polish side expressed its full support for the dialogue and development of relations between the USA and the USSR—the two states which bear special responsibility for world peace. The Polish side voiced its belief that in particular the talks and the agreements concerning strategic arms limitation strengthen world peace and provide a sound basis for further limitations and reduction of strategic arms.

Both sides presented their respective views on the effectiveness of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and were in agreement as to the fundamental importance of the Treaty for preventing the danger of proliferation of these weapons.

They also considered that the Conference on the Law of the Sea was very important for all countries of the world. Both sides expressed themselves in favor of making all possible efforts to bring this Conference to a successful conclusion next year, keeping in mind the just interests of all states.

They also reviewed matters related to the growing need to develop cooperation among states, notably in the field of raw materials, energy, and food. They reaffirmed their will to act, each side according to its own possibilities and priorities, toward alleviating and solving the existing problems. The two sides agreed that as a result of their bilateral cooperation in selected fields of energy, they can considerably contribute to the solution of these problems to the benefit of their own and other peoples.

The President and the First Secretary expressed themselves in favor of continuing, on all levels, efforts to promote international economic cooperation and to remove barriers and obstacles.

Both sides intend to work toward broadening international scientific cooperation. In this respect, the Polish side pointed to the significance of the Apollo-Soyuz program, seeing in it a symbol of the opportunities arising from joint efforts of nations for the good of all mankind in the era of international détente.

The President and the First Secretary confirmed their support for the United Nations and for the objectives and principles set out in its Charter.

The two sides reaffirmed the usefulness of their contacts and consultations to date and reaffirm their readiness to continue them on various levels and in various forums.

## II.

During the talks, the President and the First Secretary reviewed US-Polish bilateral relations, noting with satisfaction the progress achieved, which corresponds to the interests of both nations and is in conformity with the long and rich traditions linking the peoples of the United States and Poland.

The two sides were unanimous in their judgment that the Statements signed on October 8, 1974, during the visit of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, to the United States, constitute a solid foundation for the further strengthening of peaceful and friendly cooperation between the United States and Poland and they were happy to note the successful implementation of the respective economic agreements.

Attaching particular weight to the growth of trade exchanges, both leaders considered a further substantial increase in trade turnover between their two countries to be a feasible, realistic, and desirable goal. Both sides expressed their intention to act jointly in removing difficulties that may arise. They will lend particular support in this respect to the activities of the Joint US-Polish Trade Commission.

Both sides noted the further successful development of financial cooperation between the two countries and recognized its impact on the pace and scope of industrial co-production. They are resolved to encourage further cooperation between the firms and enterprises of both sides.

Emphasizing the great role of scientific and technical cooperation, both sides appraised positively the work done so far in putting into effect the Agreement on Funding of Cooperation in Science and Technology. They also expressed their support for its further expansion, especially in such fields as coal mining and coal processing, the protection of the environment, and transportation.

The two leaders also attached importance to the longstanding tradition of cooperation in the field of health protection, drugs, and biological materials. Under the program, joint research will be continued, including such fields as oncology, health problems related to food and drugs, and planning, delivery, and evaluation of health services, especially those to mothers and children.

The two sides believe that there exist broad possibilities that the traditional field of cooperation between both countries—trade in agricultural products—be broadened and supplemented by scientific and technical cooperation in agriculture, particularly in stockbreeding, production of fodders, technology of food preservation, and production of high-quality varieties of protein.

Mindful of the importance of the rational use of the food resources of the

oceans, both sides will continue to cooperate in the field of fishing and maritime economy.

In seeking to broaden relations and contacts between the peoples of the United States and Poland, both sides shall continue to encourage tourism between them. They expressed their interest in further facilitating and developing air transportation between the two countries.

Both sides will encourage and facilitate all exchanges of people between the two nations in order that they may contribute to broader relations and better understanding. They will continue to promote cultural exchanges and will encourage further contacts and cooperation between civic, scientific, sports, and youth organizations, as well as between cities of both countries.

Both sides stressed the significance of historical traditions for the strengthening of friendship between the two nations. They pointed to the positive role played by Americans of Polish extraction in the enrichment of relations between the United States and Poland.

Both sides agreed that, in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the two nations, they will continue their efforts to solve humanitarian problems affecting their citizens.

### III.

The President of the United States and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party expressed their profound satisfaction with the conversations they held and voiced their conviction that the results of these talks will be of great significance for further American-Polish cooperation.

Warsaw, July 28, 1975

GERALD FORD

President of the United States of America

EDWARD GIEREK

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

NOTE: The joint statement was signed in a ceremony at the Parliament Building in Warsaw following a meeting between the President and the First Secretary.

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**Toast at a Dinner in Warsaw Honoring First Secretary  
Gierek of Poland. July 28, 1975**

*Mr. First Secretary, Mr. Chairman of the Council of State, and Prime Minister,  
and your lovely wives, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a very great privilege and pleasure for me—and in absentia, unfortunately, Mrs. Ford—to tender this dinner to you in Warsaw and to be with you, Mr. First Secretary, and your wife, and your other top officials and your other guests.

As I indicated this afternoon and early this morning, we have enjoyed renewing our acquaintance and friendship with you and Mrs. Gierek.

Mr. First Secretary, the United States is about to enter—in part it has entered—its 200th year of independence. Polish-American ties are even older.

In the late 1500's, 200 years before Kosciuszko arrived to offer his services to George Washington in the American Revolution, a Polish poet evoked an eloquent vision of the new world: "Happy isles, heroic land of bliss; Known to our country long ere this."

Thus, even before our two people were united by the cause of American liberty, a Polish-American affinity existed. During the 200-year history of the United States, millions of your countrymen have come to our shores to add Polish energy and Polish genius to the mainstream of American life.

As in Washington last October, Mr. First Secretary, we have today had very worthwhile discussions. In Washington, I said that I wanted to expand our relationship in a broader effort to improve world relations.

It is, therefore, extremely fitting that we meet again in Helsinki very soon as participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. What we do at Helsinki should contribute to an improvement in international relations.

The further development of Polish-American ties and cooperation can point the way for many, many other countries, just as our determination to improve our relations helps to achieve a further relaxation of tensions in Europe and throughout the world.

Mr. First Secretary, I raise my glass to you and to your colleagues and to the Polish people who have sacrificed so much in their struggle for a better and a freer world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:53 p.m. at Wilanów Palace.

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**Remarks in Kraków at the Pediatric Institute of the Nicholas Copernicus Medical Academy. July 29, 1975**

*Your Honor, the members of the faculty, the members of the staff, and those that are being cared for here, and the young people that we all have a very great interest in:*

May I thank you for your very warm welcome and the honors that you have given me on this occasion. I accept the warm welcome and the honors, not only for myself but on behalf of the American people. It is the American people, their Congress, their President, who have great dedication to the children's clinic, which is 600 years old when we are only 200 years old.

It is the feeling of the American people that if we can contribute our skill and our experience and our funds to help improve the health and the future of young people, that it is the best expression we can make as an illustration of the close friendship between the Polish people and the American people.

Young people are the prized possession of all people. We love young Polish people, as I am sure you love young American people.

I thank you for the opportunity of being here and the honors that you have given me and my people.

*[The President spoke at 10:47 a.m. Following a tour of the Institute, he made the following remarks at 11:02 a.m., before departing:]*

Let me thank all of you for the very warm welcome and the opportunity to see the wonderful work that you are doing for children. It makes me feel very good, as an American, that we have made a contribution to this wonderful facility, and I will report to my fellow Americans that they have made a valuable contribution to the good health and the improvement of Polish children.

May I say that this kind of exchange in science and health is the best way to make sure and certain of a greater and greater friendship between the Polish and the American people.

Thank you very much.

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**Remarks at Market Square in Kraków.***July 29, 1975*

*Mr. Mayor, Mr. First Secretary, and your distinguished colleagues in government, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a great experience and a wonderful opportunity for me to be in Kraków, and I thank you very, very much for the warm, warm welcome.

May I express my appreciation also for some of my good countrymen who are here, such as friends from home and elsewhere.

But after the wonderful warmth of the reception that you have given me, I know why millions and millions of Americans of Polish extraction are so very proud of their heritage from this great country.

This ancient square is surely one of the most beautiful in the world. It is filled with some of the finest creations of Polish architects and artists, with the memory of so many great moments in Polish history. Americans honor, of course, General Kosciuszko as a hero of America's war for independence and America's war for liberty.

I am standing only a very few feet from the plaque marking where he stood and took his famous oath to fight to regain the independence of Poland and the freedom of all Poles. I am proud—very, very proud—to be with you here at this place so rich in Polish history and so closely associated with a Polish hero of our struggle for independence.

I have come to Kraków to see both the monuments of your great past and your modern achievements. And I congratulate you for your creativity. I know also that you have a great university in your wonderful city, and I am delighted to see some of my friends from home here benefiting from the opportunities in this great university.

In this city, the ties of friendship are strong between our two countries. We welcome the rapid increase in trade between our two nations and the growing number of travelers in both directions. And I particularly welcome people from your country to come to America, particularly during our Bicentennial, which is our 200th anniversary in the United States.

In my first meetings in Washington with First Secretary Gierek and my meetings with Secretary Gierek here on this occasion, my visit to Poland, we have reviewed with great satisfaction and with great progress and great improvement the better relationships between the United States and Poland. And

this improvement, this betterment, has expanded on a year-by-year basis, and I know that it will get better and better in the future.

Secretary Gierek and myself have fully agreed on the desirability of furthering the progress—this broad progress—for the mutual benefit of American and Polish peoples in the coming decades.

Your welcome here today in this great historic city and all of the heartwarming Polish hospitality, of which I have heard so much, are symbolic of the rapport and the deep affection between our peoples.

I have unlimited faith in a future that will see our relations continue to improve and to grow.

*Niech żyje Polska!* [Long live Poland!]

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:56 a.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to President of the City Jerzy Pekala.

Following his visit to the Market Square, the Pres-

ident attended a luncheon at Wawel Castle, hosted by Chairman of the Council of Ministers Piotr Jaroszewicz.

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## **Joint Communiqué Following Talks With Polish Leaders.**

*July 29, 1975*

1. The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and Mrs. Ford made an official visit to Poland July 28–29, 1975, at the invitation of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, issued on behalf of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The President was accompanied by the Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger.

2. During the visit, the President held talks with First Secretary Gierek.

3. Plenary talks were also held with the participation of:

From the American side: The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford; the Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger; Ambassador of the United States of America in Warsaw Richard T. Davies; Deputy Assistant to the President Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft; Counselor of the Department of State Helmut Sonnenfeldt; Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Arthur A. Hartman; Senior Staff Member of the National Security Council A. Denis Clift, and Director Nicholas G. Andrews of the Office of Eastern European Affairs of the Department of State.



From the Polish side: The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek; the Chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski; the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Piotr Jaroszewicz; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Olszowski, Member of the Secretariat and Head of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Ryszard Frelek; Director of the Chancellery of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Jerzy Waszczuk; First Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers Kazimierz Secomski; Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Romuald Spasowski; Undersecretary of State in the Office of the Council of Ministers and press spokesman of the Government Włodzimierz Janiurek; Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Washington Witold Trampczynski; Director of Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jan Kinast.

4. The Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger, held talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski.

5. President Ford and the persons accompanying him viewed Warsaw and acquainted themselves with its reconstruction and development. The President of the City, Jerzy Majowski, accompanied them.

6. On the second day of the visit the President of the United States of America went to Oswiecim (Auschwitz), where he laid a wreath at the International Monument and signed the Memorial Book.

7. President Ford visited Kraków. He was greeted in the central marketplace by the President of the City of Kraków, Jerzy Pekala. The President of the United States made a short speech to the assembled citizens. The President also visited the American Children's Hospital in Poland, at Prokocim near Kraków, which was built with the support of American funds.

8. The discussions and meetings which were held between the President and the First Secretary and their advisers took place in a friendly and constructive atmosphere and were characterized by mutual striving further to develop and strengthen relations between the United States and Poland. They reviewed U.S.-Polish relations and discussed international matters of mutual interest.

9. As a result of their talks, the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, signed a Joint Statement on July 28.

10. President and Mrs. Ford expressed their gratitude to First Secretary and

Mrs. Gierek for the cordial hospitality arranged for them. They were grateful to all the Poles who gave them such a warm reception, traditional in Poland.

11. The President and the First Secretary expressed their conviction and desire for future visits at the highest level between the leaders of the two countries which would strengthen the U.S.-Polish relations still more. It was agreed that specific arrangements would be made through diplomatic channels.

12. Warsaw, July 29, 1975.

GERALD FORD

President of the United States of America

EDWARD GIEREK

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Kraków, Poland.

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## Remarks on Arrival at Helsinki, Finland.

*July 29, 1975*

*President Kekkonen, ladies and gentlemen:*

Mrs. Ford and our son Jack join me in expressing our very great pleasure in being in Finland on this occasion. I extend to the Finnish Government and to the Finnish people the warm friendship and the warm admiration of the United States and all Americans.

Finland is a most appropriate host for this final stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I join the other participants so that together we will take another step in the building of a peaceful, cooperative, and mutually beneficial relationship among all of the countries of Europe.

This meeting in Helsinki can give new impetus to the process of détente. The provisions of the document we will sign must be translated into policies and action by the participating states if we are to realize the promises of greater security and cooperation in Europe.

The United States will participate fully in this process. American security and well-being are tied to the security and to the stability of Europe.

While our agenda for the next few days will be full, Mr. President, I look forward with pleasure to seeing you and enjoying the renowned hospitality of Helsinki and Finland.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:18 p.m. at Seutula Airport in response to remarks of welcome by Finnish President Urho Kekkonen.

Later that evening, the President paid a courtesy call on President Kekkonen at the President's Palace.

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**Exchange With Reporters in Helsinki Following a Meeting  
With General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev of the Soviet Union.**  
*July 30, 1975*

REPORTER. Mr. Secretary, what were your talks about?

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Our relations with America. You know, we have different kinds of relations—commercial, political. We centered our attention on the questions of strategic disarmament. We had very little time, so we had not enough time to finish the talks. On the whole, our talks took place in a business-like, friendly atmosphere.

Q. Mr. President, what were you talking with the General Secretary?

THE PRESIDENT. I felt the bilateral discussions, the discussions concerning strategic arms limitation, the total atmosphere, was very constructive. It was businesslike, very friendly, and I am sure that when we meet again on Saturday, further progress will materialize.

Q. Mr. General Secretary, you seem to be in an unusually good mood. Are you pleased to see the Security Conference beginning today?

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. What do you think?

Q. What do you think this Conference will accomplish for the world?

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. What would you like it to accomplish, madam?

Q. I asked you the question. It is not fair to turn the question around.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. I want peace and tranquillity to reign in Europe. I want all the nations of Europe to live at peace with each other, not to interfere in each other's domestic affairs where the sovereignty of each nation of Europe is assured. Is that a little achievement?

Q. You think there will be no interference with borders after this?

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. I think so, yes.

Q. Mr. President, what are you wanting from this Helsinki Conference?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that the peace in Europe will be enhanced. I believe that the overall peace of the world will be encouraged and broadened, and it is my judgment that progress will be the net result.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:40 a.m. at the U.S. Embassy Residence. General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Earlier, the President had held a breakfast meeting with Prime Minister Harold Wilson of the United Kingdom.

During the course of the day, the President attended the morning and afternoon sessions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held a luncheon meeting with Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis of Greece, and attended a dinner hosted by President Kekkonen for heads of delegation attending the Conference.

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## **Exchange With Reporters in Helsinki Following a Meeting With Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel of Turkey. *July 31, 1975***

THE PRIME MINISTER. We have reviewed our relations with the United States, Turkish-United States relations, and as far as Turkey is concerned, these relations are very valuable and we will do our best not to spoil these relations.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me reemphasize that I will continue my efforts to remove any roadblocks between the United States and Turkey, because we feel good relations with Turkey are of utmost importance to Turkey and the United States and to the free world, to the world as a whole.

REPORTER. What are the possibilities of keeping the monitoring equipment going in the bases in Turkey, the American radio?

THE PRIME MINISTER. For the time being, we have stopped the activities, as you know.

Q. What are the possibilities of starting them again?

THE PRIME MINISTER. We will see.

Q. What does it depend upon?

THE PRIME MINISTER. I cannot tell you right now.

THE PRESIDENT. Good luck this morning.

REPORTER. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The exchange began at 9:15 a.m. at the U.S. Embassy Residence.

During the course of the day, the President attended the morning and afternoon sessions of the Conference, and he held a luncheon meeting with Prime Minister Harold Wilson of the United King-

dom, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany, and President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France.

In the evening the President attended a reception hosted by Prime Minister Keijo Liinamaa for delegates to the Conference.

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**Letter Accepting the Resignation of Arthur F. Sampson,  
Administrator of General Services. July 31, 1975**

*Dear Art:*

I have received your letter of July 28, and it is with sincere gratitude for your many years of dedicated public service that I accept your resignation as Administrator of the General Services Administration, effective October 15, 1975, as you requested.

Throughout your six years at G.S.A.—and before that as an exceptionally able assistant to two governors of the State of Pennsylvania—you have fulfilled your challenging leadership responsibilities with skill and distinction. Better than most, you know that your assignments as Administrator have never been anything but demanding and difficult. Yet I have had the utmost confidence in both your ability and your determination to carry on each of your tasks in the best interests of the Nation. You have worked tirelessly to build at G.S.A. an institutional reputation for productivity and effectiveness, and I commend you for the outstanding record of achievement which is the result.

Now as you prepare to return to private life, I hope you will always look back on this time of public service with the fullest measure of satisfaction and pride. You may be sure you take with you my warmest good wishes for every future success and happiness.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: Mr. Sampson's letter of resignation read as follows:

*Dear Mr. President:*

It is with deep regret that I submit my resignation as Administrator of the General Services Administration effective October 15, 1975. I had planned to stay in government until the latter part of 1976 but circumstances are such that I am advancing my schedule by a year.

I leave with a great deal of sadness. But I also leave with a great deal of pride.

I have now completed over 12 years of government service. Every year has been a grueling one. But each has also been a very rewarding one. No matter what the circumstances or the time frame, I continue to promote government service to everyone.

Governor Scranton persuaded me to leave the

business world and enter government service in 1963. I served as his state purchasing agent for four years. He was and is a great American.

I then served as Budget Secretary and Secretary of Administration for Governor Raymond Shafer for two and a half years. He was a courageous and effective Governor and a statesman. I am happy to see that he is now working for you in a significant role.

In June of 1969, I came to work in GSA for Bob Kunzig, my predecessor as Administrator of GSA. Before becoming Administrator I managed the two largest operations in GSA—the Federal Supply Service and the Public Buildings Service.

GSA was a moribund, static agency in 1969. Bob Kunzig revitalized GSA and I feel proud that I helped him, and then, as Administrator went on to further improve GSA. Today, GSA is an exciting

place to work. Morale is high and productivity excellent.

It is very unfortunate that some tough issues we have had to handle resulted in negative publicity which has beclouded the significant accomplishments of the last six years. Despite this you will find that our reputation for *performance* and *integrity* is excellent. Members of Congress from both sides of the aisle, businessmen, labor leaders, professionals (architects, engineers, etc.), other Federal agencies and GSA employees at all levels will attest to that fact.

Every assignment I have had in public service has been a tough one requiring difficult decisions. I accepted all assignments and made the tough decisions. I have no regrets in this regard because I always knew what I was getting into and tough decisions were necessary to get things done.

My career in public service has been exciting, challenging and rewarding. There have been some rough times and some frustrating moments. But I realize that you cannot really have one without the other.

I feel very fortunate to have been associated with you as Minority Leader, Vice President, and now as President. I think you are on the "right track" for America and that you will stay there.

Lastly, I want you to know that after 12 years in public service, I have great confidence in our democratic system of government. There were moments when I had my doubts, but overall, we have the best system known to man.

Respectfully,

ARTHUR F. SAMPSON  
*Administrator*

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### Address in Helsinki Before the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. *August 1, 1975*

*Mr. Chairman, my distinguished colleagues:*

May I begin by expressing to the Governments of Finland and Switzerland, which have been superb hosts for the several phases of this Conference, my gratitude and that of my associates for their efficiency and hospitality.

Particularly to you, President Kekkonen, I must convey to the people of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of the 214 million people of the United States of America, a reaffirmation of the longstanding affection and admiration which all my countrymen hold for your brave and beautiful land.

We are bound together by the most powerful of all ties, our fervent love for freedom and independence, which knows no homeland but the human heart. It is a sentiment as enduring as the granite rock on which this city stands and as moving as the music of Sibelius.

Our visit here, though short, has brought us a deeper appreciation of the pride, industry, and friendliness which Americans always associate with the Finnish nation.

The nations assembled here have kept the general peace in Europe for 30 years. Yet there have been too many narrow escapes from major conflict. There remains, to this day, the urgent issue of how to construct a just and lasting peace for all peoples.

I have not come across the Atlantic to say what all of us already know—that nations now have the capacity to destroy civilization and, therefore, all our foreign policies must have as their one supreme objective the prevention of a thermonuclear war. Nor have I come to dwell upon the hard realities of continuing ideological differences, political rivalries, and military competition that persist among us.

I have come to Helsinki as a spokesman for a nation whose vision has always been forward, whose people have always demanded that the future be brighter than the past, and whose united will and purpose at this hour is to work diligently to promote peace and progress not only for ourselves but for all mankind.

I am simply here to say to my colleagues: We owe it to our children, to the children of all continents, not to miss any opportunity, not to malingering for one minute, not to spare ourselves or allow others to shirk in the monumental task of building a better and a safer world.

The American people, like the people of Europe, know well that mere assertions of good will, passing changes in the political mood of governments, laudable declarations of principles are not enough. But if we proceed with care, with commitment to real progress, there is now an opportunity to turn our peoples' hopes into realities.

In recent years, nations represented here have sought to ease potential conflicts. But much more remains to be done before we prematurely congratulate ourselves.

Military competition must be controlled. Political competition must be restrained. Crises must not be manipulated or exploited for unilateral advantages that could lead us again to the brink of war. The process of negotiation must be sustained, not at a snail's pace, but with demonstrated enthusiasm and visible progress.

Nowhere are the challenges and the opportunities greater and more evident than in Europe. That is why this Conference brings us all together. Conflict in Europe shakes the world. Twice in this century we have paid dearly for this lesson; at other times, we have come perilously close to calamity. We dare not forget the tragedy and the terror of those times.

Peace is not a piece of paper.

But lasting peace is at least possible today because we have learned from the experiences of the last 30 years that peace is a process requiring mutual restraint and practical arrangements.

This Conference is a part of that process—a challenge, not a conclusion. We face unresolved problems of military security in Europe; we face them with

very real differences in values and in aims. But if we deal with them with careful preparation, if we focus on concrete issues, if we maintain forward movement, we have the right to expect real progress.

The era of confrontation that has divided Europe since the end of the Second World War may now be ending. There is a new perception and a shared perception of a change for the better, away from confrontation and toward new possibilities for secure and mutually beneficial cooperation. That is what we all have been saying here. I welcome and I share these hopes for the future.

The postwar policy of the United States has been consistently directed toward the rebuilding of Europe and the rebirth of Europe's historic identity. The nations of the West have worked together for peace and progress throughout Europe. From the very start, we have taken the initiative by stating clear goals and areas for negotiation.

We have sought a structure of European relations, tempering rivalry with restraint, power with moderation, building upon the traditional bonds that link us with old friends and reaching out to forge new ties with former and potential adversaries.

In recent years, there have been some substantial achievements.

We see the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin of 1971 as the end of a perennial crisis that on at least three occasions brought the world to the brink of doom.

The agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and the states of Eastern Europe and the related intra-German accords enable Central Europe and the world to breathe easier.

The start of East-West talks on mutual and balanced force reductions demonstrate a determination to deal with military security problems of the continent.

The 1972 treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit anti-ballistic missiles and the interim agreement limiting strategic offensive arms were the first solid breakthroughs in what must be a continuing, long-term process of limiting strategic nuclear arsenals.

I profoundly hope that this Conference will spur further practical and concrete results. It affords a welcome opportunity to widen the circle of those countries involved in easing tensions between East and West.

Participation in the work of détente and participation in the benefits of détente must be everybody's business—in Europe and elsewhere. But détente can succeed only if everybody understands what détente actually is.

First, détente is an evolutionary process, not a static condition. Many formidable challenges yet remain.



Second, the success of détente, of the process of détente, depends on new behavior patterns that give life to all our solemn declarations. The goals we are stating today are the yardstick by which our performance will be measured.

The people of all Europe and, I assure you, the people of North America are thoroughly tired of having their hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unfulfilled pledges. We had better say what we mean and mean what we say, or we will have the anger of our citizens to answer.

While we must not expect miracles, we can and we do expect steady progress that comes in steps—steps that are related to each other that link our actions with words in various areas of our relations.

Finally, there must be an acceptance of mutual obligation. Détente, as I have often said, must be a two-way street. Tensions cannot be eased by one side alone. Both sides must want détente and work to achieve it. Both sides must benefit from it.

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues, this extraordinary gathering in Helsinki proves that all our peoples share a concern for Europe's future and for a better and more peaceful world. But what else does it prove? How shall we assess the results?

Our delegations have worked long and hard to produce documents which restate noble and praiseworthy political principles. They spell out guidelines for national behavior and international cooperation.

But every signatory should know that if these are to be more than the latest chapter in a long and sorry volume of unfulfilled declarations, every party must be dedicated to making them come true.

These documents which we will sign represent another step—how long or short a step only time will tell—in the process of détente and reconciliation in Europe. Our peoples will be watching and measuring our progress. They will ask how these noble sentiments are being translated into actions that bring about a more secure and just order in the daily lives of each of our nations and its citizens.

The documents produced here represent compromises, like all international negotiations, but these principles we have agreed upon are more than the lowest common denominator of governmental positions.

They affirm the most fundamental human rights: liberty of thought, conscience, and faith; the exercise of civil and political rights; the rights of minorities.

They call for a freer flow of information, ideas, and people; greater scope for the press, cultural and educational exchange, family reunification, the right

to travel and to marriage between nationals of different states; and for the protection of the priceless heritage of our diverse cultures.

They offer wide areas for greater cooperation: trade, industrial production, science and technology, the environment, transportation, health, space, and the oceans.

They reaffirm the basic principles of relations between states: nonintervention, sovereign equality, self-determination, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, and the possibility of change by peaceful means.

The United States gladly subscribes to this document because we subscribe to every one of these principles.

Almost 200 years ago, the United States of America was born as a free and independent nation. The descendants of Europeans who proclaimed their independence in America expressed in that declaration a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and asserted not only that all men are created equal but they are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The founders of my country did not merely say that all Americans should have these rights but all men everywhere should have these rights. And these principles have guided the United States of America throughout its two centuries of nationhood. They have given hopes to millions in Europe and on every continent.

I have been asked why I am here today.

I am here because I believe, and my countrymen believe, in the interdependence of Europe and North America—indeed in the interdependence of the entire family of man.

I am here because the leaders of 34 other governments are here—the states of Europe and of our good neighbor, Canada, with whom we share an open border of 5,526 miles, along which there stands not a single armed soldier and across which our two peoples have moved in friendship and mutual respect for 160 years.

I can say without fear of contradiction that there is not a single people represented here whose blood does not flow in the veins of Americans and whose culture and traditions have not enriched the heritage which we Americans prize so highly.

When two centuries ago the United States of America issued a declaration of high principles, the cynics and doubters of that day jeered and scoffed. Yet 11 long years later, our independence was won and the stability of our Republic was really achieved through the incorporation of the same principles in our Constitution.

But those principles, though they are still being perfected, remain the guiding lights of an American policy. And the American people are still dedicated, as they were then, to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all peoples everywhere.

To our fellow participants in this Conference: My presence here symbolizes my country's vital interest in Europe's future. Our future is bound with yours. Our economic well-being, as well as our security, is linked increasingly with yours. The distance of geography is bridged by our common heritage and our common destiny. The United States, therefore, intends to participate fully in the affairs of Europe and in turning the results of this Conference into a living reality.

To America's allies: We in the West must vigorously pursue the course upon which we have embarked together, reinforced by one another's strength and mutual confidence. Stability in Europe requires equilibrium in Europe. Therefore, I assure you that my country will continue to be a concerned and reliable partner. Our partnership is far more than a matter of formal agreements. It is a reflection of beliefs, traditions, and ties that are of deep significance to the American people. We are proud that these values are expressed in this document.

To the countries of the East: The United States considers that the principles on which this Conference has agreed are a part of the great heritage of European civilization, which we all hold in trust for all mankind. To my country, they are not clichés or empty phrases. We take this work and these words very seriously. We will spare no effort to ease tensions and to solve problems between us. But it is important that you recognize the deep devotion of the American people and their Government to human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus to the pledges that this Conference has made regarding the freer movement of people, ideas, information.

In building a political relationship between East and West, we face many challenges.

Berlin has a special significance. It has been a flashpoint of confrontation in the past; it can provide an example of peaceful settlement in the future. The United States regards it as a test of détente and of the principles of this Conference. We welcome the fact that, subject to Four-Power rights and responsibilities, the results of CSCE apply to Berlin as they do throughout Europe.

Military stability in Europe has kept the peace. While maintaining that stability, it is now time to reduce substantially the high levels of military forces on both sides. Negotiations now underway in Vienna on mutual and balanced

force reductions so far have not produced the results for which I had hoped. The United States stands ready to demonstrate flexibility in moving these negotiations forward, if others will do the same. An agreement that enhances mutual security is feasible—and essential.

The United States also intends to pursue vigorously a further agreement on strategic arms limitations with the Soviet Union. This remains a priority of American policy. General Secretary Brezhnev and I agreed last November in Vladivostok on the essentials of a new accord limiting strategic offensive weapons for the next 10 years. We are moving forward in our bilateral discussions here in Helsinki.

The world faces an unprecedented danger in the spread of nuclear weapons technology. The nations of Europe share a great responsibility for an international solution to this problem. The benefits of peaceful nuclear energy are becoming more and more important. We must find ways to spread these benefits while safeguarding the world against the menace of weapons proliferation.

To the other nations of Europe represented at this Conference: We value the work you have done here to help bring all of Europe together. Your right to live in peace and independence is one of the major goals of our effort. Your continuing contribution will be indispensable.

To those nations not participating and to all the peoples of the world: The solemn obligation undertaken in these documents to promote fundamental rights, economic and social progress, and well-being applies ultimately to all peoples.

Can we truly speak of peace and security without addressing the spread of nuclear weapons in the world or the creation of more sophisticated forms of warfare?

Can peace be divisible between areas of tranquillity and regions of conflict?

Can Europe truly flourish if we do not all address ourselves to the evil of hunger in countries less fortunate than we? To the new dimensions of economic and energy issues that underline our own progress? To the dialog between producers and consumers, between exporters and importers, between industrial countries and less developed ones?

And can there be stability and progress in the absence of justice and fundamental freedoms?

Our people want a better future. Their expectations have been raised by the very real steps that have already been taken—in arms control, political negotiations, and expansion of contacts and economic relations. Our presence here offers them further hope. We must not let them down.

If the Soviet Union and the United States can reach agreement so that our astronauts can fit together the most intricate scientific equipment, work together, and shake hands 137 miles out in space, we as statesmen have an obligation to do as well on Earth.

History will judge this Conference not by what we say here today, but by what we do tomorrow—not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in Finlandia Hall. He was introduced by Walter Kieber, Foreign Minister of Liechtenstein and chairman of the plenary session of the Conference.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was signed by the representatives of 35 nations participating in the Conference in a ceremony in Finlandia Hall at 5 p.m. on August 1, 1975. The text of the document is printed in the Bulletin of the Department of State (vol. LXXIII, p. 323).

Earlier in the day, the President met with Prime Minister Aldo Moro of Italy at the U.S. Embassy.

Following his address before the Conference, the President held a luncheon meeting with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France. He then attended the afternoon session of the Conference and later met with Carlos Arias Navarro, President of the Government of Spain.

In the evening, the President attended a dinner with President Kekkonen on board the Finnish icebreaker *Urho*.

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## Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters on Board Air Force One en Route to Bucharest, Romania.

August 2, 1975

### STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

REPORTER. [1.] Mr. President, can you tell us where you made progress on SALT, and do you think that we will have a SALT agreement by the end of the year?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I should get into the details of where we made progress, but the two sessions with Mr. Brezhnev and myself<sup>1</sup> resulted in progress. We have referred to the technicians in Geneva our areas of agreement, and they are going to work out the details.

I am encouraged—it was constructive and friendly—and our plans are no different today for any subsequent meetings than they were before.

Q. Mr. President, progress is a bit of a vague term. Can you characterize it as significant progress, minor progress, and specifically, do you still hope for an agreement to be signed by the end of this year?

<sup>1</sup> In addition to their meeting on July 30, 1975, the President and General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev met at the Soviet Embassy in Helsinki on August 2, prior to the President's departure for Romania.

THE PRESIDENT. I would say the progress was encouraging—and that is also a word that could be qualified, but it was encouraging.

It is very difficult, these negotiations, where it requires mutual give-and-take, so if we want the end result, which is peace, a reduction of the arms burden, it requires some understanding on the part of the Soviet Union and its people, myself and our people. So, when I say “encouraging,” I think we are edging toward that mutual objective.

Q. By the end of the year?

THE PRESIDENT. Hopefully.

Q. Sir, you say you are sending the technicians to Geneva to complete the areas of agreement. What about the areas in which you have not yet reached agreement? What do you do with them?

THE PRESIDENT. It is anticipated that Secretary Kissinger and Foreign Minister Gromyko will have at least two meetings where the areas of disagreement can be more clearly refined so that Mr. Brezhnev and myself, when we sit down at a final meeting, in case there has to be a resolution of the hard and final decisions, they will be clearcut and understandable.

Q. We have been told in the past of three basic areas of disagreement. One was verification, one was cruise missiles, and one was the Backfire bomber. Can you give us a rundown on where now you’re making progress and where you still don’t have disagreement?

THE PRESIDENT. Those are very important areas, but I think it would be unwise for me to try to identify the particular areas of dispute in those instances. They are very precarious and are crucial points, and this is where Mr. Gromyko and Dr. Kissinger will try to more fully identify the differing positions and give us an opportunity, Mr. Brezhnev and myself, to achieve some kind of an honorable settlement.

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned the give-and-take of negotiations. At Helsinki, did the Russians demonstrate a willingness to give as much as to take?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think they, by past performance and the discussions of several days ago as well as today, indicated a forthcoming attitude. They, of course, have the same problem I have. They have to convince their people, as I have to convince the American people, that there is an area which is secure for all of us. So, I would indicate that their attitude was forthcoming within their limits and responsibilities.

#### TURKEY

[2.] Q. Mr. President, are you satisfied that if the bases in Turkey remain closed down that you could still police the SALT I agreement? Are you talking

about a new agreement, one that is going to make it much more difficult to police?

THE PRESIDENT. The closing of the bases in Turkey by the Congressional action makes it more difficult for us to adequately gather the necessary intelligence which involves our security. There are, to some extent, alternative bases, but they would cost a great deal of money and they would involve some other negotiations between other parties.

I just don't think the Congress understands the problem. They want to close the bases, they want it to cost more money, they want to handicap our capability, and it makes no sense at all.

Q. Well, you are going to propose building some new bases? Is that what they have to do, give these bases?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am going to continue my determined fight to remove the arms embargo, solve the Cyprus question, get our intelligence bases in Turkey reopened in full operation so that our security in the future is as good as it was in the past.

#### MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you find the Russians are prepared to talk now about negotiating reductions of arms in Europe, conventional arms as well as nuclear—in other words, the negotiations known as mutual and balanced force reduction?

THE PRESIDENT. I have read and listened to Mr. Brezhnev's speech. I was impressed with speeches that were made by many others during the CSCE meetings. I am convinced that we can, now that the European Security Conference is over, that we can make more meaningful progress in MBFR.

Q. Did you discuss that in your conversations with him the second time?

THE PRESIDENT. We discussed it in a very limited way because we concentrated on our SALT negotiations.

#### STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

[4.] Q. Mr. President, you said earlier that you have to convince your people, as the Russians have to convince their people, of the wisdom of the SALT talks. Do you think that the American people need much convincing about SALT?

THE PRESIDENT. I am convinced the American people want their President, their Government, to make responsible and safe agreements. On the other

hand, I do not believe the American people want their President to give more than he gets.

So, that is the basic problem in our negotiating process. I can assure you that we will not give more than we get, but I still feel that in the process of negotiations, compromise, we can end up with what is good for both peoples.

Q. Do the Soviets raise specific objections to some of the criticisms by Senator Jackson of the SALT agreements and the SALT negotiations when you are having these talks with them?

THE PRESIDENT. We never discuss personalities. We discuss the issues. We discuss the facts. We discuss our security, the objective of peace, and obviously they discuss their security. We don't get into personalities on the American scene or otherwise.

#### OIL PRICES

[5.] Q. Mr. President, what about oil? What is going to happen now on the oil decontrol in view of Congressional rejection of your compromise proposals?

THE PRESIDENT. I am terribly disappointed that after I have made two constructive compromise efforts to phase decontrol over first a 30-month period, then a 39-month period, that the Congress would reject these proposals.

I am very grateful for what the Senate did. I am terribly disappointed in the attitude of the House, because the House action does nothing to stimulate production on the one hand and it does literally nothing to emphasize conservation on the other.

The House action, at least by a majority, it does not have—there is no other reason or political ramification—it does not have any substantive answer for the need for more American production and less reliance on foreign sources.

Q. What is going to happen now?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the American people are far ahead of the majority of the Congress. They understand the problem, and they will understand if and when I veto the extension.

Q. "If" you would? Ron [Nessen] has always said that you would.

THE PRESIDENT. There is 99<sup>9</sup>/<sub>10</sub> percent chance answer that I am going to veto it, but I do want to wait until I get back. And I think the American people are a lot smarter than the majority of the Congress in this case.

#### THE CONGRESS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, you have had a series of setbacks in Congress while you have been on the road—your veto was defeated on the health matter, the military appropriations bill, one of them was defeated today, and the Turkish



aid matter was not expedited. That leads me to the question: Had you been in Washington, do you think you could have twisted some arms and pulled some votes?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think so. The one veto that they overrode, I fully anticipated that they would. I wanted to make the point that I was holding the line at \$60 billion deficit. And by the majority or the two-thirds vote of the Congress, they have breached the \$60 billion deficit figure. I think the American people will support my position.

#### SILBERT NOMINATION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, while we are on the question of Congressmen, I understand the Silbert nomination<sup>2</sup> is being returned to the White House by the Senate. Will you study that or resubmit, or what plan do you have for it?

THE PRESIDENT. Frankly, I had not heard of that action. I reiterated the nomination of Mr. Silbert, and as far as I know, there is no reason why I should change.

#### GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV OF THE SOVIET UNION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, at the conclusion of today's talks, you wished Secretary General Brezhnev good health. You negotiated with him over a period of 5 hours or more. How do you think his health is?

THE PRESIDENT. I thought he looked very well this morning. In fact, I said it sincerely because I did feel that he looked better—active and strong.

Q. Better than he did the last time that you saw him?

THE PRESIDENT. I hate to compare, but I can only say that I thought he looked well and he acted strong, and it was a very good face-to-face negotiation.

Q. Based on what happened today, do you expect the General Secretary will be in Washington this fall, as you intended all along?

THE PRESIDENT. There is no change in our overall plan in this regard. We have not talked about details. The plan still is in effect.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

[9.] Q. Is there anything new on the Middle East in terms of the possibility of an agreement between Israel and Egypt?

THE PRESIDENT. I am very cautious, very cautious, more optimistic today than I was a few days ago, but I don't want to go any further than that.

Q. Would you say why you are more optimistic?

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<sup>2</sup> Earl J. Silbert was nominated to be United States Attorney for the District of Columbia on November 18, 1974, and again on January 16, 1975. Following the nomination's return by the Senate on September 2, 1975, it was resubmitted on September 4 and subsequently confirmed on October 8, 1975.

THE PRESIDENT. No, I would not want to go into any specifics.

Henry, would you like to add anything on that?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. We will have to wait. We will see Ambassador Eilts, who is meeting us in Belgrade, and we will then get a full report of the Egyptian reaction.

The mere fact that the dialog is going on and is not being broken off gives us some hope that we can move it forward, but we have not yet had a formal Egyptian reply, which we will get tomorrow night. And then Eilts is coming back to Washington with us to wait for the Israeli reply to whatever it is that the Egyptians have. But we have not seen yet what the Egyptians have.

#### GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[10.] Q. Mr. President, in Washington a former Agriculture Department official testified that another big grain sale to the Soviet Union is going to drive up food prices by 10 percent next year. I was wondering if that was a topic in your discussion with Mr. Brezhnev in Helsinki and exactly where the sale of U.S. grain to the Soviet Union now may stand?

THE PRESIDENT. I noticed that Mr. Schnittker<sup>3</sup> had testified. I believe the sale of roughly 10 million tons of American agricultural commodities have been made, and I think this is good for the farmer.

I don't believe there will be any increase in food prices as a result. I think it is good from our point of view in the balance of trade. I think it is a tribute to the great productivity of the American farmer.

In the future, we have to be very alert to the weather conditions that happen in the next month. Every indication is we will have a bountiful harvest in America. If that happens, we are in very good position: one, to make additional sales; number two, to protect the consumer; number three, to help our balance of payments.

But for the next month, I think we have to be very alert, and I will personally keep my finger on the situation. I will welcome recommendations of other people in my Administration. This is a matter that involves the farmer, the consumer, our foreign relations, and it is a matter that the President himself must watch very carefully.

#### THE FORD FAMILY

[11.] Q. How did Jack and Mrs. Ford enjoy the trip?

THE PRESIDENT. Jack thinks the Finnish people are fantastic. I gave Mrs. Ford \$100 to spend, and she gave me back three Finnish coins. Did you do any better?

<sup>3</sup> John A. Schnittker, Under Secretary of Agriculture 1965-69.

Q. Oh, yes. I spent with no trouble at all.

THE PRESIDENT. So, I would say they both had a very good time.

#### INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RECOVERY

[12.] Q. Sir, there is some feeling in Europe that the United States was not going along with any eagerness in this effort to get some sort of monetary or economic talks going. Were the Europeans trying to drag us into some sort of arrangement which, in order to help their economic recovery, might affect the way in which the United States is recovering?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to discuss whether there will or won't be an economic conference. There was agreement that the recovery of Europe and the recovery of the United States were very closely intertwined. I was very happy to point out that our recovery was coming more quickly than theirs.

They were most interested in how we had achieved this. They wanted us—and I agreed—to recognize that there was this interrelationship, this interdependence, and in the months ahead, we will keep a very close liaison, because economic recovery for the free world—this includes more than the four countries—is vitally important to the political stability of the free world.

#### GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV OF THE SOVIET UNION

[13.] Q. What was your personal reaction to Mr. Brezhnev's speech, especially the controversial part where he talked about no country has a right to tell another country how to manage its internal affairs?

THE PRESIDENT. Overall, I thought Mr. Brezhnev's speech was very moderate. I did notice that part of the speech. I thought, as he said that, that I as President or any other President would not want some other country telling us how to manage our domestic affairs.

I think each country has a certain sanctity of internal operations—we do, other countries do. I understand it. They can try to be suggestive, maybe persuasive, but I don't think we can assume the stature of telling another country what they should or should not do internally. I don't think they would want us to do it.

#### INTERNATIONAL RADIO BROADCASTING

[14.] Q. Did you notice the section of President Ceausescu's speech in which he complained about Radio Free Europe, and do you have any reaction to it?

THE PRESIDENT. I listened very carefully to that part of the speech. He didn't complain, as I recollect, about Radio Free Europe.

Q. He didn't name it.

THE PRESIDENT. But he said, and I noted it very carefully, other countries' radio activities are involved in other countries. We do have Radio Free Europe, we do have the Voice of America. But I understand that other countries, including neighboring Communist countries, also have radio signals that go into Romania, so I am not sure he was talking only about us.

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

[15.] Q. Mr. President, do you think the world is better today because you signed, or all these nations signed, this document?

THE PRESIDENT. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I am absolutely confident, I am totally convinced that because of 35 nations participating in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, Europe and the world are all better off.

I will know better 2 years from now whether our promises have been kept, but I detect very strongly a feeling and an attitude on the part of the leaders of these countries that the promises they made will be maintained.

Q. When you talked to the Embassy this morning, you talked about making sure that these promises were fulfilled. How do we go about enforcing CSCE?

THE PRESIDENT. Persuasion, example. I believe that some of the unfortunate things that have happened in the last 20 years in Europe will not happen again because of the signing of the CSCE and the speeches that were made there. Those kinds of unfortunate events can be avoided in the future. CSCE was a great plus.

THE WESTERN ALLIANCE

[16.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel at all defensive in a forum like this because of the problems of the Western Alliance which are highly visible—Portugal's problems, the economic situation, the Greek-Turkish problem, all of which affect the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in one way or another—do you feel you are operating at a disadvantage as leader of the free world in that respect?

THE PRESIDENT. I recognize we have problems, but look back at the problems of another era. Are they any worse than the economic problems in the 1950's? Are they any worse than the conflicts among Eastern European countries in the 1950's and 1960's? Are the problems today any more serious than the problems of the past?

I don't think so. They are different, but they are not worse. And when you now have the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, there is a bulwark. I think it gives us strength to meet those problems.

## OIL PRICES

[17.] Q. Mr. President, do you think that with American price controls running out on oil September 1, should you go ahead and veto the plan, that it will have any effect on the OPEC's oil-pricing plans for this fall?

THE PRESIDENT. My judgment is no. I have been assured by my economic advisers that the decontrol that Congress is forcing on me because they won't accept a reasonable compromise—not one but two—that there will be no serious economic price rise consequences.

Q. Are you talking about petroleum in America, or are you talking about worldwide oil prices?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we really don't know what OPEC is going to do. They have got a great oversupply. They had a tremendous increase in price. We hope that through the IEA and the joint consumer-producer negotiations that there can be a responsible action both as to the producers as well as the consumers.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The question-and-answer session began at 2:31 p.m., Helsinki time.

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**Remarks on Arrival at Bucharest, Romania.***August 2, 1975**Mr. President, Mrs. Ceausescu, ladies and gentlemen:*

Mrs. Ford, our son Jack, and I are highly honored and greatly pleased to visit Romania. We are especially pleased to be in this unique land so rich in history, with such a great natural beauty and such a proud and independent people.

As you may recall, Mr. President, I met with a splendid group of young Romanians in the White House several months ago.<sup>1</sup> I found them to be excellent and outstanding ambassadors of friendship between our two countries.

Mr. President, let us assure coming generations a more normal, relaxed, and peaceful world. We must find ways to increase real and direct cooperation among all peoples.

Among the principles we both cherish is the right of every nation to independence and sovereignty. We believe that every nation has the right to its own peace-

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<sup>1</sup>On March 24, 1975, the President met at the White House with a choral group from Romania. The group's visit to the United States was sponsored by the Friendship Ambassadors touristic and cultural exchange program.

ful existence without being threatened by force, and we believe that all states are equal under law regardless of size, system, or level of development.

Principles such as these are included in the document we signed in Helsinki. We have both worked hard, Mr. President, and we must continue to devote our efforts to making all of these principles a reality in international life in this spirit. I look forward to our discussions on the international problems that concern us both.

Our bilateral relations are good, Mr. President. I am very pleased that our Congress has approved the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement. This creates new opportunities, particularly in the mutually beneficial commercial and economic field. I am confident that we can continue to improve our relations in many, many other areas as well.

Mr. President, I know that our discussions will be very productive during my stay in your country. As during your visit to Washington in June, our goal will be to seek closer cooperation between Romania and the United States. I look forward to our talks that we will have in the hours ahead.

On behalf of the American people, I bring to you and your family, and the Romanian people, warm, warm greetings and the very best wishes for peace and prosperity.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 4:30 p.m. at Otopeni Airport in response to remarks of welcome by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

President Ceausescu spoke in Romanian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Dear Mr. President of the United States of America, dear Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen, dear comrades, and friends:*

It is with great joy that I and my wife, all of us, have you as our guests, and address to you, Mr. President, and Mrs. Elizabeth Ford, as well as to your associates, our warm greetings and to extend to you our traditional bidding of welcome on the soil of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

I wish to make a particular note with satisfaction of the outward course taken by the Romanian-American relations of the fact that in the last few years, the economic exchanges have gone up strongly, that technical-scientific cooperation has been intensified, as well as the cultural and other exchanges between our two countries.

The very fact of your visit to Romania is, in my opinion, an eloquent expression of these relations, of the desire evinced by the Romanian and the American peoples to work more and more closely together in the mutual interest, as well as in the interests of their course of understanding, cooperation, and peace among all nations.

You are coming to Romania just a day after the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Thus, your visit is a wonderful part of the spirit which permeates the documents that we have signed together yesterday in Helsinki, and whereby we have asserted our common will on behalf of our peoples to develop cooperation on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for the independence, sovereignty of each nation, noninterference in internal affairs, and the renunciation of force and threat with the use of force in the settlement of problems between States.

As we have mentioned in the statement in Helsinki, in order to convey into real fact whatever we have agreed in the signed documents, sustained efforts are required in order to insure our peoples and the peoples of the world at large a better world and a world with more justice, in order to proceed in such a way as to insure that children and mankind in general will never know the disasters of war and would live in peace and friendship.

During your brief visit to this country, you will have an opportunity, Mr. President, to get to know the present-day interests and some of the achievements of the Romanian people on the way of building a new life of well-being and habit.

You will be able, sir, to understand better the desire of the people of Romania to cooperate with the American people and to work together with all

the peoples of the world, irrespective of their social systems.

I should like your visit to mark a new, significant moment in the course of friendship and cooperation between our two countries and peoples.

With these thoughts in mind, I wish you to feel at home among the Romanian people, who greet you with esteemed friendship and its traditional hospitality.

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## Remarks on Receiving the Key to the City of Bucharest.

*August 2, 1975*

*Mr. Mayor, President and Mrs. Ceausescu, the wonderful people of Bucharest, the wonderful, wonderful people of Romania:*

Let me first extend on behalf of Mrs. Ford, my son, and myself, our deep gratitude for the opportunity of visiting you in this gorgeous city.

The key to the city is indicative of the ties between the people of Romania and the people of the United States, and I receive the key as an expression of the closeness that has developed and will continue to grow and flourish.

As we came in from the airport, it was my privilege to see, Mr. Mayor, the beautiful fields, the gorgeous trees, and most importantly, the friendly and warm people of the country that we are now privileged to visit.

Mrs. Ford, our son, and I thank you for welcoming us to Bucharest, and we thank you from the bottom of our hearts on behalf of the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:25 p.m. at Scintea Plaza. In his opening remarks, he referred to Mayor Gheorghe Cioara of Bucharest.

Later in the day, the President met with President Ceausescu at the Council of State in the Palace of the Republic.

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## Toasts of the President and President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania at a State Dinner in Bucharest. *August 2, 1975*

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ceausescu, ladies and gentlemen:*

My visit to Romania is a very, very great pleasure. Because of summit, high-level meetings between our Governments and the growing number of contacts at the ministerial level, and between officials and specialists at all levels, we have witnessed in recent years improvement in U.S.-Romanian relations.

It seems very fortuitous and unique that within a day following the signing of

the agreements in Helsinki that we have reaffirmed and expanded our fine personal relationship, that we have seen concrete evidence of better relations between the Romanian people and the American people, and that we have listened to the words of one of the leaders of the nations in Europe who has been strong and forthright, that we should meet here on this occasion.

Our talks today, Mr. President, reaffirmed in the most positive terms our mutual interest in continuing to build our excellent bilateral relations.

Mr. President, my visit to Europe is of significance for another reason. We both participated in the final stages of the European Security Conference in Helsinki.

As you, Mr. President, have pointed out on many, many occasions, the dynamics of change—social, technological, global, and dimensional—affect all nations. So can and should the results of Helsinki.

We welcome, Mr. President, the changing relationship being forged between East and West. This is a relationship in which Romania continues to assume a most important role. The efforts of the United States and Romania and those of the other [thirty-] three participating nations will be very useful, and deeds equal words.

Not the least result of the Conference has been to show that smaller nations can make an independent, can make an equal and valuable contribution to the world.

While recognizing the importance of the Conference's work, the United States views it as one important step in a continuing process. It is imperative that we work together to lessen the chances for conflict. Let all nations cooperate to lessen human poverty, human suffering, and human hunger.

The challenges we face require the best efforts and the best ideas of all concerned, and all nations must have a positive and active role to play.

Mr. President, my country fully recognizes the growing interdependence of mankind, the need for increased cooperation among the industrialized nations, and a greater recognition of the concerns of the developing nations.

The United States will make full and fair contribution. We look to the other nations of the world to join with us in this important endeavor.

Mr. President, I came to Romania for another very important reason. This complex world is marked by diversity. We recognize the importance of close ties with a country that shows such independence and such vigor. We do not always agree, but we value the courage of a nation that wants to make its contribution to a better world by its own very special efforts.

Romania has won the admiration of the American people for her positive



contributions to world understanding. I am confident that Romania will contribute constructively in helping to find practical and durable solutions to the problems of today as well as for tomorrow.

Mr. President, on behalf of Mrs. Ford and myself, I thank you and your very gracious wife for your warm hospitality. I raise my glass to you, Mr. President, and to the building of a more secure and prosperous international community in which both of our peoples will find peace and progress in the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11:30 p.m. in the Marble Dining Room at the Palace of the Republic in response to President Ceausescu's toast.

President Ceausescu spoke in Romanian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Elizabeth Ford, ladies and gentlemen, friends and comrades:*

I should like once again to express our joy, our joy which we share, all of us, for having the President of the United States with us, and Mrs. Ford, too, and his associates, as our guests in Romania, and with the fact that this visit is part of the continuous development of the friendly relations and cooperation between our two peoples.

I think I shall not be mistaken if I say that in this very place, 6 years ago, day for day, we welcomed the first President of the United States ever to visit Romania. By sheer coincidence, because it was not programed to be so, you are coming to Romania precisely 6 years after.

At that time, that visit was regarded as a somewhat exceptional thing by some people. Changes of particular importance have occurred in the world since.

But in the first place, I would like to mention with deep satisfaction the fact that relations between Romania and the United States have seen very strong progress. Besides many agreements in these years, these various years, among which the last agreement regards our trade relations which, I have to say, was today ratified unanimously by the Council of State, while a few days ago it was adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States.

I can say that once this agreement has come into force, an agreement whereby our two countries mutually grant each other the most-favored-nation treatment, although I will have to recognize that Romania stands to gain significantly as a result of this, larger, broader prospects are opening up for the development of economic relations between our two countries.

In order not to have people believe that Romania will have I don't know what kind of advantages as a result, I have to say that this simply means

that Romanian products are going to enjoy the same status as the produce of other countries on the United States market.

It now follows, of course, for our goods to prove competitive both in terms of price, quality, and technically. In the last few years, our trade exchanges have gone up almost four times over. I am convinced that after this trade agreement has come into force in the forthcoming years, we can achieve a substantial increase in our economic exchanges and cooperative adventures, although fulfilling the target of \$1 billion per annum in the next 3 to 4 years.

As you see, Mr. President, we are also practical people and we talk primarily of material things, things of economic exchanges. But I should not fail to mention the fact that during these years we also concluded agreements in technology, science, culture, and there has been an intensive exchange of people in various walks of life between our two countries.

Only in the last few years, more than 5,000 American young people spent several weeks in Romania, and starting last year, groups of Romanian young people also visited the United States, within the program appropriately called Ambassadors for Friendship. Indeed, they are good ambassadors for peace and cooperation.

We attach special attention to such activities, not only or necessarily in connection with humanitarian problems, as described in the documents we signed together yesterday, but mainly with the need we feel for the people of our two countries—for the young people all over the world—to meet together to strengthen their cooperation, so that in the future they can be at peace and work together with each other with no threat of force or war.

Bearing all this in mind, I wish to express my hope—more, indeed, my conviction—that your visit to Romania is going to mark a moment of particular and new importance for the further extension of many-sided cooperation in all fields between our two countries.

I think I am not going to disclose a special secret if I simply mention that during our talks tonight we agreed to work in this direction with a conviction that this responds fully to the interests of our two

peoples, to the interests of a general policy of co-operation and peace in the world.

In the international sphere, change has been perhaps even more important. It is true that fundamental changes have occurred in the manner people judge events, but in particular in the ratio of forces in the international arena.

Nowadays, I think that nobody—or at least very few people—would regard as something strange or interpret as a heresy a visit by the President of the United States to Romania.

On the contrary, I would rather think that it is being regarded as something that should be normal for relations between states. This is the most telling proof of the depth of change in international relations.

That is why I take the liberty to say that the first visit 6 years ago by the President of the United States to Romania had a particular significance, not only for the relations between our two countries but also for the overall course towards détente and co-operation in international terms.

The fact that two countries with different social systems and different insights—to say nothing about the differences between their heritage—were able to make a contribution, each one related to what it stands for, for the general course of peace, illustrates that today cooperation among states and among peoples, regardless of size, big and small, irrespective of their social system, becomes a factor of particular importance for the general course of events for ensuring new policy based on equal rights and mutual respect among all the nations of the world.

This time is the first visit of a President of the United States to another country, after the successful conclusion of the European Security Conference. I should like to interpret this as an expression of the beginning of the application of the points we have underscored by our signature yesterday together with the executives of the other participating states.

Of course, it just happened that this first visit was in Romania, but maybe it now acquires a special significance—maybe the significance that two states with different social systems and different insights are firmly determined to take action in order to carry into effect things for which they had signed the day before.

No doubt there are still many problems in the world that await a solution. You mentioned them in your speech yesterday. So did I. Distinct efforts will still be required by all states in order to see to it that new relations are built among states and that the right of each nation is respected for a free development, without fear of aggression, and to ensure the rights of each people to choose its own social system according to its own will.

There are problems in Europe. There are problems in Cyprus, in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and Asia, but all of them could be

solved starting from this new precedent of ruling out force, threat of the use of force. They could be solved by peaceful means so as to give a happier future to the people, and in particular we should think of the future of our children, of our young people, and of the total mankind.

We can hardly overlook the fact that the problems of disarmament are a matter of concern for all peoples these days, but there are economic problems of most serious degree, the solution of which requires close cooperation in order to solve them in a way opening the road towards a new economic order; towards the more rapid progress, in the first place, of the developing countries; towards economic stability ensuring the progress of all nations and a world of peace and cooperation.

Mr. President, in a country which has won its independence by long struggle, a country which has seen for hundreds of years the rule of foreign domination—and everything that is here has been achieved by struggle and by work, by toil and sometimes by renouncing things which were necessary but could be spent in order to ensure economic and social progress of the country to make sure of its independence.

That is precisely why we hoped so dearly from our hearts, our own independent development, and that is why we understand so well the people who now wage their struggle for independence, for economic and social development consonant with their own will.

The country is, I think, the decisive factor in the process of building a better world, a world with more justice and a world of lasting peace.

The peoples have reached great achievements in the fields of science and human knowledge in general. People now meet in the outer space and see eye-to-eye.

I think we should also set ourselves the goal to meet each other here on the Earth to understand each other, to work together with each other, in order to make it so that each nation can enjoy her fruits of science, technology, the advantages of everything that human civilization has created best.

It is in that spirit that Romania, my people, wish to cooperate closely with the people of America, with the United States of America, with all the peoples of the world, starting from a conviction that only on mutual respect and only on friendly cooperation can we note the future of human civilization, can we build the world of peace for all.

With the conviction that the future will see even better cooperation between our two peoples and that your visit, sir, is going to give a new impetus to our cooperation, I would like once again to wish you to feel at home here during your brief visit to this country and to express my hope that at the appropriate time you might come again for a longer stay.

I do hope that Mrs. Ford—as it happens the world over, given the private life of Presidents—in this respect will be successful in persuading you to come back to Romania for a longer stay.

May I ask all that are present in this hall to join me in this toast to the President of the United States of America and to the esteemed Mrs. Ford, for the

continuous developments of friendly relations and cooperation between Romania and the United States, for the continued well-being and prosperity of the great American nation, for peace and cooperation among all the nations of the world, to the health of all of you.

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## Remarks Upon Signing the Joint Communique and Trade Documents in Sinaia, Romania. August 3, 1975

*Mr. President and distinguished guests:*

Let me say with great emphasis my appreciation for your warm hospitality and that of the Romanian people. It has been a wonderful experience for Mrs. Ford and myself to meet so many of your people, and it has been a glorious opportunity for me to not only see Bucharest but this superb area of your country where we are today.

I am especially grateful for the opportunity to have friendly, constructive, and frank discussions with you, not only on our bilateral relations but those problems that we see on a worldwide basis.

For the last several years, Mr. President, you have taken the leadership in bringing about an exchange in the area of culture, scientific matters, economic problems between your country and our country, and the net result has been mutually beneficial to both.

The documents that we have just signed make possible the kind of trade relationship between your country and mine that will enhance the prosperity of both, make the life of your people and mine richer, and will be beneficial on a worldwide basis.

What I have signed on behalf of my country has received the endorsement of our Government—the executive, the legislative—and therefore, it is a true contract between your country and my country for all of the benefits that we can share equally.

I thank you again, and I thank the Romanian people.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 1:15 p.m. at a ceremony following their meeting at Peles Castle. In addition to the joint communique, President Ceausescu and President Ford signed and exchanged notices of acceptance of the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement.

President Ceausescu spoke in Romanian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President, gentlemen, and comrades:*

I should like to express my satisfaction in connection with the signing of our communique on the results of the visit paid to Romania by you, sir, and

on the discussions we had together as an expression of our mutual wish to extend our cooperation in all fields and to work together more closely in order to promote the policy of peace and international cooperation.

At the same time, we signed the documents whereby the two countries take note of the fact that their trade agreement has come into effect and have exchanged ratification instruments to that effect.

As a result, a better legal framework is being created for further expanding economic cooperation between our two countries.

I should like to express my satisfaction, the satisfaction of my Government, and of the Romanian people, with the fact that the relations between Romania and the United States have now been established on a mutually beneficial basis, that our two countries are now desirous to apply in the economic field the principles of mutual advantage through the mutual granting of the most-favored-nations treatment.

During these 2 days, we had talks on many problems which pertained to the relations between the two countries and also to a number of international matters which are today of general concern to mankind and which are of interest today to our two countries as well.

I am glad to note that in these conversations of ours that the occupation and the common desire have emerged to find political solutions for the complex problems now confronting mankind and to insure the continued course towards détente, cooperation, and peace in the world.

That is why I should like to emphasize with great satisfaction that your visit to Romania, sir, although a short one, is now being concluded with the most favorable results, both with regard to the relations between Romania and the United States and the future prospects of these relations, as well as with respect to the need to take further action together in the service of peace and cooperation, in the service of building a world with more justice, a better world on our planet.

This setting in the mountains, I think, has also helped create a favorable climate, and I hope this will be reflected in the continued cooperation between our two countries and between the two of us, sir.

I wish an ever better and better and fruitful cooperation between Romania and the United States. I wish that we can work together and to the good of our two peoples and of the cause of peace.

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### **Joint Communiqué Following Talks With President Ceausescu of Romania. *August 3, 1975***

AT THE invitation of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu, the President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford, and Mrs. Elizabeth Ford, paid an official visit to Romania on August 2-3, 1975.

The distinguished guests visited places of cultural and social interest at Bucharest and Sinaia. They were given a warm welcome everywhere as an expression of the esteem and high regard in which the Romanian people hold their friends, the American people.

During the visit, President Ford and President Ceausescu held talks regarding the present stage of relations between Romania and the United States, as well as an exchange of views on a wide range of international problems of mutual interest. The talks took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere reflecting mutual esteem and respect as well as the favorable course of Romanian-American relations in recent years.

The two Presidents noted with satisfaction that bilateral relations in the political, economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other fields have developed and diversified in recent years in the spirit of the principles inscribed in the Joint Declaration signed at Washington on December 5, 1973.

Reaffirming the adherence of their countries to the principles in the Joint Declaration, the two Presidents resolved to continue to develop relations between the two states on the basis of these principles, in order to promote peace, international cooperation and the traditional friendship between the Romanian and American peoples.

The two Presidents gave a positive assessment to the evolution of economic links between the two countries. They resolved to continue to act to expand economic, industrial and technical-scientific cooperation and trade based on the principles and provisions of the Joint Declaration on Economic, Industrial, and Technological Cooperation between Romania and the United States adopted at Washington on December 5, 1973.

They noted also the importance of actions taken in recent years to encourage and intensify bilateral commerce, among these being the establishment and activity of the Romanian-American Joint Economic Commission and the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council, as well as joint production and commercial ventures.

The two Presidents hailed with deep satisfaction the conclusion of the Trade Agreement between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United States of America, which represents a major contribution to the expansion of economic relations between the two countries. The two sides expressed the conviction that the entry into force of the Trade Agreement on August 3, 1975, by exchange of notices of acceptance during the visit, will help Romanian-American trade to grow and diversify, thereby influencing favorably the entire range of relations between the two states.

The two Presidents, taking note of the positive evolution of cooperative ties between economic organizations of the two countries, resolved to encourage wider links through joint activities, including the establishment of joint production and commercial ventures. To this end, the Romanian-American Joint Economic Commission, whose next session is scheduled soon in Washington, will examine appropriate ways and measures. The two Presidents decided that appropriate departments will begin, as soon as possible, the negotiation of a long-term accord on economic, industrial and technical collaboration, as well as an agricultural agreement. Possibilities for a bilateral maritime agreement will also be discussed.

The two Presidents welcomed progress achieved in technical and scientific cooperation and expressed themselves in favor of exploring possibilities for mutually beneficial cooperation through the conclusion of collaborative agreements on energy, including nuclear energy, environmental protection, public health, and in other fields.

Both sides noted the conclusion, in December 1974, of the first long-term governmental agreement on cooperation and exchanges in the fields of culture, education, science and technology and will continue to give it full support. The two sides stressed the importance of this agreement for better mutual understanding of spiritual and material values, for expansion of links in these fields between their respective institutions, organizations and associations, and for contacts between citizens of both countries. In this context, the two Presidents welcomed exchanges and contacts between youth groups.

Regarding the coming anniversaries of major events in the histories of both nations—the Bicentennial of the United States and the Centennial of Romanian State independence—the two Presidents agreed that these events will provide occasions for further expanding mutual understanding.

The two Presidents noted that, in the spirit of the 1973 Declaration, a number of humanitarian problems have been solved. They agreed to continue to take action in this field.

President Ford expressed his concern over the recent disastrous floods which had affected Romania. He voiced admiration for the valiant efforts of the Romanian people to overcome the effects of this natural calamity. President Ceausescu thanked President Ford for his concern and the aid extended by the United States.

The two Presidents agreed that the successful conclusion of the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe represents an important step toward the achievement of greater security and cooperation on the continent. In order to achieve broader understanding among all the peoples of Europe, they stressed the need for abiding by and implementing all the provisions of the final act adopted at Helsinki. The two Presidents expressed their determination to strive for effective disarmament measures which strengthen the peace and security of all peoples in Europe.

The two Presidents emphasized their support for a just and equitable international order in which the right of each country, regardless of size or political, economic or social system, to choose its own destiny free from the use or threat of force will be respected. In such an international order, each country may

develop freely on the basis of strict respect for independence, national sovereignty, juridical equality, and non-interference in its internal affairs.

During the talks, the two Presidents held an exchange of views on the complex economic problems which confront mankind. They noted that to solve these problems, account must be taken of the need to establish fair economic relations among all states and to create and consolidate an economic equilibrium which can assure stability on a world scale, in the interest of peace, international security and the general progress of all nations. Attention was given to effective means of reducing the gap between developed and developing countries.

The two Presidents reaffirmed the indissoluble link between security and effective disarmament measures as well as the pressing need for continued vigorous negotiations toward further progress in the limitation of armaments, including nuclear armaments.

The two sides expressed their concern over the situation in the Middle East and underlined the need to reach, as soon as possible, a just and lasting peace in the region, in the spirit of Resolution 338 of the Security Council of the United Nations, taking into account the legitimate interests of all the peoples of the area, including the Palestinian people, and respect for the right to independence, sovereignty and security for all states in the area.

The two sides expressed concern over the evolution of the situation in Cyprus and favored a solution based on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. They noted that the talks between the two communities on the island can contribute fruitfully to a solution of the situation.

The two Presidents agreed that good-neighborly relations of friendship among Balkan countries would contribute toward cooperation, security and improvement of the climate in Europe.

The two Presidents agreed to support the United Nations so that it may fulfill its mission of maintaining world peace and developing international cooperation and understanding.

The two Presidents welcomed the Romanian-American exchange of visits in many fields and at various levels which have taken place in recent years. In order to continue the positive direction of Romanian-American relations, they agreed to develop and intensify these periodic exchanges of views at all levels.

President Ford and Mrs. Ford expressed to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu their deep appreciation for the extremely cordial reception which was accorded them in Romania.

The two sides agreed that this visit was another contribution to friendship and understanding between the Romanian and American Governments and peoples and to the valuable tradition of constructive dialogue which has evolved between the two countries.

Sinaia, August 3, 1975

GERALD R. FORD

President of the United States of America

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Sinaia, Romania.

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### Remarks on Arrival at Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

*August 3, 1975*

*President Tito, ladies and gentlemen:*

Mrs. Ford, our son Jack, and I have looked forward to this visit to Yugoslavia, a country of great beauty and a country with fierce pride in its independence.

It is also a very great pleasure for me to make my first visit here as President of the United States.

Twelve years ago I came to Yugoslavia as a Member of the Congress on a far less happy occasion—Skopje had been devastated by an earthquake. I remember the sad and very grim scene. Mrs. Ford and I visited Skopje. I am very pleased to learn that Skopje has been rebuilt into a beautiful and modern city.

This is representative of the progress made throughout Yugoslavia in recent years. It is a fine example of what creativity, hard work, and determination—well-known characteristics of the Yugoslav people—can achieve.

I am looking forward to my talks with you, Mr. President. You are truly respected in America and throughout the world as one of the great men of the postwar era. I am confident that our discussions of bilateral issues and questions affecting the peace and security and welfare of the world will add to our mutual understanding, to the friendly relations of our two countries, and the friendship between Yugoslavs and Americans.

Mr. President, you and I have just returned from Helsinki where we attended



the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This summit was another step in the continuing efforts to reduce tensions and increase international cooperation.

It represents progress which we, together with other Conference participants, must build upon. Full implementation of the Helsinki documents promises greater security, greater cooperation, not only in Europe but among people everywhere.

The meeting of the United States, Yugoslavia, and 33 other states in Finland, also serves as the latest reminder that today's world finds the people of the world increasingly interdependent.

As we meet today and tomorrow in Belgrade, so soon after our participation together in the Helsinki Conference, we are mindful of the need for cooperation by all nations on urgent international problems.

I am confident that our discussions will make a very positive contribution in this direction.

Thank you, the people of Yugoslavia, for your gracious welcome to this great country.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:29 p.m. at Surcin Airport in response to remarks of welcome by Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito.

Later in the day, the President met with President Tito at the Federal Executive Council Building.

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## Toast at a State Dinner in Belgrade.

*August 3, 1975*

*Mr. President, Madame Broz, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am very, very delighted to be back in Yugoslavia. Twelve years is much too long to be away.

Mrs. Ford and I thank you most sincerely for the warm and wonderful welcome of your people and for your own very gracious remarks, Mr. President.

While I am deeply appreciative of the justly renowned Yugoslav hospitality shown to Mrs. Ford and to me personally, I am very mindful that this kind expression represents the friendship which the Yugoslav people feel for the American people.

I can assure you, Mr. President, that this sentiment is fully reciprocated on our part. We Americans have long valued our ties of friendship with Yugo-

slavia. Americans have particularly admired Yugoslavia's independent spirit. Whenever independence is threatened, people everywhere look to the example of the struggle of Yugoslavian people throughout their history. They take strength and they take inspiration from that example.

Mr. President, this spirit and your courageous leadership brought the Yugoslav people successfully through the harsh trials of World War II and its aftermath, into an era of peace, stability, and economic growth. Yugoslavia is confident of its place in the world and its prospects for the future, and I believe your confidence is fully justified.

American interest in Yugoslavia's continued independence, integrity, and well-being, expressed often in the past, remains undiminished. Tonight, I have the pleasure to reassert my nation's positive interest in the future of your nation.

Yugoslavs and Americans have both benefited from many joint efforts to speed the economic development of Yugoslavia. Our bilateral trade continues to grow. It has more than doubled in 5 years. Yugoslav-American economic councils have been established in Belgrade and New York City. Many American firms are working closely with Yugoslav enterprises, such as the construction of your country's first nuclear power facility. Our Export-Import Bank plays a very positive role in supplying loans and guarantees. Yugoslav-American scientific, technological, cultural cooperation and exchanges are an increasingly important part of our bilateral relations.

But our mutual accomplishments in dealing with economic problems must be viewed from the perspective of the interdependence of all nations.

We have been distressed by the intransigence and irresponsibility reflected in some of the discussions of vital issues in United Nations forums. The growing alienation between developing nations can only harm the best interests of both and jeopardize the solution of universal problems.

I assure you, Mr. President, that the United States will play its full role and its full part in efforts to resolve these issues in the best interests of all people.

Yugoslavia has taken a very prominent role in international affairs under your guidance, Mr. President. The United States recognizes that your country's policy of nonalignment makes an active contribution to greater understanding among peoples.

Yugoslavia and the United States have consistently worked for cooperation based on the equality of all members of the international community under the United Nations Charter in settling of outstanding international problems.

Our two countries, as in the case of all friends, have had differences, but we are able to discuss them openly, as friends do, and to resolve them. The main

point is that we are never in doubt about the importance of common goals or about our deep commitment to the continuity of friendly relations.

At this time, with the aims of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe so clearly in our thoughts, let us emphasize the mutuality and the interdependence of our basic concerns for peace, security, and human progress in the years to come.

In that spirit, I ask you to join me in a toast to President Tito, whose courage, wisdom, and leadership have meant so much for Yugoslavia and the world, in which his country has played such an important part.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 p.m. in the Federal Executive Council Building in response to a toast by President Tito.

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### **Remarks in Belgrade Following a Meeting With President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. August 4, 1975**

*Mr. President:*

The talks that we have had for the last day have been too short, but we have discussed in great detail some of the very major matters that both of our countries are equally interested in.

We did discuss the bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and the United States. That included, of course, our economic relationships. It did, of course, include our military relationships. And in both instances, I indicated very firmly that I would give both matters or problems my very personal attention because of their significance.

We did discuss the results of the CSCE Conference in Helsinki. It was agreed that this was a step forward, as both of us indicated in our speeches in Helsinki, but that we had to produce progress if we were to justify the action. And when we meet here in Belgrade 2 years from now, the success of Helsinki would be proven by the actions that have been taken in the interim.

We did, of course, discuss the problems of the Middle East. I indicated that the United States would continue its very vital interest in progress in the Middle East. I stated very emphatically that a stalemate in the Middle East was unacceptable. I indicated that moderation on the part of all parties was essential.

I also indicated that flexibility was necessary if we were to achieve the kind of results that would avoid a potential, serious development, a catastrophe from

the point of view of the world as a whole. Moderation, greater flexibility are absolutely essential at the present time.

I, of course, thank the President for his cordial and friendly welcome, and I express to the Yugoslavian people my gratitude for the warm reception given to Mrs. Ford and myself and our son, and I look forward to an expanding and improving relationship between our peoples.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:43 a.m. at the Federal Executive Council Building.

President Tito responded in Serbo-Croatian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

It is a little difficult for me to make a statement, as the President of the United States has already said all that I wanted to say.

I must say that the talks have been going in a very cordial and constructive spirit.

When we discussed bilateral relations, we found that such relations are already very good, but we agreed that they could be better and that we intended to expand them in the future.

Both sides have obviously expressed concern about the situation in the Middle East; I think [in] that our views are quite identical, especially after I heard what President Ford said about the actions the United States intends to take in the future.

As far as the international situation is concerned, we didn't discuss it in detail, but we discussed more the economic situation. We found together that the economic situation is very serious and that it will be

a matter of serious discussion at the forthcoming Special Session of the United Nations. And after I heard what President Ford and State Secretary Kissinger said about the attitude the United States are going to take, I think I can be hopeful that the Special Session will be a successful one.

I think the talks with President Ford and State Secretary Kissinger were in the spirit of the joint declaration we adopted in Washington.

I wish to say that the visit has been a very successful one; it has enabled us to get to know each other a little better. I think President Ford has been able to see that the peoples of Yugoslavia—judging by the reception they gave you, sir—wish good relations with the United States of America.

So, I thank you for your visit which will be, I am sure, beneficial for both countries and for the future relations.

Thank you, Mr. President.

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Earlier in the day, the President met with Prime Minister Dzemal Bijedic at the Old Palace.

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## Toasts of the President and President Tito of Yugoslavia at a Working Luncheon in Belgrade. *August 4, 1975*

*Mr. President:*

As our visit in Yugoslavia draws to a close, let me express my deep appreciation on behalf of Mrs. Ford and our son Jack and all of the American party who join me in thanking you once more for the warm hospitality and deep friendship that you have shown us. We have had a marvelous time in Belgrade.

Mr. President, I especially appreciate having had this chance to hear your views on our bilateral questions and on the issues affecting the international community. I appreciate your long experience and wisdom reflected in each of the subjects discussed during our conversations here.

I have valued our discussions coming, as they do, immediately after the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in which both you and I participated, representing our two countries.

I am pleased, Mr. President, that you and I are agreed on the need for all participating states to implement its documents fully and in good faith. If we do so, we will contribute to greater stability, increasing contacts between our peoples, greater cooperation throughout Europe. We will contribute, of course, to the important goal we both share—a world in which all peoples enjoy peace, prosperity, and security.

I am pleased that our views have been close on many, many of the matters facing our two peoples and all of mankind. It is essential that we now work to broaden our spirit of understanding and agreement, to achieve a better realization within the international community of the interdependence of human societies and their problems. The need for cooperation in seeking solutions to the universal problems is very critical.

Mr. President, your country, with its own courageous determination to maintain its independence, can fully appreciate the importance to the American people of our celebration of our 200 years of freedom. It is a time for Americans to reflect upon the basic values that brought success to the Original Thirteen Colonies' struggle for self-government.

We are proud of the significant contribution through the years of Yugoslav-Americans to our national growth and development. They constitute a bridge of understanding, good will and kinship between Yugoslavia and the United States—and let us expand that bridge.

As I close, I raise my glass in deepest appreciation to you in a toast to you, Mr. President, and to Yugoslav-American friendship.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3 p.m. at the Federal Executive Council Building in response to a toast by President Tito.

President Tito spoke in Serbo-Croatian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President:*

May I again express once again my great satisfaction for having you in our country. Your visit is one more important contribution to our traditionally good relations, and I am convinced that the further cooperation between our two countries will be promoted in all fields.

Although your stay was short, you could, Mr. President, see for yourself that the peoples of Yugoslavia lavish friendship toward the American people, and they wish the existing ties to be consolidated and sanctioned.

Yesterday and today we had very interesting talks which showed that your country, as well as ours, are very interested to peace in the world and progress in international cooperation. On many questions we have the same views, and we are equally ready to contribute to the solution of major international problems.

I think we are on the good road because even on the question on which our positions are different there has been new consideration being expressed and recognized for further dialog. We know that the United States has a great responsibility for peace in the world and the development of international cooperation and that on your involvement depends, in a large measure, the solution of many questions.

We appreciate the effort you are engaging in this direction. Applying consistently the principles of

the policy of nonalignment, Yugoslavia endeavors—and we shall continue to do so in the future—to strengthen the spirit of cooperation between our peoples, to consolidate mutual confidence, and to build such international relations in which independence, equality, and cooperation among all peoples will come to more and more expression.

I wish, Mr. President, to assure you that the talks I had with you gave me great satisfaction. I hope that you will have again the opportunity to visit our country, to stay a little longer, and to get

better to know our people and the effort they make in the building of a better life.

I would like, Mr. President, that you convey to the American people the feelings of sincere friendship of the peoples of Yugoslavia and our wishes for further prosperity of the United States of America.

I raise this glass to the good health and personal happiness of you personally, Mr. President, of Mrs. Ford, and your family, to the health of your associates, to friendship between our two countries.

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## Remarks to Members of the Belgrade City Assembly.

*August 4, 1975*

*Mr. Mayor and members of the Assembly, distinguished members of government, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to again be in the “White City” on this occasion, as a resident of the White House.

Twelve years ago, Mrs. Ford and I were privileged and honored to be in Belgrade. At that time, I was a member of the Interparliamentary Union. As a delegate to this international gathering, we were formally received not only by the people of Belgrade but we were entertained and equally made welcome by the delegates from your parliament. As a member of the American delegation, I participated in the various activities and speeches that were made in your parliament building.

Equally important, Mrs. Ford and I had an opportunity to visit Skopje and also to visit Dubrovnik.

I would like to say with great emphasis, we found in our 10 days in Yugoslavia the great warmth and cordiality of the people of Yugoslavia. We saw the culture and read about the tradition of your great country. And as the mayor has pointed out, the long, long history of relations between the United States and Yugoslavia has been a building block for the progress that has taken place in the last 10 and 15 years.

This is a firm foundation that has been expanded by people-to-people exchanges, by officials from communities in Yugoslavia visiting officials and communities in the United States and vice versa. Of course, the personal contacts between top officials in your government and in mine have made our bilateral relations better and better. The working together by your government and mine

on many, many international problems has made the world a safer place in which to live.

I therefore say to you, Mr. Mayor, and your associates in the Assembly, how grateful I am for this beautiful golden plaque. And I thank you for the hospitality extended to me, my wife, and our son Jack.

And on behalf of the American people, I invite you and all of your associates to come to the United States to see and hear from our people on our Bicentennial anniversary.

Thank you again. I am deeply grateful.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. in the Belgrade City Hall. Prior to his remarks, he received the Golden Plaque of the city from Mayor Zivorad Kovacevic.

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### Joint Statement Following Talks With President Tito of Yugoslavia. *August 4, 1975*

AT THE invitation of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and Mrs. Ford paid an official visit to Belgrade, Yugoslavia, on August 3 and 4, 1975.

Continuing the established practice of regular contacts and consultations between the presidents of the two countries, Presidents Tito and Ford held cordial, open and constructive talks on a wide range of issues of mutual interest. Taking part in the talks were, from the Yugoslav side, Dr. Vladimir Bakaric, Vice President of the SFRY Presidency; Edvard Karelj, Member of the SFRY Presidency; Dzemail Bijedic, President of the Federal Executive Council; Milos Minic, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Dimce Belovski, member of the Council of the Federation; Lazar Mojsov, Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Toma Granfil, Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States; Aleksandar Sokorac, Chief of Cabinet of the President of the Republic; Nikola Milicevic, Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Andjelko Blazevic, Foreign Policy Adviser to the President of the Republic; Svetozar Starcevic, Director for the North American Department, Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs;

From the United States side, Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Laurence H. Silberman, United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia; Robert T. Hartmann, Counselor to

the President; Ronald H. Nessen, Press Secretary to the President; Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Richard B. Cheney, Deputy Assistant to the President; Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor, Department of State; Arthur Hartman, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Department of State.

The President of the Federal Executive Council, Dzemal Bijedic, called on President Ford and conducted talks with him on matters concerning bilateral cooperation.

Presidents Tito and Ford reiterated the particular importance which the governments of Yugoslavia and the United States of America attach to the maintenance of peace and stability by the peaceful settlement of disputes, and by adherence to the principles of independence, mutual respect and full equality of sovereign states, regardless of differences or similarities in their social, political and economic systems, and in full accord with the spirit and principles of the United Nations Charter.

President Ford's visit provided an occasion for a thorough review of bilateral relations which continue to develop successfully. President Tito and President Ford confirmed that the principles contained in the joint statement, issued in Washington in October 1971, represent the continuing basis for relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States of America. In conversations between President Ford and President Tito further stimulus was given to these relations. The two Presidents noted that additional progress has been achieved in cooperation in the economic area and agreed that possibilities exist for further mutually beneficial development of trade, investment and other contemporary forms of economic cooperation. Concrete ways to achieve expansion in this field were discussed.

The two Presidents once again emphasized the significant contribution of exchanges in the sphere of social and physical sciences, culture, education, information, etc., to the deepening of mutual understanding and respect and agreed to make efforts to further develop such exchanges.

President Ford greeted the readiness of the Yugoslav government to contribute to the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the United States of America through various cultural and artistic presentations.

The two Presidents emphasized the deep historical and cultural ties which exist between their countries, and especially the part which Americans of Yugoslav origin have long played in strengthening the bonds of friendship between their new and former homelands and agreed that these ties should be strengthened.



The two Presidents expressed their satisfaction over the recent conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They consider that the consistent implementation of the provisions of the final act which the signatory countries pledged themselves to fulfill, will contribute significantly to the achievement of the Conference's important goals and encourage further efforts to strengthen peace and security in Europe and to improve political, economic and other relations among states and peoples.

President Tito and President Ford emphasized that the interdependence of all peoples and countries, developed and developing, is an essential factor in the search for a just and effective economic development. Reviewing the urgent problems facing mankind in the area of international economic relations, they agreed on the need to increase their efforts to find equitable solutions on the basis of improved international cooperation and respect for the interests of all.

The two Presidents reviewed a number of other important international problems, including the situation in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, Cyprus and the questions of disarmament.

President Tito particularly presented views on the importance of the policy of nonalignment in today's world. He also emphasized the significance of United States policies in international affairs. President Ford set forth United States positions on various matters including the significance of the Yugoslav policy of nonalignment in international affairs.

President Ford reaffirmed the steadfast interest of the United States and its support for the independence, integrity, and nonaligned position of Yugoslavia.

The two Presidents on this occasion reaffirmed the importance of periodic contacts and consultations at various levels in fields of mutual interest.

The principles set forth in this joint statement are the foundation of United States-Yugoslav relations. They constitute the firm basis on which the friendly relations of the two countries will be conducted in the future.

NOTE: The text of the joint statement was released at Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

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### **Text of Remarks on Returning From Europe.**

*August 4, 1975*

I AM, of course, very glad to be home, but I am also very glad that I went to Europe. By representing the United States of America at the 35-nation Con-

ference on Security and Cooperation in Europe at Helsinki, I was able to deliver in person a message of enormous significance to all Europeans.

That message was—America still cares. The torch in the Statue of Liberty still burns bright. We will stand for freedom and independence in 1976 as we did in 1776. The United States of America still believes that all men and women, everywhere, should enjoy the God-given blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in a world of peace.

The reception that I received from the peoples of the five countries I visited—West Germany, Poland, Finland, Romania, and Yugoslavia—was not a tribute to me so much as to the ideals and the continuing leadership of the United States in the worldwide effort for peace, progress, and prosperity for all nations.

That an American President could receive such warm and hospitable welcomes in the countries of Eastern Europe shows that the message I brought to Helsinki came through loud and clear.

And we will continue to encourage the full implementation of the principles embodied in the CSCE declarations until the 1977 followup meeting to assess how well all the signatory states have translated these principles into concrete action for the benefit of their peoples and the common progress in Europe.

Europeans—East and West—will also be watching. If the principles of Helsinki are lived up to, as each leader solemnly pledged, then we can consider the Conference a success in which we have played a significant part.

My reception in the Federal Republic of Germany and Finland and the personal talks that I was able to have with the leaders of our NATO allies and other governments were constructive and greatly gratifying. So were my discussions with General Secretary Brezhnev which, I am confident, will lead to an accelerated disposition of some of the differences which existed before our meetings.

I believe we are on the right course and the course that offers the best hope for a better world. I will continue to steer that steady course, because this experience has further convinced me that millions of hopeful people, in all parts of Europe, still look to the United States of America as the champion of human freedom everywhere and of a just peace among the nations of the world.

I repeat: I am glad that I went. I am happy to be back.

NOTE: Because of inclement weather, the President did not deliver the remarks on arrival at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

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**Remarks Upon Signing a Bill Restoring Rights of  
Citizenship to General Robert E. Lee. August 5, 1975**

*Governor Godwin, Senator Byrd, Congressman Butler, Congressman Harris, Congressman Satterfield, Congressman Downing, and Congressman Daniel, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am very pleased to sign Senate Joint Resolution 23, restoring posthumously the long overdue, full rights of citizenship to General Robert E. Lee. This legislation corrects a 110-year oversight of American history. It is significant that it is signed at this place.

Lee's dedication to his native State of Virginia chartered his course for the bitter Civil War years, causing him to reluctantly resign from a distinguished career in the United States Army and to serve as General of the Army of Northern Virginia. He, thus, forfeited his rights to U.S. citizenship.

Once the war was over, he firmly felt the wounds of the North and South must be bound up. He sought to show by example that the citizens of the South must dedicate their efforts to rebuilding that region of the country as a strong and vital part of the American Union.

In 1865, Robert E. Lee wrote to a former Confederate soldier concerning his signing the Oath of Allegiance, and I quote: "This war, being at an end, the Southern States having laid down their arms, and the questions at issue between them and the Northern States having been decided, I believe it to be the duty of everyone to unite in the restoration of the country and the reestablishment of peace and harmony."

This resolution passed by the Congress responds to the formal application of General Lee to President Andrew Johnson on June 13, 1865, for the restoration of his full rights of citizenship. Although this petition was endorsed by General Grant and forwarded to the President through the Secretary of War, an Oath of Allegiance was not attached because notice of this additional requirement had not reached Lee in time.

Later, after his inauguration as President of Washington College on October 2, 1865, Lee executed a notarized Oath of Allegiance. Again his application was not acted upon because the Oath of Allegiance was apparently lost. It was finally discovered in the National Archives in 1970.

As a soldier, General Lee left his mark on military strategy. As a man, he stood as the symbol of valor and of duty. As an educator, he appealed to reason

and learning to achieve understanding and to build a stronger nation. The course he chose after the war became a symbol to all those who had marched with him in the bitter years towards Appomattox.

General Lee's character has been an example to succeeding generations, making the restoration of his citizenship an event in which every American can take pride.

In approving this Joint Resolution, the Congress removed the legal obstacle to citizenship which resulted from General Lee's Civil War service. Although more than a century late, I am delighted to sign this resolution and to complete the full restoration of General Lee's citizenship.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:12 p.m. at Arlington House, Arlington, Va. Arlington House, formerly known as the Custis-Lee Mansion, was the

home of General Lee.

As enacted, S.J. Res. 23 is Public Law 94-67 (89 Stat. 380).

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### **Text of a Toast at a Working Dinner for Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan. *August 5, 1975***

*Mr. Prime Minister:*

In the last 40 years, you have visited this country in many capacities—as a student, as a private citizen, as a representative of your government, as a statesman—but always as a good friend. Ten years ago, you came as Foreign Minister. We met 2 years ago when you visited Washington as Deputy Prime Minister. Today, I am honored to greet you as the Prime Minister of your great nation.

Mr. Prime Minister, you and I have participated in public life for many years. We appreciate the transformation in Japanese-American relations of the last 30 years. We understand the immense benefits our two peoples enjoy because of this very close friendship. The keystone of this relationship is a sound security accord. The United States remains firmly committed to the alliance with Japan—an undertaking we could not value more highly.

It is significant that your first trip abroad as Prime Minister is to the United States, just as my first overseas visit as President was to Japan. These priorities reflect the order and standing of Japanese-American relations. They confirm our growing cooperation, which is basic to our respective foreign policies. Our visits accentuate the interdependence of our countries and the extent to which the security and prosperity of our two peoples have become interwoven in the second half of the 20th century.

Mr. Prime Minister, your visit provides a timely opportunity for us to review our cooperative efforts to deal with vital matters—food and energy, trade and development. Such issues will be the major focus of international relations for many years and perhaps for the remainder of this century.

The United States has admiration and respect for Japan's constructive contributions to the search for solutions to the world's economic and political problems. It is imperative that we continue working together. We can report to our peoples that our bilateral relations are respectfully intimate and remarkably free of trouble. We are approaching new international challenges with a growing knowledge of the underlying issues and with creative and responsive programs.

In your policy speech to the Diet in January, you said the whole of mankind shares a common fate aboard the ship called Earth. I agree completely. I would like Japanese-American relations to provide a pattern of cooperation for all countries. Mr. Prime Minister, Americans look forward with pleasant anticipation to the visit this fall of Their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor and Empress. Our citizens will extend a warm welcome. I am convinced that the visit of Their Majesties will lend a new dimension to our relations. Mr. Prime Minister, I sincerely hope your visit with us will be as productive for you as my trip to Japan last year was for me.

Gentlemen, will you join me in a toast to His Imperial Majesty, to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to the people of Japan, to continued close cooperation between our two great countries.

NOTE: The President spoke at the dinner which began at 7:30 p.m. at the White House.

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### **Joint Announcement to the Press Following Discussions With Prime Minister Miki of Japan. August 6, 1975**

1. PRIME MINISTER MIKI and President Ford met in Washington August 5 and 6 for a comprehensive review of various subjects of mutual interest. The discussions between the two leaders, in which Minister for Foreign Affairs Miyazawa and Secretary of State Kissinger participated, were conducted in an informal and cordial atmosphere. Their meetings were productive and reflected the strength and breadth of the existing friendship between Japan and the United States.

2. The Prime Minister and the President reaffirmed the basic principles and common purposes underlying relations between Japan and the United States as set forth in the Joint Communiqué of November 20, 1974, on the occasion of the President's visit to Japan. In so doing, the Prime Minister and the President noted that Japan and the United States, while sharing basic values and ideals, differ in their national characteristics and the circumstances in which they are placed; and yet the two nations, acting together, have drawn upon the strengths inherent in such diversity to build a mature, mutually beneficial and complementary relationship.

They emphasized the fundamental importance in that relationship of constructive and creative cooperation between the two countries toward the shared goals of world peace and prosperity. Expressing satisfaction with the open and frank dialogue which has developed between the two Governments, they pledged to maintain and strengthen this consultation. To this end, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State will review twice a year bilateral and global matters of common concern.

3. The Prime Minister and the President discussed developments in Asia following the end of armed conflict in Indochina. The President, recognizing the importance of Asia for world peace and progress, reaffirmed that the United States would continue to play an active and positive role in that region and would continue to uphold its treaty commitments there. The Prime Minister and the President welcomed the efforts being made by many nations in Asia to strengthen their political, economic and social bases. They stated that Japan and the United States were prepared to continue to extend assistance and cooperation in support of these efforts. They agreed that the security of the Republic of Korea is essential to the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsula, which in turn is necessary for peace and security in East Asia, including Japan. They noted the importance of the existing security arrangements for maintaining and preserving that peace. At the same time they strongly expressed the hope that the dialogue between the South and North would proceed in order to ease tensions and eventually to achieve peaceful unification. In connection with the Korean question in the United Nations, the Prime Minister and the President expressed the hope that all concerned would recognize the importance of maintaining a structure which would preserve the armistice now in effect.

4. The Prime Minister and the President expressed their conviction that the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States has greatly contributed to the maintenance of peace and security in the

Far East and is an indispensable element of the basic international political structure in Asia, and that the continued maintenance of the Treaty serves the long-term interests of both countries. Further, they recognized that the United States nuclear deterrent is an important contributor to the security of Japan. In this connection, the President reassured the Prime Minister that the United States would continue to abide by its defense commitment to Japan under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security in the event of armed attack against Japan, whether by nuclear or conventional forces. The Prime Minister stated that Japan would continue to carry out its obligations under the Treaty. The Prime Minister and the President recognized the desirability of still closer consultations for the smooth and effective implementation of the Treaty. They agreed that the authorities concerned of the two countries would conduct consultations within the framework of the Security Consultative Committee on measures to be taken in cooperation by the two countries.

5. The Prime Minister and the President discussed various international issues of common concern. The President noted that the United States would continue to seek an early conclusion to negotiations of the second agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic arms. The Prime Minister and the President expressed their strong hope that prompt progress be made through current efforts toward a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

6. The Prime Minister and the President expressed their concern over the recent trend toward nuclear proliferation in the world, and agreed that Japan and the United States should participate positively in international efforts for the prevention of nuclear proliferation and the development of adequate safeguards. They emphasized that all nuclear-weapon states should contribute constructively in the areas of nuclear arms limitation, the security of non-nuclear weapon states, and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The Prime Minister expressed his intention to proceed with the necessary steps to bring about Japan's ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty at the earliest possible opportunity.

7. In light of the increasing economic interdependence of the nations of the world, the Prime Minister and the President agreed that Japan and the United States share a special responsibility toward the development of a stable and balanced world economy. They agreed that the two countries would work in close consultation toward the resolution in a manner beneficial to all nations of problems relating to the general condition of the world economy, international finance, trade, energy, and cooperation between developed and developing

nations. They noted with satisfaction that trade and investment relations between the two countries are expanding in a steady and mutually beneficial manner.

8. Observing the importance of free and expanding trade to the world economy, the Prime Minister and the President emphasized the need for an open international trading system, and affirmed that Japan and the United States would continue to play a positive and constructive role in the Tokyo Round of multilateral trade negotiations currently underway in Geneva within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

9. Recognizing that there remain elements of instability in the world energy situation, the Prime Minister and the President expressed their satisfaction with the progress thus far achieved in cooperation among consumer nations.

They agreed to maintain and strengthen cooperation between Japan and the United States in this field and in the development of their respective national energy efforts. Agreeing that mutual understanding and cooperation among all nations is fundamental to the solution of the international energy problem, they noted the urgent need for the development of harmonious relations between oil producing and consuming nations. In this connection, they welcomed steps now being taken to resume the dialogue between oil producer and consumer nations, and expressed their determination that the two countries should further strengthen and coordinate their cooperative efforts for that purpose.

10. Noting the desirability of establishing adequate supply and distribution to meet the world's growing demand for food, the Prime Minister and the President agreed upon the importance of cooperation in agricultural development assistance to promote the food production capabilities of developing countries. The President further noted the need for the early establishment of an internationally coordinated system of nationally-held grain reserves. The Prime Minister stressed the need for a steady expansion of trade in agricultural products through cooperation between exporting and importing countries to their mutual benefit. The Prime Minister and the President reaffirmed the interest of the two countries in maintaining and strengthening the mutually beneficial agricultural trade between them.

11. Noting the need to assist the efforts of the developing countries to promote their own economic development and to meet the human aspirations of their peoples, the Prime Minister and the President agreed upon the importance of increased cooperation, both between Japan and the United States and with the developing countries, in such areas as development assistance and trade, including that of primary commodities.



12. The Prime Minister and the President expressed appreciation for the achievements recorded during the past decade by existing bilateral cooperative programs in the fields of medicine, science, and technology, and for the work underway in the panel for the review of Japan/U.S. Scientific and Technological Cooperation. They declared their satisfaction at the signing on August 5 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State of a new agreement between the two countries for cooperation in environmental protection. They recognized further that the promotion of mutual understanding through cultural and educational exchange is of basic importance to the strengthening of friendly relations between the Japanese and American peoples. In this regard, the Prime Minister expressed his intention of continuing to expand such exchange in addition to the promotion of Japanese studies in the United States and other projects thus far carried out by Japan, notably through the Japan Foundation. Welcoming the Prime Minister's statement, the President expressed his intention to continue his efforts to make expanded resources available for further promoting cultural and educational exchange with Japan.

13. The Prime Minister conveyed on behalf of the people of Japan sincere congratulations to the people of the United States as they celebrate the 200th anniversary of their independence in the coming year. The President thanked the Prime Minister for these sentiments and expressed the deepest appreciation of the American people.

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**Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister  
Miki of Japan. August 6, 1975**

THE PRIME MINISTER of Japan and the President of the United States, recognizing that the Japanese and American peoples share fundamental democratic values and are joined together by ties of mutual trust and cooperation, affirm that their two nations will continue to work together to build a more open and free international community, and state as follows:

—A more stable and peaceful world order requires the acceptance by all nations of certain principles of international conduct, and the establishment of a creative international dialogue—transcending differences of ideology, tradition or stages of development.

—Those principles must include respect for the sovereignty of all nations, recognition of the legitimate interests of others, attitudes of mutual respect in

international dealings, determination to seek the peaceful resolution of differences among nations, and firm commitment to social justice and economic progress around the globe.

—Japan and the United States pledge to support these principles, and to nurture a dialogue among nations which reflects them. They will expand and strengthen their cooperation in many fields of joint endeavor. Recognizing that equitable and durable peace in Asia is essential to that of the entire world, Japan and the United States will extend every support to efforts of the countries of the region to consolidate such a peace.

—International economic and social relations should promote the prosperity of all peoples and the aspirations and creativity of individuals and nations. The interests of developed as well as developing countries, and of consumers as well as producers of raw materials, must be accommodated in a manner which advances the well being of all and brings closer the goal of social and economic justice.

—In a world made small by science and technology, as well as by trade and communications, interdependence among nations has become a reality affecting the lives and welfare of all peoples. International economic institutions and systems must function in a manner reflecting that interdependence and promoting a cooperative rather than a confrontational approach to economic issues.

—The suffering caused by disease and hunger is a most serious and poignant impediment to a humane international economic and social order. The financial, educational and technological resources of developed countries give them a special responsibility for the alleviation of these conditions. It is imperative that there be an increasingly effective sharing of knowledge, resources and organizational skill among all countries to hasten the day when these scourges will be eliminated from the earth. In these endeavors also, Japan and the United States will contribute fully.

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### Remarks Upon Signing a Bill Extending the Voting Rights Act of 1965. *August 6, 1975*

*Mr. Vice President, distinguished Members of the Congress, and other distinguished guests:*

I am very pleased to sign today H.R. 6219, which extends as well as broadens the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The right to vote is at the very foundation of our American system, and nothing must interfere with this very precious right. Today is the 10th anniversary of the signing by President Johnson of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which I supported as a Member of the House of Representatives.

In the past decade, the voting rights of millions and millions of Americans have been protected and our system of government has been strengthened immeasurably. The bill that I will sign today extends the temporary provisions of the act for 7 more years and broadens the provisions to bar discrimination against Spanish-speaking Americans, American Indians, Alaskan natives, and Asian Americans.

Further, this bill will permit private citizens, as well as the Attorney General, to initiate suits to protect the voting rights of citizens in any State where discrimination occurs. There must be no question whatsoever about the right of each eligible American, each eligible citizen to participate in our elective process. The extension of this act will help to ensure that right.

I thank the Members of the Congress, I thank their staffs, and I thank all the others who have been helpful in making this signing possible.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:09 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

As enacted, H.R. 6219 is Public Law 94-73 (89 Stat. 400).

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## Statement on Signing the Veterans Disability Compensation and Survivor Benefits Act of 1975. *August 6, 1975*

I HAVE approved H.R. 7767, a bill to raise compensation payments for service-disabled veterans and their survivors.

Early this year, I called for a temporary 5-percent limit on cost-of-living increases in certain domestic benefit programs to slow the growth in Federal spending for these programs. I proposed that this limit be applied to veterans and survivor compensation as well as to other Federal programs. The limit I recommended would not have reduced or eliminated any benefit payments, but would have slowed the excessive growth of the budget and given us some control over spending in coming years. I still believe this is sound policy in our present economic climate.

The Congress refused to go along, however, and other groups have received Federal benefit increases exceeding my proposed limit. Therefore, it would not be equitable to apply this limit only to veterans disabled in the service of their

country and to their survivors. The Nation owes them a *special* debt of gratitude.

H.R. 7767 will cost the Federal Government one-half billion dollars a year. In the current fiscal year, this is more than double the cost of a 5-percent benefit increase.

I must, therefore, remind the Congress that we simply cannot continue adding to Federal deficit spending without facing a day of reckoning.

My pledge still stands to do all in my power to hold this year's budget deficit to \$60 billion. I urge the Congress to hold spending in future legislation to the limits proposed in my 1976 budget requests and to find sufficient savings in other programs to make up for the added spending called for in H.R. 7767.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 7767, approved August 5, 1975, is Public Law 94-71 (89 Stat. 395).

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### Interview With Paul Duke and Martin Agronsky of the Public Broadcasting Service. *August 7, 1975*

#### VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

MR. DUKE. [1.] Mr. President, we are delighted to join you here today in the Solarium on the third floor of the White House, a charming and homey room.

As you now round out your first year in the White House, do you feel at home here? Do you find that you enjoy the "splendid misery" of the Presidency, to use those famous words of Thomas Jefferson?

THE PRESIDENT. Paul, I think my family as well as myself enjoy living here. It is a magnificent home, of course. It can get a little lonely at times. It is big, but there are so many wonderful things here that you can enjoy. It is a super place to live.

It also gives you an opportunity to focus in on the problems, and it is the problems that come with the house that make it somewhat difficult at times to really relax and enjoy yourself.

MR. DUKE. Speaking of those problems, Mr. President, I think many people regarded you as something of an interim President when you first assumed office. Do you feel now that a year later, that you have established a Ford Presidency?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we have gradually put together a domestic program and a foreign policy that can be identified as a Ford Administration. As we move

in the next 12 to 14 months, I think it will become more and more evident, which, of course, gives us an opportunity in the next election to lay that record out so the public can judge it against any alternative programs submitted by the opposition.

I don't think there will be any problem in identifying what we have done, what we have tried to do, and it will be known as a Ford policy or a Ford program, so to speak.

MR. AGRONSKY. Let us look back at that first year in the terms that you give, Mr. President. What would you pick out as the things you have done in this first year that make it indeed a Ford Presidency, both in domestic and foreign policy?

THE PRESIDENT. Before getting into foreign and domestic policy, Martin, I think it is entirely proper to say that I have tried to restore public confidence in the Government and, particularly, in the Administration, in the executive branch, in the White House. I don't mean to criticize anybody else, but all the polls showed that roughly a year ago there had been a great loss of confidence on the part of the American people in their Government. We, the new Administration, with our appointments, with our openness, with our attempt to be frank and honest with the American people, I think we have turned the corner, and there is a restored confidence on behalf of the American people in their Government.

Now, let's turn to the policy areas. We inherited a very difficult economic situation. The rate of inflation was somewhere between 12 and 14 percent, the highest in a good many years. That was our immediate economic problem, and we undertook some activities both fiscally and in a monetary sense to correct the situation. I am glad to report that it is now somewhere between 5 and 6 percent per annum. That is too high, and we had a little setback the last announcement on the CPI, the Consumer Price Index.

MR. AGRONSKY. In fact, it indicates it is going to go up 14 percent if it continues at this rate.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't think—that is the new wholesale price figure that came out this morning. But if you annualize the last 6 months of the Wholesale Price Index, it shows it is almost zero, because we had 5 months of, as I recall, negative increases in the Wholesale Price Index. So, I think you have to look at it in the broad span. We have made significant progress in the field of inflation, and we are going to continue to do so. It is important. Then, of course, we were faced in January with a precipitous drop in employment and a tre-

mendous increase in unemployment. We adjusted our economic policies to meet that problem without sacrificing our effort against inflation.

We did have an increase of unemployment up to 9.2 percent—much, much too high—but the last 2 months the unemployment figure has gone down from 9.2 to 8.4, and the most encouraging part is the fact that we have had an increase in employment of about 600,000, as I recall the figure. That is the encouraging thing. We are putting people back to work even though the unemployment figure is still too high.

Now, this is a very narrow line to follow of still trying to control inflation and at the same time reduce unemployment. I can just assure you we are going to follow a steady, firm, I think, correct policy to meet these two challenges.

#### THE NATION'S ECONOMY

[2.] MR. DUKE. When you referred to a correct policy, Mr. President, I would like to remind you that it seems to us that in the past 2 or 3 weeks we have had an awakening, new concern that inflation may take off again, that unemployment is going to remain quite high through the election year of 1976. So, do you plan any new measures to deal with the economy?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we have to make certain that the policies we have undertaken are continued. Now those policies are what?

If we were to go along with the Congress that wants to spend a great deal more money—I drew the line at a deficit of \$60 billion—the Congressional figures are up to \$70 billion or \$80 billion deficit for the current fiscal year—if we were to go along with that kind of a deficit figure that the Congress proposes, I think we would be in serious trouble on the reigniting of inflation. So, we are still going to veto bills that accelerate expenditures in the Federal Government beyond a reasonable figure.

On the other hand, with the restoration of public confidence by our, I think, responsible action, I believe that we are going to regenerate industrial activity, which means more jobs.

Now, let me take one aspect of the last 6 months. We have had the most rapid inventory sell-off in the history of the United States. It is almost unbelievable. The net result is that current inventories in many, many areas of the country, in industries in the country, are down. So, they have to come up with additional production to meet current daily demand.

With consumer confidence coming back the way it has—and all the pollsters show that—I think our steady, firm, responsible course is going to meet the challenge of inflation and unemployment. They won't be as good as we would

like—I am very honest and very frank about it—but we will be moving in the right direction.

MR. AGRONSKY. Let us take the direction in which we are moving, which we are in today, leaving percentages aside. We have got better than 8 million Americans who don't have jobs. We reckon now that there are something like 24 million Americans—12 percent of the population of this country—that are at the poverty level or below.

And many of your critics make the point that while you are a good man and a decent man, you don't show a sufficient amount of compassion, in their opinion, for the people who are unfortunate in that sense, for the people who are on welfare and people who live on food stamps.

THE PRESIDENT. Martin, our welfare program is very generous. Our food stamp program is very generous. A good many Americans think that there are too many abuses both in welfare and food stamps, and I think there are too many abuses. If we could correct the abuses, we could be more compassionate to the people who have a real need for both welfare and/or food stamps or both.

Now, you know, inflation, Martin, hits the unemployed even more drastically than it hurts the people who are employed, so my compassion is across the spectrum. It is not just aimed at the people who are employed. We want to control inflation to help all Americans, including the unemployed. If we don't control inflation, the ones who are hurt the most are the people who are unemployed and the people on fixed incomes.

MR. AGRONSKY. Mr. President, no one would argue that inflation isn't a threat, but the concern is that you seem to be more worried, really, constantly—and it is a conscious decision on the part of your Administration—with inflation than you have been with unemployment. And generally the whole thrust—

THE PRESIDENT. Martin, I must respectfully disagree with you. This Administration has extended the unemployment compensation program to, I think, 65 weeks. We have broadened the eligibility of unemployment beyond what it ever was in the United States. We have paid more money out in unemployment benefits than any administration has ever done. So, we have shown in dollars and in programs a deep concern for the unemployed. We have gone along with a public service employment program up to the maximum authorized by the Congress.

MR. AGRONSKY. But yet you have also vetoed an effort for a job bill that was passed by the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT. Martin, that was, I think, a poor label for a bad piece of legislation. The facts are, I sent up a request for \$1,900 million for public service

employment or a jobs bill that included \$450 million for a summer youth employment program and the remainder for the public service employment. That shows my interest in the youth who wanted employment this summer, and it shows my interest in the people we could hire in the public service area.

Now, what the Congress did was to take my recommendation and add \$3 billion in pork-barrel programs that wouldn't have solved the problem of the people unemployed today. It was pure Congressional politics of a pork-barrel kind, and that is the reason I vetoed it. And what happened? After I vetoed it, the Congress recognized they were wrong and they sent back a bill that included my public service employment, my summer youth program, and added a few hundred million dollars just to satisfy their ego. Now, the truth is we got a good program through and we didn't get a pork-barrel program shoved down the American people.

#### VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

[3.] MR. DUKE. Let me take this to a somewhat different plane, Mr. President. There are critics who suggest that you have not provided the kind of broad roadmap for the country's future which this Nation with its many problems desperately needs today.

James Reston, writing in the New York Times yesterday, suggested there remains a strain of doubt about your leadership. David Broder, in the Washington Post, suggested that you may in reality be a provisional President.

Does it disturb you that you do not appear to have captured the hearts and minds of a great many Americans?

THE PRESIDENT. I read both of those articles, and they are very able columnists. I think we will, with the next State of the Union message, have some areas that will point the direction in the long run for our country.

I instituted this year what we call a "no new program" approach. Why did we do that? We had to solve our current problems first in order to get our fiscal situation under control. Once we have achieved that result—and I think we have made substantial headway—then we can take a look at and make recommendations for the long range that will meet some of the problems that are raised by Scotty Reston and Dave Broder, and by others.

MR. AGRONSKY. How do you deal with this perception that people have about the lack of leadership, and not only for you but for the Republican Party?

For example, Senator Brock of Tennessee, of your party, said the Republican Party must come to stand for something and until it does that the word "Republican" will be associated with Watergate and big business, hard times.



THE PRESIDENT. Well, I, of course, deny that this Administration, the Ford Administration, is in any way whatsoever connected with Watergate. The Ford Administration is going to be known, in my judgment, for a successful implementation of economic policy that will provide jobs in the private sector in the long run and in foreign policy will expand our efforts for peace throughout the world. That is what this Administration will stand for. I think those are good things for an administration to be remembered over the years.

MR. AGRONSKY. If you achieve them.

THE PRESIDENT. I think the record is going to be good, and I think right now the public, if you look at the polls, is beginning to perceive that.

The polls show that, on a personal basis, I am doing much better. It is not as high as I would like, but not many people in public life are doing very well in the polls.

MR. DUKE. But also, Mr. President, the polls show that only 7 of 100 Americans—by one pollster who happens to be from your home State, Robert Teeter—that only 7 of 100 Americans today regard themselves as strict Republicans. I think this relates additionally to the fact that rightly or wrongly, many Members of Congress and elsewhere, your critics, detect a negative quality about your leadership. And doesn't that do damage perhaps to your own Presidency and to the Republican Party?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let me quote, if I might, some other statistics. Most polls that are taken today indicate that a majority of Americans are in the middle of the road or conservative. Now they don't label themselves as Democrats or Republicans. They are talking about a philosophy. And maybe labels today are not the right way to identify people's views, whether it is Democrat or Republican. I believe the American people want a healthy economy, a firm and successful foreign policy. That is what we are going to give them, and that is what we are giving them at the present time.

MR. DUKE. When you talk about a healthy economy, Mr. President, there are other problems as well. What do we do about the rising cost of medical care, what do we do about the 12 percent of the population which Martin referred to which is now at the poverty level in this country? What do we do about the enormous problems of the cities which seem to be accelerating?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let us take the last one first. I think the cities have to recognize that they have a responsibility in the fiscal area as well. The Federal Government has done a substantial amount for cities through the general revenue sharing program, through a multitude of categorical grant programs. The

cities have to realize that they have a fiscal management problem, too, and many of them have. Many of our cities are well managed; a few are not.

MR. DUKE. New York, for example?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the record speaks for itself.

#### WELFARE REFORM

[4.] MR. DUKE. Well, Mr. President, in one area, the welfare area, your outgoing Welfare Secretary Weinberger suggested the other day that we should now be giving thought to some kind of negative income tax, in effect, a guaranteed annual income. Is that in the future as far as your Administration is concerned?

THE PRESIDENT. Sometime this fall, there will be conducted under our Domestic Council—and the Vice President is acting Chairman, Vice Chairman, but the actual acting Chairman of the Domestic Council—and he and his associates are going to conduct some public hearings around the country where a number of areas will be examined by that Council, where people in various communities will have an opportunity to testify, proponents of one approach or another approach. It won't be an organized effort to direct them any way.

Some people say we should modify the present welfare program. Some say we should junk it and come in with a new one. There are a number of other alternatives.

What we are going to do through the Domestic Council is give people throughout the country, not just the Washington complex, an opportunity to express themselves, to tell us what they think is the answer to the welfare problem. There is an awful lot of wisdom out in the country on what's right and what's wrong about welfare, what we today ought to do about medical care and the costs and the program. And as a result of those hearings on a nationwide basis, we will formulate our recommendations in those areas that need change.

MR. DUKE. But the decision does have to be made here, Mr. President. The decision has to be made ultimately in the Oval Office. And what is your thinking? Is it your thinking that the welfare system in this country is now in such a chaotic mess that some new system must be devised, and it is likely that some form of guaranteed annual income which was a concept that was put forward by Richard Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT. There is no doubt that the present welfare program either ought to be junked and a substitute put in its place or the present welfare program has to be tightened up very, very greatly. Now, you can get proponents on either side.

When I was in the House of Representatives, I voted twice for the program that was submitted by the previous administration, because I believed then and now that welfare reform was mandatory. Unfortunately, even though the House of Representatives passed that legislation twice, the United States Senate refused or didn't act on it.

Now, it is my judgment that we will come out of these public hearings, we will come up with either some tightening of the existing welfare program or will offer a substitute, and there are a number of alternatives.

I am not going to prejudge what the public is going to tell us. We want the public to be a participant in this process.

#### WATERGATE

[5.] MR. AGRONSKY. Mr. President, could we return to the question of confidence, which is a real concern. You have been President for a year, and looking back, would you agree with the conventional wisdom, as far as Watergate is concerned, that the system worked?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the system did work, Martin. It went through a very traumatic period, but if you look back through what happened before August 9 and what has happened since, I think you must come to the conclusion that the system did work.

MR. AGRONSKY. And looking ahead beyond that, do you think that in this year that you have been in office that safeguards have been put into effect that would ensure that we would not have another Watergate? Do you feel there is a sense in the country that you have achieved that?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly what I have tried to do precludes a Watergate from happening under a Ford Administration, and I believe through the press, through the public, through the Congress, there would never be an opportunity for another Watergate to take place.

MR. AGRONSKY. Let me ask you to deal then with a rather remarkable and startling observation that was made to me by the Special Watergate Prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, a few days ago. I asked Mr. Jaworski, if your predecessor had destroyed the Watergate tapes, would he be sitting today in the White House, and he answered "Yes."

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't undercut any judgment by Leon Jaworski. He knew intimately the content of many of the tapes, and he had a special responsibility. So, if he made that judgment, I am certainly not going to contradict it.

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[6.] MR. AGRONSKY. Let us carry it, not only the judgment but its implications—and you know the famous observation of Congressman Mann, “Next time will there be a watchman in the night?” What concerns everyone in the country is that after Watergate, we now have a crisis of confidence, in the CIA, for example, a feeling that it is out of hand, that it is not sufficiently accountable. That has to be an enormous concern for you as President. How do you feel about the revelations of CIA? How do you relate them to the crisis of confidence?

THE PRESIDENT. As a result of some of the revelations, I appointed the Rockefeller Commission. That Commission conducted a very thorough investigation of the allegations concerning the CIA. That Commission has recommended to me certain administrative actions that I should take and some legislative proposals that I should submit to the Congress. My staff has taken the Rockefeller Commission recommendations and the Murphy Commission recommendations—and that Commission got into the CIA to some extent—and I intend to submit to the Congress specific proposals that I think will maintain the CIA and our total intelligence-gathering community so they can do the job which is essential for our national security on the one hand and at the same time preclude our intelligence-gathering agencies from violating our constitutional rights as individuals.

MR. AGRONSKY. That is a point that I would like to raise with you. A man that you admire very much, one of your late predecessors, Harry Truman, in conversations with Merle Miller on his concept of the Presidency, remarked on the CIA, and I quote Mr. Truman: “Now, those fellows in the CIA don’t just report on wars and the like. They go out and make their own and there is nobody to keep track of what they are up to. They spend billions of dollars on stirring up trouble so they will have something to report on. They become a government all its own and all secret. They don’t have to account to anybody. That is a very dangerous thing in a democratic society.”

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the recommendations that have come from the Rockefeller Commission and from the Murphy Commission and the result of the investigations in the House as well as the Senate, I think, will give to the Congress and to the President the tools to correct the abuses that Mr. Truman spoke of in his conversations.

MR. AGRONSKY. And that you perceive?

THE PRESIDENT. And that I think have to be done in the future to eliminate any possibility of abuses such as Mr. Truman mentioned.

MR. AGRONSKY. Mr. President, the feeling is that perhaps you yourself as President, in terms of the record of the Presidency versus the CIA, may not even be aware of many areas in which the CIA operates.

THE PRESIDENT. I can assure you, Martin, of two things. One, as a Member of the House and a member of a committee that had some jurisdiction over the CIA, but more specifically as President, I have probably gotten into the operations of the CIA and other related intelligence agencies in greater depth than any other President. And as a consequence, the proposals that I will submit and the administrative actions that I will take will correct those alleged and actual abuses. I think I know more about the CIA than any other President, certainly since 1945 or 1946 when it was established, and either in the rules and regulations or the law or the personnel, we are going to make certain that the CIA does its job in the gathering of foreign intelligence and the analyzation of that intelligence for the benefit of the President, the Department of State, and the Secretary of Defense, and at the same time will not abuse the proper constitutional rights of 214 million Americans. We are going to do that.

MR. DUKE. Well, Mr. President, you served in Congress for a long time and Congress is the people's instrument that was really supposed to be protecting us against the excesses of the CIA. It is obvious now that Congress never did its job adequately. Did you ever have any inkling when you say you have been familiar with the CIA since 1946—did you ever have any inkling that these things were going on?

THE PRESIDENT. I must admit, Paul, that I was not familiar with some of the details that have been brought to light. I was among a very limited number of Members of Congress, House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans, who analyzed the CIA budget and their overall programs. But I must admit that that kind of control by the Congress, in retrospect, was not adequate.

MR. DUKE. Do you feel that members of the CIA lied to you as a Member of Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I do not think they lied to me. I won't pass judgment on what they said to others. But I do believe that the control of the CIA by the Congress over a period of years was not as sufficient as it should have been.

MR. DUKE. Do you feel this is now essential for the future, that Congress must exercise greater control over the CIA?

THE PRESIDENT. I think there has to be some improvement in this area, but I am not passing judgment on this program as to the specific recommendations I will make. We are now analyzing various proposals, and what the Congress does, of course, is their decision. But I can make recommendations as to how we

can tighten up the control and at the same time give to the President and other people who have an interest the information on foreign intelligence which is so essential to our national security. You have to balance the two, and that is a very fine line. And I think we can do it. We are certainly going to try.

MR. DUKE. The Attorney General, Mr. Levi, in reading the material which you sent over from the White House which has not been released to the public about CIA activities, said he was appalled by some of the things he read. Were you appalled?

THE PRESIDENT. I think some of the things were improper, but I must say, Paul, people can judge what others have done and unfortunately sometimes don't put themselves in the position of a previous President or put themselves in the position of a previous Secretary of Defense. I think we can recognize the areas of mistake, but I don't like to be a Monday-morning quarterback. I think we ought to deal with the facts and we ought to deal with what we should do in the future and learn from the past, and I think we can correct these things.

MR. AGRONSKY. What we learned from the past, even despite your dislike of being a Monday-morning quarterback, is that your predecessors accepted proposals which called for the assassination of a foreign chief of state, for one thing, and brought about the overturn of a government in Chile, for another thing.

THE PRESIDENT. Martin, I am not going to pass judgment on whether there was an order or wasn't an order about assassination. I have said categorically this is an era that is past. I don't want to point a finger at any other President or Presidents.

I have looked at all of the material. We have given the material to the Church committee, and it is their obligation to, I think, analyze it but not do any finger-pointing.

Now, the CIA has two kinds of operations—one covert and the other overt. Their covert operations, under the procedures we have under this Administration, are carefully monitored—carefully monitored, and I can assure you that every one that is done is in the national interest of the United States.

MR. AGRONSKY. But your predecessors might well have thought the same thing. The concern is the use of the CIA covertly, if you like, as an instrument of policy and foreign policy by your predecessors.

THE PRESIDENT. Martin, I think we have to understand we live in a real world. Every nation, either a friend or an adversary, has a comparable intelligence-gathering, intelligence-operating organization in their government. And they do it for their own national security.

Now, the United States has to compete in this real world. It's a tough world,

and our national security on many occasions involves doing things in a covert way.

I can only assure you that if and when we undertake them under this Administration, they will be carefully monitored and they will be directly related to the national security of this country. I am not going to pass judgment on what other Presidents did. They were good men, whether they were Democrats or Republicans. They thought they were doing right. I can only pass judgment on what I want us to do, and those are the guidelines that we will follow.

#### CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

[7.] MR. DUKE. Speaking of national security and foreign policy, Mr. President—and I must say parenthetically that you look very fit and relaxed for a man who just came back from Europe—nonetheless, your trip to Helsinki has encountered a substantial degree of hostility in this country, as you perhaps well know, and, rightly or wrongly, some people are suggesting that the Russians were the winners at Helsinki and we were the losers. What is your response to that criticism?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is a completely inaccurate interpretation concerning the CSCE Conference in Helsinki. I think it is a judgment some people make, but I thoroughly disagree with it.

Let me just put this in perspective, if I might. We predicated many of the decisions involving borders on what? Peace treaties signed by all of the countries in the 1940's and in subsequent years. No border was agreed to in Helsinki that wasn't previously agreed to by previous American Presidents or by previous governments in other countries.

We provided in that Helsinki agreement for peaceful change of borders. We made it far less likely that there will be military intervention by one country against another.

What we have really done is to make it possible for people in the East as well as in the West in Europe to communicate, to reestablish family relationships. We made it possible, if the agreement is lived up to.

MR. AGRONSKY. *If the agreement is lived up to?*

THE PRESIDENT. I will come to that in a minute, Martin.

We have made it possible for the news media to have greater freedom in all of the 35 countries.

Now, the question you ask is a very good one. Will the agreement be maintained? In my speech before the Conference, I said, on paper this is good. We

have 2 years between now and the next meeting in 1977, and the test will be, have all 35 countries lived up to the agreement? It offers a hope. The reality will depend upon the execution.

I happen to believe that world pressure will force all countries, Communist countries and other countries, to live up to the agreement.

MR. DUKE. But let's just take one example, Mr. President. You talk about a peaceful change in borders being in the agreement. Now realistically speaking, do you think that the Russians would give up the Baltic territory, which they took over at the end of World War II? Do you think they would give up the Eastern European countries? Do you think that they would negotiate to give back these countries their independence?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me put it the other way around. If we had not gone to Helsinki, do you think the Russians would have permitted any of the things you are talking about? In Helsinki, they at least signed an agreement that says you can change borders by peaceful means.

MR. DUKE. But does it mean anything, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, they have signed something that says you can change borders by peaceful means. Prior to Helsinki, there was no such agreement.

MR. AGRONSKY. Mr. President, you used a very good phrase at Helsinki. You said "Peace is not a piece of paper," a very memorable phrase, and it conveys this idea that we are talking about now. Many of your critics—and let's take it all of the way from Solzhenitsyn<sup>1</sup> to George Ball, a former Under Secretary of State—have voiced concern about legitimizing what, for example, George Ball calls the Soviet stolen empire, and asks, how do you reconcile that with Western ideals?

The point Ball makes, the point Solzhenitsyn makes: that it is our obligation to follow policy that is more concerned with morality and principle than the acceptance of these borders would indicate.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Martin, I go back to the peace treaties of Yalta and Paris and Potsdam and the agreement by the Germans themselves to establish those borders. Those were peace treaties that established borders for all of Eastern Europe and all of Western Europe. Those are factual things done in the forties, the fifties, et cetera.

The Conference on European Security and Cooperation didn't change any of those, but it did say—and every one of the nations did sign—something that is different, that there can be peaceful adjustments of borders.

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<sup>1</sup> Nobel laureate Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.



MR. DUKE. But despite what you are now saying, Mr. President, there is in this country, as you well know, a rising amount of criticism about détente itself, people questioning the value of détente. What is your feeling about this criticism, and do you think this is endangering détente?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope it is not endangering détente, because I think there are many pluses to us and, yes, to the Soviet Union. It has to be a two-way street.

I believe that SALT I was an outgrowth of détente. Does anybody want to tear up SALT I? I don't think so. Anything that puts a lid or a limitation on the development of nuclear weapons, the expansion of nuclear weapons—any agreement that puts a lid or controls, that is good. So, détente helped achieve SALT I.

Détente may help—I hope it will—SALT II, where we will put an actual cap on nuclear weapons and other nuclear weapons systems.

MR. AGRONSKY. One of the happiest dividends that détente could possibly produce would be a reduction of forces by the Soviet Union as well as the Western allies in Western Europe.

THE PRESIDENT. I agree.

MR. AGRONSKY. Was that raised at Helsinki? Did you get anywhere at all with that with Brezhnev?

THE PRESIDENT. As you know, historically, when CSCE was originally agreed to as a program, it was also agreed to that there would be negotiations for mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe—MBFR. Those negotiations have been going on now for about 2 years. They are presently stalled, but now that we have the Helsinki agreement, it is my judgment that we have opened up encouraging prospects for additional movement in the MBFR negotiations.

I think the Allies and the West are getting together for perhaps a new position. I believe that the Soviet Union and its allies are taking a look at the current stalemated negotiations and may come up with some agreement. The prospects for a mutual and balanced force reduction in Europe have been enhanced by the Helsinki agreement—no question about that whatsoever.

MR. DUKE. Well, Mr. President, to go back to SALT I for a moment, you said at a recent news conference that according to your investigation the Russians had not cheated on the agreement limiting the use of certain strategic weapons. Your old friend, Melvin Laird, had written an article suggesting they had cheated. Since then, you have talked to Mr. Laird. Have you changed your mind about what you said earlier?

THE PRESIDENT. I naturally investigated the allegations that were made by a number of people, including Mel. And after a thorough investigation, I have

come to the conclusion that a person might legitimately make the charge there had been violations, but on complete and total investigation I think any person who knew the facts as I know them would agree that there had been no violations of any consequence.

There are some ambiguities—I want to be frank about it—but all of the responsible, knowledgeable people in the Pentagon or in any of the other responsible agencies would agree with me there have been no serious violations, and any that have been called to their attention have been stopped.

MR. DUKE. But you are suggesting there have been some infractions, then?

THE PRESIDENT. Very minor, but we have what we call a consultative group where if we think they are violating something, we make that point. It is investigated, and in the cases where there was any instance that might be an honest charge of a violation, they have been stopped.

The Soviet Union has raised some questions about certain activities that we have undertaken, and we have investigated them. And I think that arrangement of the consultative group has been very effective in making sure that SALT I was lived up to.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

[8.] MR. DUKE. Let me turn now to the Middle East, Mr. President.

MR. AGRONSKY. You beat me to it.

MR. DUKE. We have had intensive negotiations going on now for about 2 months to try to get a peace treaty moving in this area. What is the prospect?

THE PRESIDENT. They are better today than they were yesterday, and they are a lot better today than they were last March when the negotiations unfortunately broke off.

MR. DUKE. Does this mean you are increasingly optimistic?

THE PRESIDENT. I am optimistic on an increasing basis, but I have learned that until it is signed in black and white that I shouldn't predict that it will be finalized.

MR. AGRONSKY. Let me ask you—

MR. DUKE. Pardon me, Martin. I want to just ask you one more question in this area. Do you find the Russians are now less troublesome in the Middle East in the efforts to achieve a peace agreement?

THE PRESIDENT. They have acted in a very responsible way, during my time, in the Middle East. Let me just turn to the question of these negotiations that are going on between Israel on the one hand and Egypt on the other.

Both of those countries have to understand that flexibility at this crucial time is important for the peace of that area of the world and possibly peace in the world. Israel has to be more flexible; I think Egypt has to respond. If there isn't movement in the Middle East right now, the potential for war is increased significantly. And a war in the Middle East today has broader potential ramification than any time in the past, and we have had four wars in the Middle East since 1946 or 1947.

A fifth one not only means that Israel will be fighting the Arabs but the potential of a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union is a possibility.

MR. AGRONSKY. You must have raised that with Brezhnev. How did he react to it?

THE PRESIDENT. We talked about the Middle East. We told them, or I told him, what we were doing. Secretary Kissinger had had a previous meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko.

I repeat what I said a moment ago, Martin. The Soviet Union has acted in a very responsible way. I think they understand the potential consequences of no progress for continued peace and understanding in the Middle East.

MR. DUKE. What do you see, sir, as our future policy toward South Vietnam? Do you think that we will recognize that Communist regime in the foreseeable future?

THE PRESIDENT. Their current actions certainly do not convince me that we should recognize South Vietnam or North Vietnam.

MR. DUKE. What about their application to get into the United Nations General Assembly?

THE PRESIDENT. We have taken a very strong stand that we would not agree to the admission of South or North Vietnam unless and until South Korea is admitted. We believe in universality across the board. We don't believe in kicking nations out—kicking Israel out, for example. We think that would be bad policy.

MR. AGRONSKY. Did Mr. Brezhnev say he agreed with you on that—they were supporting that movement?

THE PRESIDENT. We let it be known very, very strongly that we believe Israel should be permitted to be a member of the United Nations. That is our position. But on the other hand, we also believe that if you believe in universality, which includes South and North Vietnam, you have to have South Korea.

## SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER

[9.] MR. DUKE. Mr. President, when you first took office, you obviously relied a great deal upon Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Do you now make more of the decisions on your own? Do you rely less upon Mr. Kissinger?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to get into that discussion. Henry Kissinger and I have the closest possible rapport, personally and professionally. I see him every day for roughly an hour. We talk about the Middle East. We talk about SALT. We talk about our total foreign policy. It's a good relationship. It has been from the very first day. It is now, and I expect it to continue in the future. And I don't want to get into whether I do more or do less. We are a good team, and I think we have made some good decisions.

## TURKEY

[10.] MR. DUKE. Are you aware, Mr. President, of the criticism at the Capitol—

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, sure.

MR. DUKE. —from Republicans and not just Democrats, that in the Turkish aid fight, for example, that Mr. Kissinger was responsible for your losing that battle to lift the ban against military aid.

THE PRESIDENT. I have heard those arguments but I don't think they are valid. I think the Congress, or the House of Representatives in this case, made the most serious wrong decision since I have been in Washington, which is 27 years. The Congress was totally wrong—or the House of Representatives. Why do I say that? First, they haven't solved the Cyprus problem. Number two, they have weakened NATO. Number three, because of the Turkish aid embargo, they have lessened our own national security capability by preventing us from using intelligence-gathering installations in Turkey.

MR. DUKE. Are you saying Congress is harming our foreign policy?

THE PRESIDENT. There is no question about it. The decision of the House of Representatives to continue the Turkish arms embargo has seriously jeopardized our foreign policy and undercuts in a significant way our own national security, including that of NATO, and it hasn't solved—it has not solved the Cyprus problem.

MR. AGRONSKY. Mr. President, doesn't there have to be a concern for law? There was a law that said that aid that was given to Turkey could not be used as it was used against Cyprus.

THE PRESIDENT. We have lived up to the law. We have stopped, because Congress told us to, the shipment of military hardware that the Turks bought and paid for. And incidentally, they bought and paid for the hardware, and because of Congressional action, the Turks are now being charged warehouse storage fees for equipment that they own that Congress said they couldn't get.

But anyhow, aside from that, which is, I think, a ridiculous development, we have lived up to the law. We are not sending them any military hardware, and unfortunately, the net result is what I told you.

But, Martin, I think you have to recollect a little bit. Who started the problem in Cyprus? It was the Greek Government, it was the previous Greek Government that tried to throw Makarios out and assassinate him, and the previous Greek Government wanted to move in with Greek troops and take over Cyprus. And as a result of Greek violations, the Turks moved in and have, unfortunately, dominated the situation. But the whole program or the whole problem arose by the unwise action of the previous Greek Government.

#### VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[11.] MR. DUKE. Mr. President, our time is almost out, and I must bring up a subject with which you are obviously quite familiar, namely, the rumors in this town that Nelson Rockefeller may not be your running mate in 1976.

MR. AGRONSKY. That he is going to be dumped.

MR. DUKE. Is he going to be dumped? Is he going to be back on the ticket?

THE PRESIDENT. I have read the various reports, and frankly, I think it is a tempest in a teapot.

MR. AGRONSKY. That is what he said.

THE PRESIDENT. I happen to agree with him. Nelson Rockefeller was selected by me because I think he would make and has made a first-class Vice President. The realities of the political situation are I am going to go out with my campaign people to get my delegates. He, of course, will seek his delegates in the interim. I think the team of Ford and Rockefeller has done a good job, and at this time, I don't see any reason to change it.

MR. AGRONSKY. Is the position you take one that might finesse Mr. Reagan out of the picture, too?

THE PRESIDENT. I only talk about the affirmative things, Martin. I don't want to get into who did this or who did that or what is going to happen. The realities are Nelson Rockefeller has done an excellent job as Vice President. He works hard. He is cooperative. He has taken every job I have given him and done really

a great job. When you have somebody that works on a team with you, why do you want to change?

MR. DUKE. Mr. President, on behalf of Martin and myself and all of us in Public Broadcasting, I would like to thank you for the privilege and the opportunity to come here and visit with you today.

MR. AGRONSKY. With which I concur. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Martin. Thank you, Paul. It has been very enjoyable.

NOTE: The interview began at 10:25 a.m. in the Solarium at the White House. It was taped for broadcast on the Public Broadcasting Service at 8 p.m. the same day.

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### Remarks at the Swearing In of David Mathews as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. *August 8, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Cap. Secretary-designate, Members of Congress, Mr. Chief Justice, distinguished guests, including, as I understand it, three former Secretaries of HEW—Wilbur Cohen, John Gardner, and Arthur Flemming—ladies and gentlemen:*

Cap, I am very grateful for your more than generous and very kind introduction. Now that you are leaving, Cap, I would like to take just a moment to tell you and to tell all the people here what I really think of you. [*Laughter*] I was hoping the day would never come when I had to tell you this. But since you insisted on leaving, you asked for it.

Cap, you are terrific. Those of us who have known you for a long time know that in each of the important positions that you have held in the Federal Government—Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Director of OMB, Secretary of HEW—I think you have demonstrated the commitment, the talent, the tireless hard work, and a very deep sense of patriotism that represents the very highest order of public service. And we thank you very, very much.

With your retirement from public life, we are losing, as I see it, a leader of uncommon ability. You have earned the respect, admiration of your colleagues and your country, and we in Government will miss you, Cap, and this city will certainly and surely miss your lovely wife, Jane. Betty and I, all the people assembled here, and so many more throughout the country join in wishing you both a very happy and a very successful return to the private life in your beautiful State of California.

Having said that, I want to add a postscript. You have been tremendously helpful to me in a very tough year, and for that I am most grateful.

But I have come here primarily to swear in David Mathews as the new Secretary of HEW.

In Sunday's Washington Post, I read an article about David Mathews, and in this one piece alone he was described as innovative, captivating, exceptional, persuasive, gifted, and brilliant, and a man of Presidential stature. [*Laughter*]

Nevertheless—[*laughter*—I have still come here today to swear David Mathews in as the new Secretary of HEW.

In the past, many Cabinet members have come to the White House for ceremonies similar to this. But I feel very strongly it is important for a President to see as much as he can of the people he serves and of the workers in Government agencies who serve the people. And that is one of the reasons I am here today.

Actually, it is my second visit here as President. I was here nearly a year ago—less than 2 weeks after I was sworn in—to sign the Education Amendments of 1974, in keeping with my personal philosophy favoring appropriate Federal assistance to education.

As Secretary of HEW, David Mathews will be filling a most important job and a big pair of shoes. His swearing in will add another first-class officer to a Cabinet of first-class men and women.

He moves into a big job, one of the most important in Government. HEW will spend an estimated \$150 billion in the fiscal year and through the transitional quarter.

It has a staff of more than 128,000 men and women. The decisions and actions of this vital department of our Government affect the lives of every man, woman, and child in the United States. HEW has a major influence on the education Americans receive, on their health care, and on the entire range of social services.

I consider David Mathews the right person for this very important job. He is young, but is an accomplished thinker and leader, a man who understands both concepts and action, ideas and implementation.

Since 1969 he has served as an outstanding president of the University of Alabama, one of our Nation's great State universities. And at the same time, he has been an effective writer and leader in a wide range of civic activities.

Dr. Mathews brings to this new mission the strength of youth, a sense of purpose, the skills of a scholar, and the trusted record of a successful leader and administrator. That is an impressive inventory by any standard.

I am confident that his achievements will speak for themselves in the months and years ahead. I look forward to working closely with Dr. Mathews, as I have with my good friend, Cap Weinberger, to whom we all wish the very best.

I am sure all of you join with me in wishing David Mathews the very best as he assumes his heavy, new responsibilities as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:24 p.m. in the auditorium of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Warren E. Burger, Chief Justice of the United States, administered the oath of office.

Secretary Mathews' response to the President's remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 847).

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## Letter Accepting the Resignation of Counsel to the President William E. Casselman II. *August 8, 1975*

*Dear Bill:*

In accepting with real regret your decision to leave government, effective September 19, 1975, fully understanding your reasons, I cannot let this anniversary pass without expressing my deep gratitude to you for your loyalty and dedicated service as Counsel both as Vice President and President.

We have been through some tough times together. I have been fortunate to have your advice, assistance and unstinting effort for almost two eventful years. You can be proud of your fine contributions not only to my administration but throughout your career in government extending back to our first association in the House of Representatives.

As a fellow lawyer who reveres the law as the bulwark of all our liberties, I wish you great success in the practice of our profession. More personally, let me thank you for your kind and generous observations about the first year of my conduct of the Presidential office and extend, on behalf of Mrs. Ford and myself, warm good wishes to Caroline and you.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable William E. Casselman II, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500]

NOTE: Mr. Casselman's letter of resignation, dated August 8, 1975, read as follows:

*Dear Mr. President:*

Since December 10, 1973, it has been my privilege to serve you both as Legal Counsel to the Vice

President and as Counsel to the President. There is no greater responsibility or higher honor that can be afforded a lawyer in government, and I am immensely grateful for the opportunities for public service which you have given me. However, as



we discussed recently, obligations to my family make it necessary that I submit my resignation, effective September 19, 1975.

In parting, may I take this occasion to congratulate you on the successful completion of the first year of your Administration. This historic period, which began under such sad and difficult circumstances, is closing with a renewed sense of hope and confidence by the American people in their institutions of law and government. Your leadership, backed by courage, understanding, and integrity, has set the Nation on a recovery course of tranquillity and prosperity at home and sound relations abroad.

I am proud to have shared in a small way in the accomplishments of your Administration, and I sincerely regret the necessity of leaving. Nevertheless, with the work on behalf of the Special Prosecutor, conducted under my direction, in its final stages,

and with several other projects nearing their conclusion, the time seems especially appropriate for my return to private life. After ten and one-half years in the Federal government, I intend to enter the private practice of law—a decision which I have often postponed and can no longer delay.

I want to thank you for the many kindnesses, professional and personal, which you have shown to me and my family over the years. Beginning with your election as Minority Leader, I have always treasured our association and will sorely miss it. Of course, in my private capacity, I remain ready to assist you in any way you deem appropriate.

With deepest appreciation and warmest personal regards to you and your family,

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. CASSELMAN II  
*Counsel to the President*

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### **Remarks at the Awarding of the NASA Distinguished Service Medal to Americans Participating in the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project. August 9, 1975**

LET ME say how happy and pleased I am to be here today and to participate in this ceremony.

We honor three men who have risen 137 miles above this Earth, looked down at all the turmoil, the pollution, the confusion, and the problems, and still decided to come back. [*Laughter*] I think it gives all of us, the rest of us, some hope.

We also honor the project director who, along with thousands of unsung but far from unappreciated members of the NASA space team, have made this trip possible. And we thank them as well as the others.

I think you all have the gratitude and the admiration of all Americans, some 214 million. I think the entire world shared, as I did, in the excitement and in the achievement of the Apollo-Soyuz mission. It was a great triumph of science and technology, but it was also something more. The Apollo-Soyuz flight was an encouraging reminder in an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect, men from different countries and different systems can work together for a common goal with courage, intelligence, and success.

Although this wonderful lesson was learned nearly 140 miles from Earth, it is one that can make a great, great contribution to a better and more peaceful planet in the years ahead. If we can bring the spirit of Apollo-Soyuz to bear on

the many, many challenges that mankind faces on Earth, the future of us here will be far, far brighter.

Along these lines, I am pleased about the plans for the Apollo and Soyuz crewmembers and their families to tour the United States and the Soviet Union together. You will enjoy meeting the people in both countries who followed your great scientific undertaking over television and who prayed for your success and your safe return. Today I am extremely happy and very pleased to present to the three Apollo astronauts and the project director who headed the vast support operation here on Earth, a small token of our country's gratitude and respect, the NASA Distinguished Service Medal.

It is a very high honor for me to award this medal to four gallant men who have made us all very, very proud to be Americans. So, at this time, it will be my pleasure to present Tom Stafford, Deke Slayton, Vance Brand, and Dr. Glynn Lunney with the NASA Distinguished Service Medal.

*[At this point, Lt. Comdr. Thomas A. Coates of the White House Communications Agency read a combined citation, the text of which is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 852). Apollo crewmember Vance Brand then responded as follows:]*

MR. BRAND. Mr. President, throughout your years in Congress—your leadership there, your great support of man's exploration of space—your Presidency, we wanted to have a token present to give to you from man's first international mission, so the crew chose your Presidential flag. And on behalf of the crew, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and all the people here, this is for you, sir. Your flag was flown on the space mission.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very, very much. How many million miles did it fly, about 3 million miles?

Well, I do want to thank all three of you as well as Glynn and the people that were associated with the operation. This will mean a great deal to me, to the White House, to the American people, and I thank you very, very much. We will appropriately hang it in the Oval Office someplace.

Thank you all very much for your participation in, I think, one of the finest, best things that has happened not only to the United States but the world.

I congratulate again not only the three astronauts but those associated with them. It made me very proud, as I know it made 214 million Americans very proud, of not only them but their scientific backup and what it meant, I think, in a broader sense to the world as a whole.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:02 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

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**Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies for the St. Edward Mercy Medical Center, Fort Smith, Arkansas. August 10, 1975**

*Thank you very, very much, Congressman John Paul Hammerschmidt. Governor Dave Pryor, Senator John McClellan, Congressman Ray Thornton, Congressman Ted Risenhoover, Sister Judith Marie, Mayor Freeze, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

At the very outset, let me say without any hesitation or equivocation that Betty and I are delighted to be in Fort Smith, Arkansas, and of course, we are more than pleased to have had a quick look at this wonderful facility, which is a development started some 70 years ago.

You have lots of wonderful brick and mortar, but it is the soul of the Sisters of Mercy that make it what it is.

I am especially grateful that John Paul came back from the Middle East to participate in this wonderful ceremony. I think all of us know that that is one of the most volatile areas of the world. The more attention that Members of the Congress can give in understanding the intricacies and the complexities of that area of the world can and will be helpful in the step-by-step progress we are seeking to make to prevent war again in that area of the world.

I might say to my dear friend, John McClellan—Senator McClellan—if I was ever to be a Member of the United States Senate, Democrat or Republican, I would want the reputation you have for ability, integrity. There is none matched in my time in Washington.

It is really inspirational to have an opportunity to congratulate all of the people who have participated in the planning and the construction of this very, very special hospital of tomorrow that will serve a half million people in western Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma.

This new facility, having grown from what it was, beginning in 1905, is an outstanding addition to the thriving medical community in Fort Smith.

It is hard to believe that from what it was in 1905, seven decades ago, that we now have in St. Edward a facility that will provide vital health services to this great community and the surrounding areas.

A \$2 million local fund drive, combined with a \$14 million-plus Federal Housing Administration guaranteed loan, gave the money that was necessary to provide the brick and mortar.

And if I can add a little postscript, about 8 years ago, I joined with many others

in the House as well as in the Senate to provide the legislation that made it possible for loan guarantees rather than outright Federal grants for this facility. People doubted that we could do it with loan guarantees, but here is the evidence right here.

Obviously, all of you deserve to be commended about the health needs of some 65,000 people who live in this area, not only in the city but the rural residents as well, and how much better all of you will be treated with this new and modern facility.

I understand that it was examined at the time that the project was initiated how you could maintain the highest class medical service without a tremendous increase in the cost. You wanted top quality medical care at reduced cost, and it is my understanding that with what has been incorporated, you will hold the line and hopefully do even better.

The innovative design of St. Edward with automation and centralization and privacy will help keep the cost down and the quality of patient care higher and higher. And I think it is unique also that you plan to combine the Fort Smith center with the smaller rural hospitals, and this is a giant step forward. And I understand that you are already working with these smaller hospitals in the surrounding area in the purchasing program so you can achieve better service at a lesser cost.

St. Edward, I am told, showed its willingness to break new ground in medical care with the emergency medical service program. Right in St. Edward you initiated at the outset an emergency medical service. And as a consequence, literally hundreds and thousands have been served on a 24-hour-a-day basis.

And again, if I could put a little personal postscript in, Betty and I have four children, and they had in Alexandria, Virginia, one of the very first emergency medical care facilities. I tried to count on the fingers of both hands how many times either Betty or I have taken Mike, Jack, Steve, or Susan down to that emergency medical care facility.

And you in Fort Smith are fortunate that the Sisters of Mercy at St. Edward were among the originators of this first-class program.

And I think it is unique, also, that through this service, St. Edward has, for example, given some 30 National Guardsmen—who were injured at Fort Chaffee when the high winds struck—the kind of immediate medical care that was essential.

We all know that medical progress is achieved when the newest techniques, the newest bits of knowledge are available to all our citizens. And your use of improved patient care will serve as an example to other medical facilities. Your

success will inspire others to search for more creative and more efficient methods of providing this care.

The best equipment, the latest technology, the finest medical skills must be combined with compassion and care if a hospital is to serve all of our individual needs, all of our fellow citizens.

The motto of St. Edward is "Through our love of God and compassion for our fellow men we serve." This hospital's beginning in 1905 to today has translated these words into community outreach. For instance, the sponsorship by the hospital of a Vietnamese family of seven and the employment of two refugees point up very dramatically that this facility is more than just a fine place to practice medicine. It is a center which cares.

I am therefore, Sister Marie, deeply honored and very proud to have an opportunity to participate in this dedication because of St. Edward's proud past and its bright future.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:54 p.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to Sister Judith Marie Keith, administrator of the center.

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### **Exchange With Reporters Following a Visit to the Fort Chaffee Refugee Facility in Fort Smith. August 10, 1975**

LET ME say with great emphasis how much I have enjoyed being in Fort Smith, both at the hospital dedication as well as at the Fort Chaffee refugee facility. One can't help but be most encouraged by the progress of the refugee program. After all, we've had about 134,000 refugees come into the program, and we are a little over halfway through.

I want to commend the people who have handled it locally, both in the Federal Government, and one can't help but be impressed with the fine people that I see in the refugee camps. We hope to complete the program on schedule, and I am confident that America will be better off as a result.

Obviously, it is nice to be in Arkansas and be so warmly received, meet so many nice people. If I am invited, I would love to come back sometime.

REPORTER. When is the refugee program to be completed here at Fort Chaffee?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the anticipation is that the program will be concluded sometime late this fall. We are going to make every possible effort to do it, and

we are going to phase out the other three. And I hope we can complete the total program late this fall.

Q. Mrs. Ford has toured the other refugee camp in California. Did she have any feelings as comparing the two?

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Ford did go to the one at Camp Pendleton, California. I really haven't had a chance to talk to her about her reaction out there compared to my reaction here. Of course, Camp Pendleton was visited by Mrs. Ford when the program was almost in its beginning, and we have now had, what, 4 months or thereabouts.

Things are running more smoothly now. Things are, I think, going to run smoother in the future. So, I am confident it will work out very well.

Q. What have you heard about the reaction of the Fort and the area to the camp being reactivated? What have you heard as far as the attitude and so forth?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't heard any serious criticism. At least, it hasn't come to my attention.

Q. Do you feel that the camp should be closed by the end of the year?

THE PRESIDENT. I would think so.

Q. Mr. Ford, what do you think is going to happen to the oil decontrol program?

THE PRESIDENT. Sometime in the first part of September I have to make a decision. The heavy odds are that I will veto the control program. I think that is the way to stimulate additional production. I believe that there won't be any serious inflationary reactions.

I can take and, if I do veto the extension of the control program, I will take certain administrative actions that could mitigate any inflationary problems.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:22 p.m. at Fort Smith Municipal Airport.

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### **Exchange With Reporters Following a United States Court of Appeals Decision on Oil Import Fees. *August 11, 1975***

REPORTER. Any thoughts on the court ruling this morning on the constitutionality of your oil tariff?

THE PRESIDENT. We are analyzing, of course, the decision by the Circuit Court of Appeals, and I will not know until later this afternoon what the De-

partment of Justice and what my White House Counsel will recommend. But sometime this afternoon, I can give you a decision.

Q. Was there a thought of taking that off anyway when decontrols lapsed?

THE PRESIDENT. That, of course, is an option that exists, and I have indicated on several occasions that we had a number of administrative options, and that is in the group that we will have to look at if and when we decontrol, which we probably will.

REPORTER. Have a nice game, Mr. President. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:12 a.m. at the Vail Golf Course, Vail, Colo. The decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit held that the President had no constitutional authority to impose a fee on oil

imports.

On August 14, 1975, Solicitor General Robert H. Bork announced that the Government would request that the Supreme Court review the decision of the Court of Appeals.

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## Statement on Signing the Council on Wage and Price Stability Act Amendments of 1975. *August 11, 1975*

I HAVE signed into law S. 409, the bill which extends the life of the Council on Wage and Price Stability to September 30, 1977. It also clarifies the Council's authority to participate in agency rulemaking and other proceedings where the inflationary impact of a possible action could be significant and authorizes the Council to require periodic reports of information from the private sector.

Nearly a year ago, one of my first acts as President was to request legislation establishing the Council on Wage and Price Stability. I was pleased then that Congress acted in a swift and constructive way on this legislation, and I am equally pleased that Congress has extended the tenure of the Council to help in our battle against inflation. This law continues the Council in the role for which it was established: an alert watchdog against inflation.

The Council has sought both to inform and represent the public. It has spotlighted unjustifiable price increases in industry and has brought needed attention to the potentially inflationary consequences of Government actions. In the most serious cases, it has intervened on behalf of the public as a participant in Government rulemaking.

I believe the Council performs an important role in assisting Government agencies to analyze and understand the important and often overlooked impact of their rules and regulations. Every major Government action adds new costs to some part of the economy. I am convinced that, through judicious use of its

authority to participate in agency proceedings, the Council will be an important participant in my Administration's overall efforts to reduce both the scope and cost of Government's interference in the economy.

I am concerned that Congress has given the Council new authority to require detailed and periodic reports from the private sector. While Congress has wisely mandated that any information pertaining to individual firms or persons must be held strictly confidential and that the authority should be used wisely, I feel strongly that abuse of this power would run counter to my belief that Government reporting requirements have become a major burden to our privacy and freedom. I am confident that the Council will exercise this new authority with greatest care.

On balance, I believe this legislation ensures that the Council on Wage and Price Stability will continue as a strong force as it monitors, but does not control, the actions of private and public organizations. The Council will continue to be an important instrument in helping us achieve a speedy return to a healthy and prosperous economy.

NOTE: The statement was released at Vail, Colo. As enacted, S. 409, approved August 9, 1975, is Public Law 94-78 (89 Stat. 411).

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### **Statement on Signing a Bill Amending Child Support Provisions of the Social Security Act. *August 11, 1975***

I HAVE approved H.R. 7710, a bill which would make a desirable change in the tariff schedules affecting watches and watch movements manufactured in U.S. insular possessions. It would also amend the new child support program which became law last January as part of the Social Security Act.

The child support amendments, which were added to this bill shortly before the Congress recessed, will provide some States needed time to change their laws to comply with the new program, which became effective on August 1, 1975. They will also help in the orderly implementation of this program and will strengthen the confidentiality of records in the program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children by specifying the purposes for disclosure of such records.

One of these amendments requires the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop standards to assure that unreasonable demands are not made on individuals to cooperate with States in their child support collection efforts.



Regrettably, this amendment requires the Secretary to submit the proposed standards to the Congress with the provision that they may be disapproved by either House within 60 days.

As I indicated when I signed into law the Amtrak Improvement Act of 1975 on May 26, I am seriously concerned about the increasing frequency of passage by Congress of legislation containing such provisions, which are an unconstitutional exercise of Congressional power. At the same time, I believe it is entirely proper for the Congress to request information and to be consulted on the operation of Government programs.

I am therefore instructing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to treat this provision of H.R. 7710 simply as a request for information about the proposed standards in advance of their promulgation. Accordingly, I have asked the Secretary to report to the Congress at least 60 days in advance of the date he intends to issue such standards to protect individuals' interests in child support collection efforts.

When I approved the legislation establishing the new child support program last January, I expressed my strong backing of its objectives. I reaffirm that support now. However, at that time I also stated that some of the program's provisions inject the Federal Government too deeply into domestic relations and that others raise serious privacy and administrative issues. I pointed specifically to the provisions for use of the Federal courts and the tax collection procedures of the Internal Revenue Service for the collection of child support, the provisions imposing excessive audit requirements on the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the provisions establishing a parent locator service with access to all Federal records.

Legislation which would have corrected these problems was recently passed by the House of Representatives, but these corrective amendments were not included in the bill I have just signed. I urge the Congress to enact such legislation as soon as possible after the current recess, so the desirable objectives of the child support program are not undermined by undue intrusion of the Federal Government into people's personal lives.

NOTE: The statement was released at Vail, Colo. As enacted, H.R. 7710, approved August 9, 1975, is Public Law 94-88 (89 Stat. 433).

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Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the Vail  
Symposium in Vail, Colorado. August 15, 1975

ENERGY PROGRAM

*Thank you very much, Mayor John Dobson. Chairman of the symposium and City Manager Terry Minger, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

[1.] Obviously, I am very pleased today to meet with a group considering how to deal with the energy problem instead of debating its existence.

Our energy problem is like a giant puzzle. Solving this puzzle requires the piecing together of many complex and interlocking parts and pieces. When the parts are properly fitted, we will have a program that decreases energy consumption, increases domestic fuel supplies, and stimulates new energy technology. Our immediate goal is to increase production of domestic oil and gas while decreasing wasteful consumption by increasing efficient use of fuel.

In meeting this objective, however, we must establish the framework for the inevitable transition to an energy economy that does not rely on depletable resources, for within the next 25 to 50 years, oil and gas, which constitute two-thirds of the fuel we now use, may be far too costly to burn at any price.

As one important piece of our energy puzzle, our national coal reserves contain greater energy potential than the Middle East reserves of fuel. Increased use of coal is vital to energy independence. This resource must be developed and consumed with a commitment to balancing energy needs with environmental concerns.

With almost half of the Nation's coal reserves in our western part of the United States, you in this region are justifiably concerned about the quality of development. As one who has visited Vail many, many times, I share very deeply this concern.

But let me emphasize this: We can tap our national energy resources without despoiling the environment. We will be able to do so, however, only in an atmosphere of realism—not antagonism.

This Administration is committed to seeing that improved mining technology ensures safe and environmentally sound production of coal. We also need improved technology to burn coal directly without producing environmental damage. The Nation's capacity to convert coal into clean gaseous and liquid fuel can and must be developed.

Even if our reliance on imported oil for 38 percent of our current use did not

make us vulnerable to economic and political disruption, we would still have to utilize our coal reserves. The fact is—we are energy-dependent as a society.

With our Nation's reserves of oil and natural gas being depleted and with the uncertainty of foreign supplies, we must utilize existing energy sources and develop new ones.

Our energy dependence on imported oil, at an average cost of \$25 billion per year, prompted my comprehensive energy program in January and makes intolerable the Congressional delay of the past 6 months and requires tough action right now. To help reduce dependence on imports and stem the outflow of American dollars and American jobs, I will veto the 6-month extension of price controls on domestic oil, which the Congress passed just before recessing.<sup>1</sup>

Since last January, this Administration tried very hard and very constructively to work with the Congress to find a compromise on decontrol. The Congress twice rejected reasonable Administration compromises. I feel that I went more than halfway with the Congress on this critical issue.

Approval of this extension would mean only more months of delay without the critically needed incentives to promote conservation and spur domestic oil production. An extension would continue price uncertainties for consumers and producers alike and tend to increase our dependence on foreign oil sources. More important, it would signal to foreign producers our inability to face up to the problem.

Your representatives in Congress should keep this in mind as they vote to sustain my veto in September. This is particularly important at a time when producing nations are considering increasing the price Americans will have to pay.

To cushion the impact of sudden decontrol if the Congress sustains my veto—as it must—I will lift the special import fees on crude oil and petroleum products. If the Congress fails to sustain my veto and continues counterproductive price controls, I will have no other choice than to continue import fees. These fees were imposed in the first place to induce conservation and reduce consumption and our reliance on foreign oil, which is vital to our national security interests. It is incomprehensible to me that the Congress would jeopardize our ability to achieve energy independence at this critical hour.

Unless we decontrol so-called old oil and implement the other elements of my energy program, an increasing share of our oil supply will be coming from high-priced and unreliable foreign sources. Hence, gasoline and other petroleum prod-

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<sup>1</sup> See Items 537 and 538.

uct prices will continue to rise and our vulnerability to future embargoes will become intolerable.

The net effect of immediate decontrol and the removal of import fees will mean an increase of a few cents per gallon in the price of petroleum products, contrary to what others have predicted. This is a very small price to pay to reduce our vulnerability to embargoes and exorbitant price increases imposed by foreign producers.

Painful as they are, higher prices do promote conservation, and higher prices do promote increased efficiency in the use of petroleum products.

Cheap energy encourages waste and preserves inefficient energy technology. When the price of energy reflects its true value to society, as determined by the marketplace, there will be an incentive to stop squandering it and to develop advanced technologies, such as solar energy.

Reduced consumption helps reduce dependence. But this alone will not solve the problem. A dramatic increase in U.S. production is also required. Decontrol will stimulate domestic production by removing the restrictive \$5.25-per-barrel price ceiling on so-called old oil, which accounts for 60 percent of all domestic production. This ceiling arbitrarily discourages the use of new and more expensive production technology. By establishing an artificially low price, it encourages indiscriminate use of our limited domestic resources. This is not good energy policy. It is not good environmental policy.

If the Congress also enacts my two proposals for energy refunds to consumers and a windfall profits tax on oil companies, then the impact of decontrol, cushioned by the removal of the import fees, will not hinder economic recovery.

Swift action on these taxes must be accompanied by Congressional action on all segments of my comprehensive energy package.

The on-again, off-again Congressional approach to energy is hazardous, expensive, and very frightening. Every day that we delay means greater dependence on unreliable supplies of foreign oil, pushes back development of more efficient use of available energy, and retards the search for new energy sources here at home.

Quite frankly, we are running out of time. Time can be used to help balance our environmental concerns with our energy needs. The longer we talk, the shorter the time to act responsibly. By the time a crisis confronts us, such as the 1973 oil embargo, it is too late to act—too late to act. We can only react.

I urge you to help us obtain Congressional action on a comprehensive energy program. Failure to make tough decisions—tough decisions today—drastically

increases the vulnerability of our economy to disruption and reduces our options to meet the energy needs of the future.

Economists and environmentalists have been telling us that there is no free lunch in the world. And they are right. The price for control of our own economic energy and environmental destiny is small in dollars, but very, very high in reward—if we make the tough decisions today that are demanded of us.

So, I thank you for listening, and let's get down to those tough questions that all of you have.

Thank you very much. Cathy [Vail Councilwoman Cathy Klug].

## QUESTIONS

### ENERGY DEVELOPMENT

[2.] Q. Mr. President, the future of the energy development industry in the Rocky Mountain West depends in part on Federal risk-sharing programs designed to insure the future of such developments. Do you feel that similar Federal risk-sharing programs should be considered to insure the future for impacted communities and to minimize the socio-economic effect on those communities, or do you feel that the energy development industry should assume that responsibility?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a very important question in this area. And on Monday, I am going to visit Rifle, Colorado, which is an area that is potentially badly affected by a great upsurge in people with all the things that follow from a big plant, lots of people, and so forth.

I am meeting with the local public officials as well as the people that are developing the process in Rifle. It is my judgment, first, that we have to recognize the impact on a relatively small community from the development that is needed for the country as a whole.

Therefore, the Federal Government does have a responsibility to participate. We have people in various departments of the Federal Government that are working on this—the Department of Interior, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Office of Management and Budget—and I am confident that we can work out a way in which the Federal Government can help to provide water, housing, and so forth.

Now, I am not saying the Federal Government has the sole responsibility, but we will take some leadership, working with the State and the local people, to make sure that the impact on the local community, the environment is not neglected.

## ENERGY CONSERVATION

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in the development of a comprehensive energy program, what provisions has the Administration made for educating the present and future generations for a positive energy conservation ethic?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we have tried, but I must confess that we haven't been as successful as we should have. And the best evidence of a lack of a successful education program is that Congress doesn't comprehend the problem we are in. [*Laughter*]

What I am really saying is, if the American people were sufficiently educated to the crisis, the short-range problem and the long-range difficulties, the impact on the Congress would be reflected and the Congress wouldn't have dilly-dallied for the last 6 months as they have.

Now, I hope that through the Federal Government, through many voluntary agencies, through other sources, we can convince the American people that we have to increase domestic production of those resources we have and also develop the so-called exotic energy programs, such as solar, geothermal, et cetera, and at the same time, we can convince the American people that conservation is an integral part of our overall program. And when you talk about conservation, it means the development and utilization of more efficient energy use.

We have been squanderers, as I said in my prepared text, because we have had so much at such a cheap price. We have to convince the American people—and they, in turn, the Congress—that this is one of the major decisions affecting our country for the next 100 years.

And Frank Zarb and others on the top staff in the White House have gone around the country with me trying to preach to the people in the audiences, but I don't think we have done as well as we should. We are going to continue to do our best.

## INDIAN LANDS

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I am an employee of the Navajo Tribe. The tribe is concerned because the Administration is currently proposing energy development policies that impact significantly on Indian lands in the Western United States. Administration of trust responsibilities for these lands is carried out by the Department of Interior, which is also responsible for effecting Federal land-leasing policies directed toward energy self-sufficiency. A conflict of interest exists.

The Northern Cheyenne Indians, for example, have already entered a suit against the Department of Interior claiming that the Bureau of Indian Affairs

misrepresented Cheyenne interests in negotiating away coal rights at below market value.

Recognizing this conflict, Mr. President, how do you plan to direct the Secretary of Interior to ensure that the Federal trust responsibilities for Indian lands are neither violated nor compromised?

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, I think you have to rely on the people that are at the head of the Department of Interior. And it is my judgment that former Secretary of Interior Rogers Morton is a man of complete integrity, and I am certain that he did not deliberately, certainly, violate or compromise the conflicting interests that you pose. And I believe the new Secretary of Interior, when we make the final decision, will likewise have these overall interests in mind.

Now, if there has been—and I say “if there has been”—and I am not sufficiently familiar with the details to pass judgment myself—but if there has been a compromising of the rights of the Navajos, I am sure that the matter can and will be resolved in the Federal courts—the courts, of course, being the protection to any segment of our society, including the Navajos. And I am sure there won’t be any lack of public interest attorneys who would be glad and delighted to participate in such legal action. [*Laughter*]

#### ENERGY AND AGRICULTURE

[5.] Q. Mr President, in the face of the growing pressures to increase our food production, what type of trade-offs do you foresee between coal and energy development and agriculture, particularly as they are competing for land and water?

THE PRESIDENT. We are, of course, trying to expand our overall land available for food production, because the United States, fortunately, is the breadbasket of the world.

We have this as one of our great assets, not only from the point of view of helping people in less well-off countries from a humanitarian point of view but also for the implementation of our national policies on the international scene. We want our farmers to have the availability to produce as much as they can, because it is in our national interest.

If there is a need also for some of this available land for the development of coal, we’ll have to be cognizant of the competing needs. I can’t make a decision here today on how many acres are going to be reserved for agriculture and how many will be made available for coal production.

It is like the question we are faced with right now on whether we should or shouldn't sell additional grain to the Soviet Union. We have to be cognizant, and very properly so, of the prices received by the American farmers.

After all, last fall we urged the American farmer to produce everything he possibly could in wheat, corn, et cetera, and in return, we impliedly promised that he would get a fair return on his land, his equipment, and his efforts.

On the other hand, we can't be lacking in attention or cognizance of the impact that further grain sales to the Soviet Union will affect the Consumer Price Index.

So, it is one of those narrow, balanced decisions where you have to take potentially competing interests and try to be fair and equitable to all.

In the case of coal—energy, in this case, vis-a-vis farmland—we have to again use our best judgment. We aren't going to tear land up and just turn it over to coal. On the other hand, we do have, I am sure, sufficient coal land in the West that can be utilized for coal production under proper environmental restrictions and still not seriously undercut our food supply in this country.

I can't give you a percentage figure, but I can assure you we are not lacking in cognizance of the problem and will use our very best judgment.

#### POWERPLANT SITING

[6.] Q. Mr. President, judging from some Administration publications and statements, there may be some Federal plans to abrogate State laws regarding environmental quality and environmental standards, public service regulation commissions, and State energy facility siting laws in pursuit of Project Independence. Would you care to comment on this?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we did propose some very broad Federal legislation that was aimed at nuclear powerplant siting, that was aimed at, I think, more effectively providing incentives for the development of new energy plants.

Some of our State regulatory authorities have been very slow in acting on requests for sites as well as increases, and the net result is we have had a serious cutback in the construction of energy-producing plants, which, on the surface today—those decisions don't seem too bad.

But with the upswing in the economy, in 2 or 3 years, if we don't move, if our State regulatory agencies don't move ahead, we will not only have brownouts but we will have blackouts, because we won't have the capability of producing energy for our economy, which means a loss of jobs, which means the kind of problems I indicated—brownouts, blackouts.



Now, if we can't get cooperation and effective action by some State regulatory agencies on these critical matters, I think there has to be an overriding Federal or national interest.

#### WINDFALL PROFITS TAX

[7.] Q. Mr. President, a moment ago in your address, you indicated that part of the advocacy of your office would be to introduce a windfall profits tax on energy producers. I would be interested in what the terms of that windfall profits tax would be. It seems that the ability for capital formation today is almost commensurate with our deficiency in energy development. Rebates to the public will not find another barrel of oil or any synthetics from our coal or oil shale.

THE PRESIDENT. In the windfall profits tax proposal that I submitted, I recommended the so-called plowback feature, which says that the profits made to a certain percentage, if plowed back into future development of oil and gas resources, would not be taxable.

The Senate Committee on Finance, under Senator Russell Long, has produced a windfall profits tax with a plowback feature. We agree with that concept, although we don't agree necessarily with every detail in that particular proposal.

If the Senate passes that, then we would, of course, go to the House and try to get some modification. And hopefully in the conference between the House and the Senate, we would end up with an acceptable piece of legislation, which would be an incentive to greater development through the plowback feature and, at the same time, would permit the Federal Government to have some additional funds which could be used as rebates to the individuals in our country—some 214 million—who would be charged an extra cost of energy.

With the windfall profits tax, with the plowback, we have to have decontrol. And with decontrol, the American people are going to pay some—not much—more for the cost of energy.

The rebate program is aimed at nullifying the impact on the individual consumer. I think it is a highly effective, constructive, integrated program. We increase prices, but we nullify the impact on the public as a whole. We provide for a windfall profits tax, but with a plowback feature. If the Congress would only put the whole package together instead of having one committee work on this part and another committee work on another part and another committee work on another part, we might get the thing put together, and I am optimistic.

One other comment. You spoke about capital formation. I talk in the terms of job formation, because we haven't saved enough and reinvested enough in

this country to provide more jobs. Just about 2 weeks ago, Secretary Simon went before the House Committee on Ways and Means and talked about a job formation piece of legislation. I am cognizant of it. I hope we can get some legislative action.

#### ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT

[8.] Q. Mr. President, how much emphasis do you think will be placed on energy and environmental issues during the upcoming Presidential campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Excuse me, I didn't hear the whole question.

Q. How much emphasis do you feel will be placed on energy and environmental issues during the upcoming Presidential campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope we can get Congress to pass a good energy program in 1975, and then the energy issues shouldn't be on the Presidential campaign agenda in 1976.

#### SOLAR ENERGY

[9.] Q. Mr. President, I appreciate this opportunity. I would like to preface my question by saying that we in Colorado, as well as many others and yourself, I am sure, believe that the sun is our ultimate energy source. All of our conventional fuels are merely forms of stored solar energy and, in a sense, are global solar savings accounts.

Mr. President, the only way to waste our solar energy is not to use it. What, if any, therefore, plans or efforts are underway to interface long-term energy goals with mid-term and near-term efforts for energy development? For example, if coal is surface mined in the West, does the Government plan to utilize the reclaimed areas by proper siting and contouring to allow for essential solar powerplants to be implemented when coal is exhausted?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me take solar energy first.

The Energy Research and Development Agency, called ERDA, has a budget of something over \$2 billion for the current fiscal year. It is headed by Dr. Robert Seamans, one of the outstanding, I think, administrators as well as scientists in this country. A very significant part of that \$2 billion-plus is used for solar research.

I was talking to Bob Seamans a few days ago, and they have made significant progress. There is, unfortunately, competition developing between Arizona, New Mexico, and Florida, where the Federal Government will establish a solar energy research center. I don't know what the decision is going to be on what State gets that facility, but I am only using it as an example to point out that we mean business in this area.

But the development of the technique of generating energy from solar sources is not the only one. If we could have the sun shining 24 hours a day, it would be relatively, or I would say, much simpler. But the sun doesn't shine that much per day. So, the problem is one of storage of the energy that is gotten from the sun when the sun is shining, and then having it stored and available for use when the sun isn't shining.

So, it is not just taking everything from the sun and sending it to your home or to your factory. It is a very complicated problem of getting the energy, storing it, and then transmitting it. And I can assure you we are working very hard on it.

Now, by inference, I guess, you have raised the question of strip mining. I happen to believe that there could be—*could be* a responsible national strip mining piece of legislation.

Last fall we recommended to the Congress, I think, 10 amendments that, if the Congress had approved it, it would have provided a responsible and reasonable strip mining law.

Congress did not do it. They came back with the same bad piece of legislation, even though we had recommended our own strip mining proposal. And now we have none and, unfortunately, have to rely exclusively on State legislation.

Maybe we can work out something that will give a good piece of Federal strip mining legislation. But as we do have strip mining under State law or a sound Federal law, certainly there will be recontouring, there will be rehabilitation. And what that land is used for, I think, is up to the local landowner or the respective State or the Federal Government, if the Federal Government owns the land.

#### NEW TOWNS

[10.] Q. Mr. President, in that there will be inevitably some fairly substantial placements of energy industrial complexes in the Rocky Mountain States, what are your thoughts of integrating these complexes with new town developments?

THE PRESIDENT. New town developments?

Q. Yes, new town developments.

THE PRESIDENT. As I indicated to, I believe, the first questioner, where you go out into the remote areas for the development of energy production of one kind or another and where there is a scarcity of population and you are going to have a great input of new and large numbers of people, I think a new town concept may be the answer. But I think that is up to the Department of HUD

and up to Interior and up to OMB to work out the details. We can't be oblivious to the impact on the local community. And the Federal Government has at least a leadership responsibility in this area.

Q. Mr. President, in responding to the first question, that of Councilwoman Klug, and in saying that you thought the Federal Government should take leadership in dealing with the impact problems and the energy impact on communities, I think you dealt not only with the question I was prepared to ask but the questions of several others of us. Thank you, very much, Mr. President.

#### COAL

[11.] Q. Mr. President, in your January energy message, you spoke of the need for opening 250 major new mines, coal mines, in the decade between that time and 1985. The area mining supervisors of the U.S. Geological Survey Offices in Billings, Denver, Santa Fe, and Salt Lake have on file at this time over 40 mining plans involving annual production exceeding 180 million tons a year.

Federal coal is involved in all of these cases. None of these mines are proceeding at this time, due to Federal laws or the lack thereof, Federal agency regulations or the lack thereof, or court interpretations of both those regulations and statutes. What is the Federal Government going to do or what is it doing to get these mines in operation?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't give you the specifics. We will have Frank Zarb on the program later, and Frank is the head of the FEA. And if he doesn't know the answer right now, he will have it when he appears. [*Laughter*]

But if I could add, we are now producing about 600 million tons of coal in the United States on an annual basis. Our 10-year goal by 1985 is to go from 600 million tons per year to 1,200 million tons per year.

This will still not deplete us in coal availability for 200, 250, maybe 300 years. So, as we try to more efficiently use coal and more environmentally use coal and as we try to make our country less vulnerable to foreign oil sources, we have got to get either Congressional, administrative, or court action on some of those problems you are talking about.

#### WILDLIFE PRESERVATION

[12.] Q. Mr. President, generations of Americans have enjoyed and valued very highly a priceless wildlife heritage. In the future conflicts and trade-offs between energy development and conservation ethics, what priorities do you

and does your Administration plan to assign to the preservation of our wildlife heritage?

THE PRESIDENT. I think there has to be a reasonable, rational balance. I think what we have tried to do—I submitted either late last fall or early this year some new proposals for wilderness areas, et cetera, that would have expanded and, I think, improved the preservation of some of these areas that you are talking about.

I cannot, however—and I don't want to mislead you—say that the balance is going to be high on one side and low on the other, because our country also needs a healthy economy. And as we move down the road, I think we can have a responsible balance. And I think we have made great progress in that area.

But for me to say we are going to have all energy on the one hand or all environment on the other, that isn't calling it as it is. It has got to be a balance, and it will be as long as I am President of the United States.

#### ISOLATIONISM

[13.] Q. Mr. President, you have already indicated that your Administration is developing policy which will relate our abundant food energy to our scarce petroleum energy. I would like to follow up on that. How can we keep Project Independence from giving us an isolationist stance in the world rather than developing good and cooperative relations in the world trade community?

THE PRESIDENT. The answer, I think, can be put this way: The major consuming nations of the world—the United States, Japan, western Europe—have been working for the last 9 months through the IEA [International Energy Agency], which we sponsored, and that organization has now put together a group of consuming nations working with producing nations, not only on oil.

And in that area, we are working on "safety net" financial arrangements. We are working on the permission of us to give to those countries, and they to us, the benefits of research in energy, and we are working together on conservation methods.

What I am saying is that the development of our Project Independence permits us, as a country, to work in closer cooperation with the consuming nations, the underdeveloped nations and, in effect, gives us the capability of projecting a greater international responsibility and capability rather than a lesser one.

Therefore, I think our Project Independence helps us to tie our country closer with other consuming nations and the other underdeveloped nations.

One more.

## U.S. ARMED FORCES

[14.] Q. Mr. President, my question is not on energy, it is on our young people. My husband just retired after serving 22 years in the Marine Corps, and we now live in Vail. And I am very concerned with the young people's attitudes towards not only politics but making the military a career. What is your feeling?

THE PRESIDENT. I think, first, the attitude of young people today toward the military should be affirmative. After all, 2,100,000 people serve in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines. They are the bulwark of our national security.

Fortunately, we have been able to increase compensation, improve housing; we have improved their capability through weapons, et cetera, to more adequately defend our national interests.

A career in the military today, in my judgment, is a very promising one with all the benefits educationally, et cetera, that are available. I think it is regrettable if the situation does exist that young people today don't look at the military with admiration, because they should.

The military in this country, during my lifetime, has made America safe—World War I, World War II, et cetera. And we should be graceful, not condemn the people in the Armed Forces.

Q. It has happened since Vietnam.

THE PRESIDENT. But let me add this, and I know that during Vietnam there was a great revulsion among many young people—I don't say all, but many. On the other hand, it has been my experience in the last year to visit a number of prominent college campuses—Notre Dame, Tulane, the University of Pennsylvania, et cetera—and instead of Presidents being more or less precluded from visiting college campuses, in those three as well as in other instances there was a totally different attitude which I think is wholesome, and I have a lot of faith in their present attitude and their future activities. So, I am an optimist rather than a pessimist.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:36 a.m. at the Eagle's Nest Restaurant with business, academic, and civic leaders attending the symposium.

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**Statement Announcing a Trip by Secretary of State Kissinger to the Middle East. August 17, 1975**

I HAVE worked many hours with the Secretary of State analyzing and assessing the situation in the Middle East, and I have now directed him to return to that region in an effort to bring the discussions to a successful conclusion.

I am hopeful that the parties will successfully conclude an interim agreement which not only would be in the best interest of the parties involved but also in the best interest of the entire Middle East region and, indeed, of the whole world.

I am sure all Americans join me in wishing the Secretary of State success on this critically important mission.

NOTE: Secretary Kissinger left Washington, D.C., August 20, 1975, for discussions in Israel, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

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**Remarks at the Iowa State Fair in Des Moines.  
August 18, 1975**

*Thank you very, very much, Governor Bob Ray. Senator John Culver, Representative Grassley and Representative Smith, Mayor Olson, Mr. Kleve, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

The first thing that I would like to do is to ask the secretary of the fair, Ken Falk, to come forward.

First, I'd like to congratulate Ken for the fine job that he has done with the arrangements for the fair. Since I don't qualify for kid's day, free admission, I will gladly give Ken my \$2 to pay my way in. [*Laughter*]

MR. FALK. Thank you, Mr. President. You are a great sport, and you are setting a fine example for people everywhere, both young and old. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. Governor Bob Ray, I am deeply grateful for your more than kind and very generous introduction, and I can assure you that I will, to the very utmost, seek to live up to the high principles that you have set and the high principles that you indicated. I thank you very, very much, Bob.

Let me reassure you, however, that I will make these remarks very short and

very much to the point. If there is one thing Iowa doesn't need in August, it is more hot air. [*Laughter*]

Obviously, it is a great pleasure to be in Iowa, and as I look about me—at the industry, the creativity, the achievement, the good will, the good sense, and the good humor of all who are here today—I can't help but think that in Iowa, happiness is contagious. You catch it from each other.

Flying over mile after mile of the heartland of America to get here this afternoon, I couldn't help but think that these vast farmlands are perhaps our Nation's greatest asset. The farm community, the men and women and children who are a part of it, are prime examples of the resourcefulness and the industry, of all that is good in this great land of ours.

What a remarkable achievement it is that less than 5 percent of America's population feeds the remaining 95 percent of us, with enough left over to significantly supplement the food needs of much of the rest of the world. I congratulate each of you who participate in this miracle of abundance. You should be very proud, as we are proud of you.

I think it is amazing that in our Nation today, one farmworker provides food for himself and 55 others. Output per manhour on the farm has nearly tripled in the last two decades.

There are reasons—understandable reasons—for this. One is the high capital investment in agriculture. Another is hard work by the men on the farm. And the third is individual initiative.

American farmers have moved very quickly to adopt new techniques, new machinery, and new science and technology. As a result, capital investment in American agriculture has reached more than \$98,000 per worker—the highest in the world. In contrast, capital investment in manufacturing in our country stands at \$55,000 per worker.

The results are here to see. The productive genius of American agriculture provides a showcase filled with the bounty of our Nation's farms.

And I am delighted—and I thank you, too—that farmers have responded so enthusiastically to the demands of the market for full production. Of course, I am concerned about crop losses in Iowa due to the dry weather the last several weeks. But the general abundance of the crop in the Middle West shows that gains can be made from a policy of full production.

Be assured—and I say this with emphasis—that this Administration's national farm policy is and will continue to be one of full production. It is good for everybody. It is a policy of fair prices and darn good income for farmers through commercial sales of their products on a worldwide basis.



It is a policy not of Government handouts, but of Government hands off. However—and this is equally important—let me assure you that your Government will be involved when your interests are at stake.

For example, charges have been made by some foreign buyers that American grain shipments on occasion have been of lesser quality than specified by shippers and weights have been under what they should be. Unfortunately, some of these charges are true, but our farmers are not at fault. And just as importantly, I will not permit our farmers' integrity to be jeopardized.

I can assure all farmers and their overseas customers that we will move vigorously to clean up the problem. We will demonstrate to the world the validity of America's reputation as an honest and dependable supplier of high-quality farm products. That's the kind you raise in Iowa. That's the kind we will ship from our ports.

In recent weeks, a great deal of interest has been aroused by Soviet purchases of American grain. So far—and I emphasize “so far”—these purchases total 9.8 million tons. That's about 382 million bushels.

As you all know, the Agriculture Department's August crop forecast, which was announced last week, calls for record crops of corn and wheat and above-average crops of other grains. Estimates of corn and wheat harvest were down slightly from the July 1 forecast because of dry weather. But we still expect a record crop. We are grateful, and we thank you.

Looking ahead—and I use these words advisedly—we anticipate further purchases of grain by the Soviet Union. While our crops look good and we expect a record harvest, it is still premature to confidently predict our final production.

Accordingly, as Secretary of Agriculture Butz said, we have asked American exporters to temporarily—and I emphasize “temporarily”—delay further sales to the Soviet Union.

Additional sales to the Soviet Union must be in our best national interest—in the interest of all Americans, farmers and consumers alike. We must be sure that we have enough grain to meet our needs and the needs of our traditional customers, who have consistently bought from us throughout the past several decades. Year in and year out, farm incomes are dependent on a pattern of expanding exports to long-term customers.

Let me emphasize that our sales of grain and other foodstuffs to the rest of the world is one of the brightest areas of our economy. These sales ensure a firm, fair price for your hard work and your tremendous investment. These sales create jobs on the farm and in the factories of manufacturers and suppliers. They have given us self-sufficiency in nutrition that is the envy of the world.

Last year, U.S. farm exports shipped to purchasing nations totaled nearly \$22 billion. Since we imported less than \$10 billion in agricultural products, this means we received approximately \$12 billion net earnings from farm product trade on a worldwide basis. I think this is a green harvest we all understand. And we should be proud of it.

Consider for a moment what would happen if that \$12 billion of positive foreign exchange were all of a sudden erased or eliminated. We would have a huge balance of payments deficit, our dollar would be weakened in foreign markets, and we would pay higher and higher prices for the many things we import every day.

In short, our Nation's farmers not only raise crops but our standard of living as well. And we are deeply grateful to you for that contribution to our national welfare. The foodstuffs that you produce and America exports are a dynamic contribution to a stable and orderly world.

As the race between the stork on the one hand and the plow accelerates, American farm exports become more and more and more important. By the year 2000, world population could be over 6½ billion people, instead of the 3,800 million people it is today.

This means that about 75 percent more people need to be fed—a massive challenge at a time when there is no new Western Hemisphere to discover nor any more virgin Iowa sod to plow.

A sound, fully productive agriculture is a very key element of this Nation's quest for peace. Let me emphasize that. Fully productive agriculture is a key element of this Nation's quest for peace.

The American farmer has become a vital part of this effort. Our agricultural abundance helped open the door to 800 million people on the mainland of China. It helped to improve relations with the Soviet Union. It helped to build bridges to the developing world. It enabled us to contribute over the past 20 years about \$25 billion worth of food to hungry mouths throughout the rest of the world.

We are truly a fortunate people, and the American farmer stands 10 feet tall in his contribution to this Nation's greatness.

Man's future is virtually unlimited if approached with a spirit of optimism and openmindedness. We can be optimistic because of the strength you in this great Midwest give to this Nation and the sustenance that you give to the world in all parts of the globe. All Americans, indeed all people, are in your debt. I thank you.

Before I leave this wonderful audience—and it has been, and I thank you so much—I have a very pleasant assignment to perform.

I have asked your great Governor Bob Ray to please join me at the podium.

Bob, the Iowa Development Commission has been very successful in promoting exports of goods manufactured in your State. They have been so good, in fact, that the U.S. Department of Commerce is giving its “E” award to the Commission. The award is given for outstanding performance in promoting exports from the United States.

I want to present it to you, Bob, on behalf of the Commission. The “E” award has been well-earned. Iowa manufacturers exported slightly over \$200 million of goods to the other countries in 1960. By 1972, this had been more than doubled to about \$575 million.

In just 2 years—2 very short years—this has jumped by over 60 percent to more than \$1 billion last year. Even though Iowa ranks 25th in population, this State ranks 21st in the exporting of manufactured products. And when you add the great agricultural products or exports that I talked about earlier, Iowa ranks 12th out of 50 States in the Union. That’s a great record to be proud of.

I congratulate you, Bob, and all of you good Iowans for adding so much to this country’s favorable balance of payments and, equally important, creating more, many more, jobs in your great State.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:46 p.m. at the Iowa State Fairgrounds. In his opening remarks, he referred to Jean M. Kleve, president of the Iowa State Fair Board.

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## Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Reception in Des Moines. August 18, 1975

*Thank you very much, Bob Ray. Chuck Grassley, Mary Louise Smith, John McDonald, Margaret McDonald—these Scotsmen seem to predominate around here—Bill Goodrich, Tom Stoner, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen—and I have to add a postscript—your new Miss Iowa is a most attractive young lady:*

Well, it is nice to be here on this occasion, but I must say, it has been a wonderful opportunity to come back to Des Moines. I have a great fondness for the people here, people in Iowa, and I thank you not only for the warm reception at the State fair this afternoon but for the great reception here tonight. I want you to know I appreciate it.

You know, I have been looking forward to this evening and particularly the entertainment part of the program that follows this speech. I understand that Governor Bob Ray and Attorney General Dick Turner are going to sing a duet together. It will be their favorite song, "Come Josephine In My Flying Machine." [*Laughter*]

But I am really so encouraged to be here tonight to enjoy your wonderful hospitality and especially ask for your help next year in making it a banner year for the Republican Party in Iowa, as well as across the country.

Without question, 1976 offers a great, great opportunity for the Republican Party to prove once and for all to the skeptics that it has the strength to survive setbacks, the resolution to rouse the Nation's greatness, and the will to win elections. We can do it, and we're going to do it.

I think it is obvious to all of you the fondness that I have for Bob Ray, who is nearly a year into his fourth term and who is also serving with great distinction as the chairman of the National Governors' Conference. He has done a magnificent, a superior job of putting across what I think is the most important thing—the commonsense philosophy of the Republican Party—and making it work here in your great State of Iowa.

His successful administration—not one, but several—is a testament to the effectiveness of both his leadership and the sound Republican approach he has brought to government here in your State.

And I must say I thank you very, very deeply for giving us Mary Louise Smith, who is doing an outstanding job as Republican National Chairman. As you know, the Iowa State slogan is "Iowa is a place to grow." Mary Louise has definitely applied this philosophy, this thinking to the Republican Party nationally, and we are seeing some results. And I thank you and congratulate you, Mary Louise.

And in Chuck Grassley, you have a fine new younger Member of the House of Representatives. He may be outnumbered—what is it, 5 to 1, Chuck? [*Laughter*] Not always, because votes do count in the House, but when you put it on another scale, I'd rather have quality than quantity.

Chuck has impressed me as well as his colleagues in the House of Representatives, and after spending 25 years in the House, I have a feel for the kind of people that will grow and become more and more effective. And it would be my judgment that Chuck fits that pattern. He started well, he will do better and better every year. Just give him some help here in Iowa. We could use those votes, too.

I visited every State in the Union in the last 10 years since I became first the minority leader of the House and then Vice President and now President, so I know State organizations, I know the kind of people that back State organizations. And I think here in Iowa you have a good State organization. And I wish to congratulate those who have been giving you the leadership and those who will now take over and continue that leadership. You are fortunate in Iowa, and I congratulate you, John, and those who have worked with you, Charlie.

Now, if we are to capitalize on the opportunities ahead of us, we must, in my judgment, reach out to that great, great American majority that does the Nation's work, pays the Nation's bills, provides for the Nation's defense, and obeys the Nation's laws. That is the group that we believe ought to be in the Republican Party.

You know, no matter the color of their skin, the religion they profess, the politics they vote, these solid, solid Americans who make up this vast Midwest heartland of the Republican Party's natural constituency—I could feel that out there at the State fair today—they are the people to whom we must tell our story over and over and over again, this year and next year.

Once again in our party's history, our principles and our goals match the beliefs and, I happen to think, the aspirations of a majority of the American people.

Republicans have always believed that too much government spending has been the primary cause of inflation, and I have a feeling, as I travel around the country, that on a daily basis more and more Americans agree with that principle.

Aren't we fortunate that these people who are getting this new approach, this new attitude, look to the Republican Party as their only hope. That is one reason I have been vetoing some of the bills that compel excessive Federal spending.

And quite frankly, I'll keep on doing it as long as the Congress keeps sending down to the White House these "budget-busters" to me. But let me put it this way: They stop, I stop. It is just as simple as that. [*Laughter*]

Our Republicans, as you know, have always believed in a strong, effective, ready, national defense program. Today, most Americans are convinced that a strong defense is the best guarantee of peace in the world, and I will do everything in my personal power to see that Congress appropriates sufficient funds to make sure that the United States, our country, always has a military capability second to none.

Republicans have always believed that personal initiative and private enterprise—not a meddling, musclebound Government, a Federal Government—are what made this Nation great.

Today, more and more Americans, as I see people from the 50 States, are reaffirming that view. They want personal initiative and private enterprise to be rewarded. Hard work and diligence are the foundation in many respects in any endeavor that we undertake. Frankly, that is one reason why I am trying to free American business from the shackles of government overregulation, why we, on a daily basis, in the White House are seeking to free the individual citizen from the pressures of a faceless bureaucracy, insensitive to personal differences and personal desires. I think Republicans have always believed that local control over local problems is better than turning to Washington for every single solitary solution.

Today, after nearly 40 years of seeing reruns of “Washington Knows Best,” in the halls of the Congress and elsewhere, the American people are ready for a fresh start. And we are going to give it to them.

That is why I have proposed what we call a new agenda for America’s future. And I ask the American people through what we hope to do in a series of community meetings around the country, I ask the American people to help me write that new agenda.

There is a message I think we have to get across to our fellow citizens, a message that says loud, that says clearly, “Republican government is common-sense government; it is the most effective government.” A message that says, “Republicans stand for and work for the very same things that the majority of Americans believe in.” And finally, a message that says, “We can win the elections of 1976 from the courthouse right here in Des Moines to the White House in Washington. Let’s do it!”

If we broaden our party, bringing in to join us those who have a philosophical agreement with us—and I think we must—opening our door wide to all Americans rather than opening it just a crack for a few, if we work together for a common victory, as we must, rather than working against each other for sure defeat, I am convinced that 1976 can be a great election year for all of us.

Together, you know, there is so much that we can do for our party, for the American people, but primarily for our country. Let’s get to work. Let’s get it done. Let’s make sure 1976 is a banner year. And let’s make sure, let’s make certain that that banner says, “Republican.”

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:14 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Hotel Fort Des Moines. In his opening remarks, he referred to John McDonald, chairman, Tom Stoner, chairman-elect, and Margaret

McDonald, cochairman, Iowa Republican State Central Committee; and Bill Goodrich, chairman, Iowa Republican State Finance Committee.

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## Address in Minneapolis Before the Annual Convention of the American Legion. August 19, 1975

*Thank you very, very much, Commander Jim Wagonseller. Governor Anderson, Senator Humphrey, Congressman Quie, Congressman Hagedorn, Mrs. Kubby, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

As a fellow Legionnaire of 30 years and as a member of the Furniture City Post Number 258, I am proud to be here with all of you as a fellow Legionnaire. I am proud of the organization, locally, nationally, and otherwise.

I strongly commend the American Legion for its constant patriotism in peace as well as in war. This great organization has given life and meaning to our motto, "For God and Country." As President, I salute you and say for all Americans: Hang in there!

I am very, very happy to have this opportunity to talk with my fellow Legionnaires about two things which the American Legion has always held dear: freedom and peace, for our country and for the world.

Freedom always comes first. Let there be no doubt about that. Patrick Henry answered that question for all of us some 200 years ago. The Marines, the seamen, and the airmen who rescued the *Mayaguez* gave the same clear answer which was heard 'round the world. All Americans are terribly proud of their success.

But in today's world of technological terror, with weapons of awesome sophistication and destructiveness, it is difficult to see how freedom as we know it could survive another all-out war. It is even questionable whether a free society such as ours could survive an all-out, unrestricted arms race.

We are, therefore, confronted with this dilemma that has faced the American people and their Government since the postwar administrations of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. The question is this: How do we preserve, protect, and defend our freedom and that of our allies? How do we advance the cause of freedom worldwide? And how do we, at the same time, preserve the general peace and create conditions that reduce the chances of war? How do we control

the tremendous cost of maintaining the capabilities required for a potential major war?

These are exceedingly difficult questions to answer. At times, we have come perilously close to a major military confrontation. We have suffered some serious setbacks. And we are still unable to resolve some dangerous conflicts festering on nearly every continent in the world.

But we have prevented world war III. We have preserved civilization. Few who remember the immediate postwar period after World War II would say that the world is not calmer and better off today than it was.

The free world, as we define it, is essentially intact after 30 years of uneasy peace between the super powers, instability in former colonial areas, and sporadic outbreaks of local and regional violence. And three decades of imperfect peace have permitted unprecedented gains in productivity and economic progress for much of mankind, including the United States.

Some fundamental lessons were learned in this period. They must not be forgotten.

First, the military might, the material strength, and moral purpose of the United States were absolutely essential to achieve the present level of international stability. They remain absolutely essential. We are still the principal defender of freedom throughout the world.

Second, our enormous defense capability and its economic base have been reinforced by the growing resources of our allies in Europe and in the Pacific and by the increasing interdependence of industrial democracies in both military and economic areas. They must continue.

Third, the policies of five American Presidents before me for strong national defense, for reduction of East-West tension and the threat of thermonuclear war, and for the bolstering of our essential allies, have had the unswerving and non-partisan support of the Congress and the American people. I will continue to seek that support. But today I ask you, my fellow Legionnaires, to help me achieve that objective, and I know that I can count on your support.

We share a very deep concern over the cracks now appearing in the foundations of essential national unity on defense and foreign policy.

Without a clear consensus among 214 million Americans, the role of the United States as the champion of freedom and peace throughout the world would be crippled—crippled very seriously, if not fatally. The ability of a President to carry out his constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished. The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness,



disunity, and indecision could become irresistible. With your support and that of other Americans, my Administration will give them no such temptation.

George Washington, our first President, said the best way to preserve peace is to be prepared for war. In one way or another, each of President Washington's successors has repeated that truth. Unfortunately, we have historically ignored it. We have abruptly demobilized after every war, and the next generation—the next generation of Americans—paid very dearly for this folly. I see some danger signs of our doing it again, with the stakes infinitely higher than ever before.

That is why I say to you, I am determined to resist unilateral disarmament. I am equally committed to keeping America's defenses second to none.

Now that Americans are no longer fighting on any front, there are many sincere but, in my judgment, shortsighted Americans who believe that the billions for defense could be better spent for social programs to help the poor and disadvantaged.

But I am convinced that adequate spending for national defense is an insurance policy, an insurance policy for peace we cannot afford to be without. It is most valuable if we never need to use it. But without it, we could be wiped out.

Certainly the most important social obligation of government is to guarantee all citizens, including the disadvantaged, sufficient protection of their lives and freedoms against outside attack. Today, that protection is our principal hope of peace. What expense item in our Federal budget is more essential?

This is one place where second best is worth nothing. The proportion of Federal spending for national security and the proportion of our gross national product going for defense requirements have declined in recent years. The dollar figures in the Federal budget go up, but simply because of inflation. But the weapons we can purchase and the personnel we can afford have declined.

During the Vietnam war, defense spending concentrated—and properly so—on current combat requirements, shortchanging our long-range research and development efforts. If our technological lead is not rapidly recovered, this could be fatal to our qualitative superiority in the future. Scientific progress in the Pentagon must be an equal partner with the best in personnel and the best in weapons in maintaining peace and deterring war.

Our potential adversaries are certainly not reducing the levels of their military power. The United States, as a result, must be alert and strong, and it will be. The defense budget which I submitted for fiscal year 1976 represents, under these circumstances, the bare minimum required for our national security. I will vigorously resist all major cuts in every way I can, and I hope I have your help.

For the next fiscal year—1977—I honestly and sincerely hope to hold down our

spending on nuclear forces. This tentative judgment is conditioned on real progress in SALT II. But the Congress and the American people must realize that, unless agreement is achieved, I will have no choice but to recommend to the Congress an additional \$2 billion to \$3 billion for strategic weapons programs in current and coming fiscal years.

In recent weeks, there has been a great deal said about the subject of détente. Today, let me tell you what I personally think about détente.

First of all, the word itself is confusing. Its meaning is not clear to everybody. French is a beautiful language, the classic language of diplomacy. But I wish there were one simple English word to substitute for détente. Unfortunately, there isn't.

Relations between the world's two strongest nuclear powers can't be summed up in a catchphrase. Détente literally means "easing" or "relaxing," but definitely not—and I emphasize "not"—the relaxing of diligence or easing of effort. Rather, it means movement away from the constant crisis and dangerous confrontations that have characterized relations with the Soviet Union.

The process of détente—and it is a process—looks toward a saner and safer relationship between us and the Soviet Union. It represents our best efforts to cool the cold war, which on occasion became much too hot for comfort.

To me, détente means a fervent desire for peace—but not peace at any price. It means the preservation of fundamental American principles—not their sacrifice. It means maintaining the strength to command respect from our adversaries and provide leadership to our friends—not letting down our guard or dismantling our defenses or neglecting our allies. It means peaceful rivalry between political and economic systems—not the curbing of our competitive efforts.

Since the American system depends on freedom, we are confident that our philosophy will prevail. Freedom is still the wave of the future. Détente means moderate and restrained behavior between two super powers—not a license to fish in troubled waters. It means mutual respect and reciprocity—not unilateral concessions or one-sided agreements.

With this attitude, I shall work with determination for a relaxation of tensions. The United States has nothing to fear from progress toward peace.

Although we have still a long way to go, we have made some progress: a defusing of the Berlin timebomb, the ABM treaty, the first SALT agreements and progress on SALT II, the start of mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe, and other arms control agreements regarding space, the seabeds, and germ warfare.

We have established the basis for progress toward détente and cooperation in Europe as a result of the summit meeting of some 35 nations in Helsinki. But the principles we adopted there now must be put into practice—principles, I should say, will be put into practice. We cannot raise the hopes of our people and shatter them by unkept promises.

We are now carefully watching some serious situations for indications of the Soviet attitude toward détente and cooperation in European security. The situation in Portugal is one of them. We are deeply concerned about the future of freedom in Portugal, as we have always been concerned about the future of people throughout the world.

The reality of the Portuguese situation is apparent to all. The wishes of a moderate majority have been subverted by forces more determined than representative. We are hopeful that the sheer weight of numbers—the 80 percent of the Portuguese people who support the democratic process—will prevail in this conflict of ideologies. But they must find the solution in an atmosphere that is free from the pressures of outside forces.

So far, my meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok and Helsinki have been constructive and helpful. Future success will, of course, depend on concrete developments.

Peace is the primary objective of the foreign and defense policies of the United States. It is easy to be a cold warrior in peacetime. But it would be irresponsible for a President to engage in confrontation when consultation would advance the cause of peace.

So, I say to you—as I said to Mr. Brezhnev and the leaders of other European nations and Canada in Helsinki—peace is crucial, but freedom must come first.

Those who proclaimed American independence almost 200 years ago asserted not merely that all Americans should enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but that all men everywhere are endowed by their Creator with such inalienable rights.

I told the leaders of Europe that these principles, though still being perfected, remain the guiding lights of American policy, that the American people are still dedicated to the universal advancement of individual rights and human freedom implicit in the Helsinki declaration.

It gave me great pride, as the spokesman of the United States at Helsinki, to say to both East and West: My country and its principles of freedom have given hope to millions in Europe and on every continent, and still does.

On the other hand, I emphasized that we are tired of having our hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unkept promises.

I reminded all there in Helsinki that détente must be a two-way street, because tensions cannot be eased with safety and security by one side alone.

Through détente, I hope that we are on a two-way street with the Soviet Union. But until I am certain of real progress, I must reserve final judgments about the defense budget and particularly our plans for strategic nuclear forces.

We will, therefore, continue to seek meaningful arms agreements. But this will be possible only with sufficient and credible strength of our own and in concert with our allies. Moreover, any agreements we reach must be verifiable for our security. To put it very practically, that is, we must possess the means of making sure that they are being honored. The time has not yet come when we can entrust our hopes for peace to a piece of paper.

Thus, another essential element of any real arms limitation, whether of strategic systems or conventional forces, is our own intelligence capability. Sweeping attacks, overgeneralization against our intelligence activities jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security. Today's sensations must not be the prelude to tomorrow's Pearl Harbor.

I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of the constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or any agency of the Federal Government. On the basis of the comprehensive studies of our intelligence agencies by the Rockefeller Commission and by the Murphy Commission on the conduct of foreign policy,<sup>1</sup> I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses.

Intelligence in today's world is absolutely essential to our national security—even our survival. It may be even more important in peace than in war. Any reckless Congressional action to cripple the effectiveness of our intelligence services in legitimate operations would be catastrophic. Our potential adversaries and even some of our best friends operate in all intelligence fields with secrecy, with skill, and with substantial resources. I know and I know you know that what we need is an American intelligence capacity second to none.

Finally—and this relates both to our vital intelligence installations and to the imperative need to strengthen key alliances such as NATO—let us now consider our relations with our friend and ally of many years, Turkey. How do you explain to a friend and an ally why arms previously ordered and paid for are not being delivered? How do you explain to your other allies the potential damage that this may cause to our NATO alliance? How do you justify to the American

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<sup>1</sup> The Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, chaired by former Ambassador Robert Murphy.

people the loss of strategic intelligence data, with its attendant effect on our national security that this action has caused?

I don't know, because I am at a loss to explain it myself. As a man of the Congress, and proudly so for 25 years, the last thing I seek is confrontation with my friends, my former colleagues on Capitol Hill, both Democrats and Republicans.

Obviously, I am troubled that the House of Representatives has refused to permit the shipment of arms to Turkey. But I respect the sincerity and the motives of those who support this position. However, I know when the bottom line of any issue is the ultimate security of the United States—which it is in this case—the Congress and the President always found a way to close ranks and to act as one.

This does not mean that one side or the other capitulates blindly. Let us put this issue on the table and once again debate it, not in a climate of fire and fury, but in a reasoned approach based on what is right and what is best for America.

I am convinced from my personal talks last month with the leaders of Greece and Turkey and Cyprus that their differences can be settled peacefully.

We can help—the Congress, the President, and the American people. We can help cool the passions that caused so much heartbreak in the Mediterranean.

The American political system is one of checks and balances. But it works best when the checks do not become roadblocks. As President, I need the cooperation and the full support of the Congress, which I know is as concerned as I am about our Nation's security.

Just as important, your representatives in the Congress need to know where you stand. They have to realize that you place America's security above personal and political considerations.

This morning I am deeply honored to have had this great opportunity to meet with you here in the heartland of America and to share some of my deep concerns and some of my personal thoughts on the future of our Nation.

But talk is only the starting point. And so I ask each of you, as well as this great organization, to join with me in the commitment that I have made for the reinforcement of lasting peace and the enlargement of human freedom. I ask this not only for ourselves but for our posterity and for all peoples who pray that the torch of liberty will continue to burn bright.

God helping us, freedom and peace will both prevail.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:34 a.m. in the Minneapolis Convention Center. In his opening remarks, he referred to James M. Wagonseller, na-

tional commander of the American Legion, and Mrs. Maurice Kubby, president of the American Legion Women's Auxiliary.

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**Remarks at a Republican Party Leadership Rally in Minneapolis.  
August 19, 1975**

*Thank you very, very much, Chuck. My good friends, Al Quie, Bill Frenzel, Tom Hagedorn, and Mrs. Ring, and all of you great Republicans:*

It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to be here. You know, it brings back a good memory I have, going back to 1932—my first visit to Minnesota. [*Laughter*] I came up here with the University of Michigan football team and played against some of those great football players you turn out up here.

I was a sophomore. It was five below zero, and that stadium was very cold. I wasn't good enough to play very much, so I sat on the bench most of the time. I won't tell you the score, but 2 years later you made up for it and beat the devil out of us. [*Laughter*]

Well, I think you know every visit I have ever made to Minnesota has been memorable, and it is without exceptions.

As I was getting off the plane at the Twin Cities International Airport last night, an amazing thing happened to me. Somebody asked me how to get to the State capital in St. Paul. What made it so amazing—it was Governor Anderson. [*Laughter*]

Obviously, I am pleased to be with such a tremendous gathering of Republicans here in the great State of Minnesota. And I understand from Chuck and the others that you have earned your way here in a tremendous effort in raising money for the party in your local communities.

I know, from my long, practical experience in trying to get reelected to the Congress, the heart and the soul of the Republican Party depends upon what all of you do in your local communities. So, I thank you. I just hope you don't have to give two-thirds of that money to the DFL [Democrat-Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota] as well. [*Laughter*]

But even more importantly, your individual achievements and accomplishments must give you a great deal of satisfaction, because you know what you have done will have an impact on the party locally, statewide, and nationally.

It has been my experience that there is a rising tide of enthusiasm and a great deal of optimism as far as the party's election prospects in November of 1976.

Frankly, as I travel around the country, I like what I see, and I am glad to see this same spirit here in Minnesota today. You've got a great chairman in

Chuck Slocum. I talked to Chuck, as he indicated, after he was selected, and it is wonderful to meet him here today. He is a young man with energy, talent, plenty of talent to spare, and no time to waste. I know he will do as fine a job and good a job as Bob Brown did before him.

Now, if I could tick off what I think about these three gentlemen in the back here—*[laughter]*—I'm only going to tell you the good things I know about them. *[Laughter]*

Of course, Al Quie has been one of my long-time and dearest friends in the Congress, and he is a great Member of the House of Representatives. Bill Frenzel, a fine, fine, upstanding, effective Member of the House of Representatives, who has done—and I am sure will do—a great job. And of course, Tom, a newcomer, but I have had some experience in seeing newcomers. Some come and some go, but I can feel in Tom that he is the kind of a person that is going to stay there a long time and do a good job.

I see among the group here today a number of your Republican State legislators from around the State, and I had the privilege of meeting many of them just before I came in here. They are the foundation of the Republican Party. The only problem you have is you need more and we need more in the State legislature after the next election. Let's be sure that happens.

Grassroots Republicans have traditionally been the real strength of the Republican Party. I don't care whether it is in Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, or elsewhere, we as candidates can't get elected without the help and assistance of people like yourself at the grassroots level.

And I am convinced, as I see this group here, as I saw a great group in Iowa last night, that the Republican Party is on the upbeat, the upswing, and I just thank you for being among those who started when our fortunes were low and our prospects were bleak. You had enough dedication to principle, enough dedication to what is good for the country to start when things looked bad and are willing to work as hard as you have and be successful as evidenced by being here.

People in Minnesota, from my experience, are known for your pioneering spirit, your taste for a real challenge, and your ability to excel in a wide range of endeavors.

After talking with a number of your Members of Congress over a period of time, I know that you here in Minnesota are known as somewhat independent-minded, and I am convinced that this year and next the Republican Party can appeal to the independent-minded voter here in Minnesota and across the country.

I am convinced—I am very strongly convinced—that the independent voter is ready for a fresh start. And that is exactly what we are prepared to offer them. The independent voter wants a sound and prosperous national economy without recession, without inflation, and so do we as Republicans.

The independent voter wants jobs for those who can work and sensible help for those who can't. The independent voter wants his country to achieve energy independence, and so do we.

This wonderful independent voter wants a good education, good housing, good health care, and good food for his family at prices he can afford, and so do we as Republicans.

The independent voter wants the scales of justice to balance the right of the criminal defendant with the rights of a law-abiding society, and so do we. Our crime program is aimed at domestic tranquillity, with deep concern for the victim of crime. And the independent voter wants that as well.

This independent voter—and more and more of them are appearing in every State of the Union—wants an America at peace with itself and throughout the world. But the independent voter knows that peace is too easily broken, and he knows that the surest guarantee of peace is a strong and ready national defense, and so do we.

The independent voter wants relief from higher and higher taxes, from more and more Government programs intruding into his business and into his private life, from bigger and bigger Federal budget deficits, and so do we.

And this above all, if I might, the independent voter wants America on the move again, moving in new directions with a vision of what can be, and so do we.

As we look toward the future, none of us can be certain and positive what is in store for us. But if we approach the future with faith in ourselves, in each other, and in our country, we need not fear the future's mysteries nor miss its opportunities.

We, as Republicans, and millions, millions of more throughout the country as independents, can help create a future bright with promise by our decision on election day, November 1976.

I have come here to this great meeting—and it is a great meeting—to ask your help in getting the message of commonsense government and hope for the future to the people of Minnesota. In one way or another, all of you have distinguished yourselves as enthusiastic supporters of the Republican Party. Otherwise, you wouldn't be here today. But now I am asking each and every one of you, all good Republicans, to go that extra mile for the party—indeed, if it is necessary, that



extra thousand miles for the party. We have the principles, we have the programs and the people to do it.

And what's more, we have the year to do it—1976. Let's make that a year to remember, to be remembered by all Republicans.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:53 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Marriott Hotel. In his open-

ing remarks, he referred to Carolyn Ring, Minnesota Republican Party chairwoman.

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## Remarks at a Republican Party Luncheon in Minneapolis.

August 19, 1975

*Thank you very, very much, Al. Bill Frenzel, Tom Hagedorn, George Pillsbury, and the distinguished leaders in the Republican finance organization, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

It has been a wonderful about 18 hours in Minnesota. We were warmly welcomed at the airport, had a wonderful meeting this morning with the news media people in radio, television, and newspapers, had a grand and wonderful reception at the American Legion convention, then, of course, the two meetings with the party people.

I have always had a great affection and fondness for Minnesota, but the time spent here on this occasion just magnifies my feeling and my sentiments toward those from "Gopherville." [Laughter]

Speaking of the Gophers,<sup>1</sup> one of the great experiences I have in traveling around the country is running into old friends.

It is hard to believe, but back in 1932 and '33 and '34 I had the opportunity at the University of Michigan of competing against Bernie Beerman's tough Minnesota football team. One of those that I competed against in those years was Pug Lund, and I was delighted and honored to see Pug here on this occasion.

Pug and I not only played against one another but we were fortunate, subsequently, to play together on the Shrine East-West team and also in the Chicago All-Stars. So, we developed a friendship opposite one another and with one another, and Pug, it is just nice to see you, and I thank you for coming.

It was also great to see an old friend and a dear colleague of a good many years, Ancher Nelsen, who is a bulwark of strength and integrity and good

<sup>1</sup> Nickname of the University of Minnesota football team.

common sense. And we miss you, Ancher, but you've got a good replacement in Tom.

I guess you gather from what I have been saying that every visit I have ever made to Minnesota has been memorable, and this has been no exception.

As I was getting off the plane last night at the Twin Cities International Airport, an amazing thing happened to me. Somebody asked me how to get to the State capital in St. Paul. [*Laughter*] What made it so amazing—it was Governor Anderson. [*Laughter*]

It is also a pleasure to be in Minnesota, the land of 10,000 lakes, which, I understand, is now known as the land of 15,000 lakes. In a way, that recount could be a great lesson for the Republican Party. [*Laughter*]

Like those lakes, I think there are a lot more Republicans here in Minnesota than any of us realize. We just have to go out, find them, and get them interested and to the polls.

There has been a tremendous parade of my associates in Washington coming to Minnesota lately. Secretary Kissinger was here last month. So was Earl Butz. I thought I better come out to Minnesota and find out for myself what was attracting everybody to this great State.

But what I found is really what I have known for years—Minnesota is one of the most beautiful States in the Union, has some of the friendliest people anywhere, and it has some of the hardest working, most dedicated Republicans that I have ever met.

Of course, I have had some great associations with people from Minnesota in the House of Representatives—Al Quie, who is one of my long and very dear friends; Bill Frenzel, an outstanding Member of the House of Representatives, who is respected on both sides of the aisle; Tom Hagedorn, who is a newcomer. But I am convinced, having seen Members come and go, like Greyhound buses sometimes, that Tom is going to stay for a long time, like Al and Bill.

The only problem I think you have, you've got quality—you just need a little more quantity. [*Laughter*] So, if you could sort of add to the delegation, it would not only help your State, in my judgment, but it would give some strong support to Al and Bill and Tom.

As I travel around the country—and I have traveled a bit on nonpolitical meetings—I am optimistic about the Republican prospects for next year's election. I think we are going to have the right kind of candidates, the issues, the money, the workers, and more importantly in the final analysis, the votes to win.

But it will take a lot of hard work like many of you have contributed in the past.

And if we are to capitalize on the opportunities ahead of us—and they are vast—I think we have to reach out to that great American majority that does the Nation's work, pays the Nation's bills, provides for the national defense, and observes the Nation's laws. That is our constituency.

No matter the color of their skin, the religion they practice, the politics they vote, these solid Americans are the Republican Party's bulwark of strength. They are the people to whom we must tell our story, over and over again, this year as well as next.

And after 1 year as President, I am even more firmly convinced than ever that Republican principles are really what most Americans believe in.

Specifically, as Republicans, we believe in the free enterprise system and in lifting the very heavy hand of government from business so that the system can work much more effectively.

We believe in fiscal responsibility and in keeping Federal spending—those levels down, which would not trigger further inflation.

As some of you may recall, a few months ago when I took some action, I said I was going to take a firm stand against any increase in the Federal deficit. And it was a fair warning to the Congress that they had to behave and not spend more money than we could afford.

We have made a little progress, but if the Congress doesn't show some restraint and responsibility, there will be a lot more vetoes. I think they are in the best interest of this country.

Obviously, I want to thank Al and Bill and Tom—I can't remember whether they voted to sustain every veto. I'm going back and check up on it. [*Laughter*] But I'm sure they have a pretty good batting average.

Well, as Republicans, we believe in this fiscal responsibility, and a \$60 billion deficit is a big enough deficit. But if we don't hold the lid, in all honesty and sincerity, it will be \$70 billion, \$80 billion, or \$90 billion, and that just leads to further momentum and acceleration for as large a deficit in the next fiscal year.

I just feel that the American people want us to handle their money in a responsible and effective way. So, with the help of good people—Republicans primarily, but a good many Democrats too—I think we are approaching a period of fiscal responsibility that's so important to our Nation's future.

Obviously, we as Republicans believe in a strong national defense as the best way that I know of to ensure the peace and to deter war. An adequate military

budget with the kind of leadership that we are getting in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines is the best way to ensure our security.

We believe in the control of our affairs at the State and local level—the officials who are the closest to the problems and to the people that they represent. We think this is an infinitely better approach than having things controlled in Washington by a very remote bureaucracy.

But most importantly, as Republicans we believe in the freedom of the individual and in retaining that uniqueness of individual responsibility.

I think we are heading rapidly into a very, very important campaign. Next year's election at every level—local, State, as well as national—will be a critical test of our ability to convince a majority of Americans that Republicans care about things that concern most people today, that we are ready to listen to them, that we are prepared to work—and I mean work—our very hardest and to do our very best for them.

It is my sincere hope and my confident belief that if we are successful in getting across the message to the people over and over and over again, 1976 can be a great year for the Republican Party here in Minnesota, as well as throughout the United States. I believe that we can make future years great ones for our country. I have come here to ask for your help in that effort.

I want, obviously, to thank you for what you have done and what you are going to do. I am confident if we make this maximum effort—every one of us—we can share a great Republican victory in 1976.

Together we can make it a banner year. Let's make certain and positive that banner says "Republican."

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:58 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Registry Hotel.

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**Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies for the Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, Pekin, Illinois. August 19, 1975**

*Thank you very much, Howard Baker. My dear friend Louella, Senator Chuck Percy, Senator Jennings Randolph, Senator Roman Hruska, Governor Walker, my very good and dear friend, Charlie Halleck, and of course, my longtime friend and great helper, Les Arends, Mayor Waldmeier, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

As one of the many, many Americans who knew and loved Everett Dirksen, obviously I am pleased to be in his hometown for the dedication of this great building in his honor.

I wanted to be here in a very special capacity, not as President of the United States, not as a former President of the United States Senate, but as the spokesman for a very exclusive fraternity—minority leaders of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate.

How delighted Ev would be that the dedication coincided with your third annual Marigold Festival. This city really looks beautiful today with so many thousands of Ev's favorite flowers in bloom.

And as I said a moment ago, I did want to be here representing minority leaders. Unfortunately, as Charlie Halleck and I both know, our fraternity has been overwhelmingly Republican in recent years, though we keep trying to recruit more Democrats every day. [*Laughter*]

We take some comfort, however, in the obvious fact that leading the minority in the House or the Senate is a much more demanding job than leading the majority. And if ever a minority leader could be said to dominate either body, the House or the Senate, that man was Everett Dirksen.

He was a power to be reckoned with, and he did it not by the numbers of his minority, but by the sheer power of his unique personality, his persuasiveness, his profound gift for friendship, and his consummate legislative skill.

When I was elected minority leader in January of 1965 for the House of Representatives, Ev Dirksen was already the sage and the seasoned minority leader of the United States Senate. I was the new boy, but he never put me down. Instead, he took me in.

I met almost every day and sometimes oftener with the master, and he taught me the trade. He knew as much about the House as I did, and of course, he knew everything about the United States Senate. He knew every wheel and every cog that makes the Congress tick. And he knew a thing or two about some Presidents.

In our relationship, I was the spear carrier, and I must say, we used to aim some sharp ones in the direction of the then occupant of the White House. But Ev's were always softened with a chuckle. And I suspect he was much more effective.

Every couple of weeks, as has been noted by Louella, we would hold a two-headed press conference that became known as the "Ev and Jerry Show." It really should have been known as "Dirksen and Company"—[*laughter*—the

“Dirksen and Company Show”—because it is obvious, you know, who was the star.

It seems that some of the legacy of homespun humor, left in this part of Illinois by Abraham Lincoln, was reborn in Everett Dirksen. He had a little quip or he had a little story for each and every occasion, regardless of the circumstances.

He was the only politician I have ever known who could walk into a press conference like the prophet Daniel and walk out leaving the lions all purring and without a scratch on him. Isn't that right? [*Laughter*]

I learned an awful lot from Ev, and it's only fitting that others should learn from him also. The Dirksen Research Center, with mementos and papers from his long and productive career, will enable generations of students to learn more about the United States Congress and how it works.

The Senator believed, as you all know, the opportunities to examine the papers and documents of top legislators were far too limited. He had an idea for a research center long before his death. And I agreed with him, as I think most of the Members of the House and Senate would, that the study of the Congress has been far too long neglected.

Ev knew every piece of legislation, and he knew that every piece of legislation could have a lasting imprint on our society and this country. He believed more historical attention should be given to the drafting and the approval of Federal legislation. With the Dirksen papers and those of other Congressional leaders, this great center will give students in many universities and colleges in this area a very special viewpoint on American history.

One of the most fascinating areas of study in the Dirksen papers will be to trace just how influential a single dedicated man can be. His career spanned almost four decades and six Presidents. From the very first of the hundred days of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to Ev's eventful 10 years of service as minority leader in the Senate, Senator Dirksen participated rigorously in the enormous social and political changes of those years.

I have sometimes wondered whether Ev Dirksen ever regretted that he promised his mother not to pursue a career on the stage. [*Laughter*] But he got around it by playing a much larger stage, and we were lucky to have been in his company.

I think it's wonderful that the tapes of Senator Dirksen's speeches will be available to students, because his voice, as well as his presence, were part of his political magic.

The person who knew and loved him best, Louella, his wife and partner for

42 years, wrote this of Ev, and I quote: "My husband loved life. It seemed to love him also. He was awed by the beauty of the flower and the spoken word. He could cultivate them as no other man could. His flowers continue to grow. His words still echo."

I was looking through some of my old files for some of Ev Dirksen's words from the "Ev and Jerry Show" that perhaps I might include in my remarks here this afternoon. I thought maybe I could find one of his hilarious stories about his adventures as an Army balloonist in World War I or some other particularly funny observation.

Instead, I found a comment which Ev said he had pounded out on his trusty portable because he was in a special philosophical mood. It was in 1968, a few days after the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy. There were riots and violence all across the land.

Senator Dirksen wrote this, and I think it is appropriate at this time:

"The time has come to rethink our history. It should have emphasis in every school, church, and forum in the land. The legacy which is ours came from those who were here before us. Into this land they built their skills and talents, their hopes, their dreams, their tears, and their sacrifices. Today, we are the trustees of America. Upon us is a two-fold duty. The one is to those who came before us and gave us this land for our inheritance. The other is to those who shall come after us. Perhaps"—as Ev Dirksen said it—"three words can state the whole case—dedication, discipline, and duty."

I know that those words, spoken only as Ev Dirksen could, are somewhere in this edifice, reminding Americans of their continuing need for dedication, discipline, and duty.

Yes, Louella, his words still echo.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:26 p.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr., of Tennessee, and former Representatives Charles A. Halleck of Indiana and Leslie C. Arends of Illinois.

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## Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Peoria, Illinois. *August 19, 1975*

### ECONOMIC AND ENERGY PROGRAMS

*Thank you very much, Bill. Senator Chuck Percy, Mayor Carver, members of my official Administration, Cabinet and otherwise:*

[1.] It is a great privilege for me to be with all of you distinguished guests and representatives of the great area here in Illinois.

Because of the emphasis on questions and answers rather than speeches, I am certain that this conference will long be remembered in the history of verbal communication. It has been said that a dialog is when you exchange views with a colleague, and a monolog is when a politician exchanges views with you. [Laughter]

Today, I think we have taken a moderate-size step in the direction of eliminating that monolog. And so, I come to Peoria, not just to be heard, but to look, listen, and learn.

As a starter, I would like to tell you about the goals and the plans of the Administration. But I also want you—and I emphasize “you”—people of Peoria and Illinois, to tell me some of your feelings and some of your deep concerns about the vital issues facing us as a nation. One thing very certain—we have plenty to discuss.

I have been President for only a year, but what a year it has been. Even though most of us would not like to go through it again, I think we have had more pluses than minuses.

There have been some difficulties, some reverses in this 12-month span. But America has weathered the storm both in foreign and domestic affairs. Once again—and this is the most important thing—the American system, the Government, the people have met the test.

Consider for a moment the economy. Since March of this year, total employment has risen by 1.2 million, industrial production by 1 percent, personal income by 4 percent, and retail sales by 8.8 percent.

Not only our economy but our political system has demonstrated anew the strength and the resilience that has made us the freest as well as the strongest and wealthiest nation in the world. Where it counts, America has not and will not ever be satisfied with second place.

Don’t misunderstand me. I am not saying that our troubles are over, that we have reached the promised land. But we have a darned good vehicle to get us through to that promised land, and it is called the free enterprise system.

The job of all Americans is to help put that vehicle into high gear. Although most of the evidence that we see so far points to a healthy economic recovery, we cannot afford to take that recovery for granted at this stage of the ball game. There are plenty of problems left that require our prompt and concerned attention.

Take for a minute inflation. The latest figures show an annual rate increase



for June of just over 9 percent in the cost of living and over 15 percent for July in the Wholesale Price Index. I think this should serve as a warning that with the worst of the recession behind us, we must guard against—guard against vigorously—the kind of excessive new Federal spending that could trigger another protracted round of double-digit inflation. For my part, I pledge to you I will do all that I can to hold the line against inflationary Federal spending.

I cannot stop a runaway Congress from voting appropriations that fan the flames of inflation. But I can and I will continue to use my veto authority to curb the inflationary spending excesses of a majority of this Congress.

There has to be, in fact, there must be enough good men and women in both political parties in the Congress who will band together to sustain my vetoes in the public interest.

Remember—and I think this is what we often forget—inflation doesn't recognize party labels. When the cost of living zooms upward, we all pay the price, especially the old, the poor, the jobless, and those on fixed incomes, be they Democrats, Republicans, Independents, dropouts. The burden is shared by everyone. Inflation is a common enemy, and we must fight it with a common front.

And so, each time I use the veto to battle inflation, I am taking, I think, a positive, not a negative step. The vetoes that I have exercised so far will save you—the public as a whole in this country, the American taxpayer—an estimated \$6 billion by 1977 in tax payments or loss of purchasing power through inflation.

We are talking about preserving your purchasing power and the value of your paycheck, your pension, your social security check, and especially your savings. We are talking about your future economic stability.

Now, I am well aware of the fact that some people don't accept this argument. I respect their view, and I respectfully disagree. They say, for example, that no inflationary pricetag exists on massive government spending. But in my considered judgment, they are wrong.

In their view, the solution to all of our ills is for government to spend more of your money and for government to regulate more of your lives. Unfortunately, their argument for bigger government and bigger government spending has been accepted all too often in the postwar years.

The result has been a growing and unwarranted trend toward Federal interference—interference in the free enterprise system, interference in State and local government, and as we are now beginning to discover, even interference in our personal lives.

This trend must be reversed, and it will be if we have anything to say about it.

Despite all the obstacles that well-meaning government has put in the way, the American system and the American worker continue to provide us with a living standard that is the envy of the entire world.

I don't think you have to look any further than Peoria for proof of what I am saying. Thanks to productive, competitive industries and skilled, willing workers, the Peoria area turns out industrial goods that sell not only coast to coast but all around the globe.

And one blessed result of this productiveness is that you have an unemployment rate well under the national average. That is a fine record, one to be proud of. And you have achieved it in spite of, not because of big government.

Let me give you just one example, if I might, before we get to the questions and answers. I understand there is a serious local concern in this area about the possibility of future natural gas shortages.

Now, if this is the case, we ought to ask ourselves, what's the reason? Is it because we don't have enough known sources of natural gas? No. For the present at least, there is enough to meet all of our needs.

The problem is not one of supply. It is one of regulation—obsolete Federal regulation that may cost this part of Illinois and other regions of America—in fact, 10 States, to be frank with you—it will cost jobs, and it will cost economic growth.

But the basic problem is just this: For 20 years now, the Federal Power Commission has been required by law to set artificially low prices at the wellhead for natural gas sold in interstate markets. The result has been that gas producers sell as much of their product as they can inside their respective State borders at free market prices, creating shortages in nonproducing States of the Union. And communities like Peoria have and may well suffer.

Believe me, this isn't the first time I have said this, and I say it every time with greater feeling and determination. I said it as Vice President and I have said it repeatedly as President. I have consistently urged the Congress to deregulate natural gas to expand its supply nationwide.

It's amazing, when you talk to Congressional Members from Texas or Louisiana or Oklahoma—where they have these abundant supplies of natural gas, but where they are not going to ship it across State lines to Illinois or to Michigan, to Indiana or anyplace else—they say we are going to keep it, and then we will get your factories and your jobs down in our State where we can sell this natural gas at whatever price we decide.

It's unbelievable to me that the Congress has not responded in this area so that we in your area or we in my part of the country or elsewhere can't get this great

natural resource so we can have more productivity, more jobs, and a better country.

But as I said, the Congress has done nothing, even though common sense says it must be done and public opinions recently show a growing popular support for deregulation. Further delay is intolerable. Even if the Congress should act this session, it will still be one or more winters before we could feel the beneficial results of that action.

I am delighted to be here. I just had a wonderful experience over in Pekin—the dedication of the Everett Dirksen Research Center. I am delighted to hear from all of you, to urge each of you to make your voice heard for the kind of free and prosperous America we all want and believe in.

Freedom, in my judgment, is more than a word. It is a way of life, a vital, living thing. And each generation must strengthen and renew it or it will surely perish, as we have seen all too often elsewhere in the world.

The time is now for our generation to keep this idea alive. We must make sure that our first 200 years as a free people, glorious as they have been, will only be the beginning of the American success story. Together, let us prove to the entire world that the American dream is best realized when we are wide awake.

Thank you very much, and let's go to the questions.

## QUESTIONS

### ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT

[2.] Q. Mr. President, I am Bill Wombacher, a Peoria lawyer interested in the energy field and chairman of the Peoria Area Chamber of Commerce. I would like to ask you what priorities, if any, has the White House set in resolving the seemingly irreconcilable difference in the goals of the Federal Energy Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I could take quite a bit of time answering that, but what we have tried to do is to get Russ Train and Frank Zarb to sit down and work together to make some reason and rationale out of the sometimes conflicting interests of a great need for additional energy and still the great desire to protect our environment.

I recall very vividly some discussions we had in December about what the auto emission standards should be. And we worked it out, and I want to compliment both Frank and Russ for doing it. Of course, we subsequently had a report that put a different light on the situation. But what I am trying to illustrate is that we have people in this Administration who have positions of responsibility,

who are willing to sit down and talk with those who have potentially conflicting interests.

And although I think in most cases we have come out with a good answer, I admit there are some areas where we are still in some disagreement. But I know that we can have a responsible energy program and still not destroy our environment, and that is our objective.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[3.] Q. Mr. President, Stanley Johnson, president of the Illinois State AFL-CIO. Labor was critical of the Administration which you had to take over some time ago in the crisis of government. We commend and appreciate your low-key approach to that particular crisis.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

Q. Labor, as you know, was quite critical of the national direction of governmental policy in the previous Administration. What disturbs us again is probably some of the same advisers are still in your Administration.

Now, these advisers may have caused you to veto several measures. At this point, we also have to respectfully disagree with your vetoes. The recent study of the Library of Congress indicated some of those measures would have added some 638,000 jobs, the bulk of which would have been in the housing and building industry. As you know, that industry is a good bellwether of our total economy.

Therefore, Mr. President, our question is, how can we tell the jobless, who are not interested in theory, that they must continue to bear the heaviest cost of a projected economic turnaround, which may not help them very soon?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, sir, I think you have to look back at what the circumstances were in August of 1974. At that time, we had inflation of 12 to 14 percent. And I admit at that time we had 5-percent unemployed. But that high inflation rate was hurting everybody, those employed and those unemployed. And if we hadn't done something to try and check inflation, I am convinced we would be still in a disastrous recession.

Now, we have had a tough time. We have had to take some stern measures. But the net result is we have made substantial progress against inflation. But the most encouraging thing is—and this is what I would tell the unemployed—I would tell them that in the last 2 or 3 months, the number of gainfully employed has gone up over a million and that the prospects are that we will continue to add to the total number of employed and that although the rate of unemployment may be higher than we want—and obviously it is—we will do it while we

are able at the same time to continue to squeeze the inflationary impact out of our society.

Now, some of these decisions, I am sure you recognize, are not easy. Let's take the housing one that you spoke of.

We recommended a housing bill. We proposed that some additional stimulant be given to the housing industry, but unfortunately, the Congress added a lot of extras that would have had a substantial, adverse impact on our deficit. And it is big enough now. Sixty billion dollars is a bad deficit by any standards, and if we had let that housing legislation go through, it would have added significantly to it.

I vetoed the bill, not because I didn't want a housing bill, but I didn't want a bad housing bill. The Congress reconsidered, took some time, analyzed the arguments that we presented, and they passed another housing bill. And that housing bill we are using and implementing.

In fact, I asked the Congress just before they recessed for a vacation to appropriate an additional \$5 billion for what we call the tandem plan to stimulate housing.

Now, I can't say that what we have done is the reason we had an announcement yesterday that there was a 14-percent increase in housing starts over the previous month.

Housing is beginning to go, and that is going to end the unemployment in the construction trades where there has been a very heavy and a very substantial unemployment rate.

But you can't turn a spigot and get all these things done overnight. It takes time and a narrow path, a very narrow position, to win the battle against inflation, construct a strong economy, and reduce unemployment and provide jobs. We are doing the best we can.

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I am Joe Ferstl, president of the Illinois Press Association. Our member newspapers are very much dependent upon the mail service, especially the second-class mails. And we fear that the posture taken by the Postal Service since reorganization will result in disaster to the free flow of information. We are, however, encouraged by the provisions of House bill 8603, which reestablishes the concept that the mails are a public service and that the cultural, educational, and informational values of the mails must be considered in setting rates for all classes of mails. Mr. President, do you support this public service concept, and can we count on your support for House bill 8603?  
[Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I support the concept of public service for the Postal Service, I support the concept. When I was in the Congress, we voted to move the Post Office Department to the Postal Service, and we set up a 10-year—or a 5-year span, as I recollect—for the transition from a non-self-supporting Postal Department to a self-supporting Postal Service.

And in the interim, the Congress, at the recommendation of the President, would recommend about, as I recall, \$400 million a year for this public service.

Now, the second- and third-class mail users came in—I think it was last year—and asked for an extension from the 5-year transition period to the 10-year transition period. And as I recall, I approved that bill. I know I voted for it.

So, we have been understanding of your problem, and Congress this year is being asked to recommend, as I recall, roughly about \$900 million to give public service support to the Postal Service. And part of this has come because we have extended the timespan from 5 to 10 years.

I believe in the public service concept, but I cannot in good conscience, without reading the fine print, endorse that bill you are talking about.

#### RACE RELATIONS

[5.] Q. Mr. President, my name is John Gwynn, the local and State president of NAACP. My concern is the enforcement of the Federal laws that exist as they relate to race relations. Since race relations remain the single overriding issue in America, and since we have laws dating back to the 14th amendment, the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the 1964 Civil Rights Act—these are some of the laws that exist, with others—we are asking, Mr. President, what are you going to do to make sure these laws are enforced with all deliberate speed? Again, I would like to state that we feel that race relations is being pushed under the rug.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say, in the first place, I just appointed an outstanding person in Lowell Perry to be the head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Administration (Commission). Lowell Perry is a first-class person to do that job, and I can assure you that in that position, Lowell Perry will make certain that the rights of blacks and other minorities are fully protected.

Let me give you another illustration. I respectfully disagree with your view that race relations are being pushed under the rug by this Administration. I recommended the extension of the existing voting rights legislation, and my Administration pushed, in the House as well as in the Senate, to get that reenacted.

Chuck Percy, sitting here, knows very well how delicate that situation be-

came at a very last minute, and I think this Administration played a considerable part—I believe a major part—in making that legislation for 7 more years.

In addition, I think in any other area the employment of minorities in the Federal Government, not only the employment but the advancement of minorities in positions of responsibility, has been recognized and carried out by this Administration. And I pledge to you that that will be our position in the future.

#### SCHOOL INTEGRATION

[6.] Q. What about the integration of schools?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me be very frank here. I don't think that forced busing to achieve racial balance is the proper way to get quality education. The principal objective is to get quality education for all our young people. And I think there must be a better way to do it than the way some advocate.

Now, we will carry out whatever the law is and however the courts interpret it. Don't get me wrong. But it is my personal conviction and has been for 10 or 15 years that there is a better way to get quality education for all of our young people than the way some advocate.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Jerry Abegg, president of Bradley University. As president of an independent university, may I convey a concern that all of us in higher education have for a potentially serious threat to the charitable deduction, which is now being considered by Members of the U.S. Congress. The proposals which are being considered strike at the heart of American private philanthropy and threaten serious damage to our traditional dual system of public and private higher education, which that philanthropy has helped to sustain. I would appreciate any comments about this proposal.

THE PRESIDENT. It is very interesting. Just last week in Vail, Colorado, where I am having a working vacation, I met with seven or eight of the top people of the Aspen Institute, and in that group were two or three who are equally concerned and to some extent represent the private colleges in the country, or at least their viewpoint.

The real problem you face today comes from the 1969 Internal Revenue Act that was passed. In '69, a limitation was put on foundations. It made it more difficult for private colleges to be the beneficiaries of generous citizens or generous groups.

At the present time, there are some additional amendments before the House Committee on Ways and Means that would, in a more harmful way, jeopardize

the existence of private colleges, because it would be more difficult under the proposed laws for people to give to these nonpublic institutions.

I can assure you that I don't approve of those proposed amendments. And to the extent that we can keep the Congress from doing it, my Administration will do so.

Q. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. And if I might add, I happen to think that the public school systems, whether they are primary, secondary, or higher education, are made better when they have got competition from nonpublic schools—whether it is college, higher education, elementary, or secondary. We want a competitive education system in this country. It is good for everybody.

#### REGULATORY REFORM

[8.] Q. Mr. President, I am H. D. Altorfer, chairman of the Central Illinois Industrial Association. In a speech in Washington last June 17, you stated that it was your determined intention to review every single Government action in light of what it will do to free competition and individual liberty. This review is to apply across the board to corporations that seek special monopolistic advantages, as well as to radical social theories.

This intent is to be commended, but as a relatively small businessman, it seemed to me the monopolistic advantages of the large national labor unions, and in some instances the cooperatives should also be reviewed in light of what they are doing to free competition and individual liberty. Will you include these in your review also?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I was referring in that speech primarily to the activities of the Federal Government in regulation and control. I was not referring to the private sector, so to speak.

On the other hand, under existing antitrust legislation—I emphasize “under existing antitrust legislation”—the Department of Justice has a mandate, and has had for a long period of time, to proceed against monopoly as so described in those laws. And the Attorney General, who comes from this area of the country, will carry out that responsibility.

Now, we have taken no action. I don't see the connection at this time between the kind of monopoly we were attacking, the monopoly of the Federal Government, and in the question that you raise.

There is a distinction and a difference between national labor organizations and some governmental operations. I happen to think that labor organizations can play a proper and do play a very important role. I don't condone, however,



let me be sure, some of the actions of individual locals or even in some cases my friends' actions by the national AFL-CIO. But we have no plans at this time for any legislation along the lines you are suggesting.

#### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

[9.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Eldon E. Witt. I am the executive secretary of the Illinois Association FFA. In Illinois, we are proud of the progress that vocational education has made, and I must admit that some of us registered some disappointment with the veto of [H.R.] 5901. Now, my question is this—

THE PRESIDENT. 5901—I don't remember the numbers of all of these, the names of all of these. What is 5901?

Q. This is a bill, a vocational education funding appropriation. And I am asking now, are you aware of the language of House bill 17304, which is a new vocational education bill getting us away from this continuing resolution. And is vocational education a high enough priority at the national level to warrant support of this bill?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, until I have read the language of the bill—and I normally only read the language of the proposed laws that come down to me—I can't make any honest, in conscience, make any commitment.

I can tell you this, however, that I think the record of this Administration in supporting education, including vocational education, is a good one.

As a matter of fact, in the education recommendations in the budget for fiscal 1976, which is the year that began this July, there is a considerable amount more in funding recommended than in the previous fiscal year.

I am concerned about education, but in the multitude of requests for money that come from a tremendous number of good causes, and the availability of our country's resources in taxes or in borrowing, somebody—and unfortunately in my case it is me—I have to somehow weave in the proper relationship and the proper priorities.

But I can tell you from my own personal history in the Congress and otherwise, we will do as well as we possibly can for vocational education.

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THE PRESIDENT. Won't you all sit down just a minute? They have asked me to sum up with another minute or two.

I thank you, and I think it is obvious to you I have enjoyed this stimulating and informative session. I have tried to gather that these are two-way conferences; two-fold is one way to put it, two-way communication another.

We came to Peoria to listen as well as to speak, and judging by that standard, I believe the conference has been a success.

It's my strong and very deep conviction that to do its job well, the Government must be tuned into the people it serves. It must be open, it must be responsive as it maintains a two-way conversation with citizens from all walks of life.

Today, you have heard about agriculture from Earl [Butz], about the economy from John Dunlop—John Dunlop and Bill Seidman—and about energy from Frank Zarb, about education from Commissioner Bell, and about the environment from Russ Train.

I know they have tried to give each and every one of you an idea of what this Administration's goals are and where we are heading in our efforts—and I say most sincerely—in our efforts to develop some new directions while strengthening the basic free enterprise system and the values which make America great.

But just as importantly, we have also heard from you, from the men and women representing nearly every facet of life in the Peoria area. And I thank all of you—labor, business, industry, education, farming, the minority community, women's groups, the press, and the legal profession. I am grateful that you participated.

This is the seventh Presidential townhall meeting that I have had the privilege of attending. The more of them that I attend, the more I learn and the more optimistic I become about America's long-term future. In the people gathered here in this room and millions of others like you around the country, we have one of the priceless natural resources that will never be depleted.

And as long as we can meet together and work together like this, in an atmosphere of candor, trust, and mutual respect, there is no problem we can't solve together.

And after all, that is what America is really all about—people with different ideas, different approaches, from all walks of life, pulling together to make this great country a better place for all of us.

You know they did it in 1776 in Independence Hall. We, too, can do it 200 years later.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:42 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Peoria Hilton Hotel. He was intro-

duced by William J. Baroody, Jr., Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

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Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With  
Representatives of Wheatgrowers Organizations in  
Vail, Colorado. August 20, 1975

THE NATION'S AGRICULTURE

IT IS nice to see you all this morning, and I am delighted you are out here, along with myself, enjoying some of the opportunities in Vail. I think you all know how much I like the place, and I hope you do, too.

[1.] Let me just say a word or two about, I think, an extremely important problem that we have that involves, of course, the farmer, involves the consumer, and involves, as we all know, the action taken by the AFL-CIO.<sup>1</sup> It also involves some very important implications as far as American foreign policy is concerned.

My feeling, as far as agriculture was concerned, was expressed pretty fully in my remarks to people in Iowa at the Iowa State Fair.<sup>2</sup> I believe that the policy that we followed of full production for American agriculture is right.

This is a great asset that we have in America, the availability of tremendous production in wheat, corn, and feed grains, and the American farmers have responded magnificently in this regard.

We ended up, according to the August estimates, with an increase of about 19 percent of the wheat crop this year over last year, although the August estimate indicated there was approximately a 2-percent drop from the earlier forecast.

The corn crop for this year, based on the August estimate, is about 26 percent above the production of last year. On the other hand, it is about 3 percent less than what the estimate was of the previous month.

Now, when I was in Iowa, they had a good rain the night before, for which I took credit. [*Laughter*] But the net result, according to the agricultural people that I've talked with, it won't have much of an impact on the production in Iowa as far as corn is concerned.

Fortunately, however, they indicated to me that the soybean crop would be the beneficiary. I am no expert, but according to them, they felt that, because

<sup>1</sup> The President was referring to an announcement by AFL-CIO President George Meany that the International Longshoremen's Union would not load ships with grain sold to the Soviet Union without Administration assurances that the sale would not increase food prices for consumers.

<sup>2</sup> See Item 490.

of the nature of soybeans, that this particular rain would be significantly helpful to them.

Now, we want full production from agriculture. It is good for the farmer. It is good for the consumer. I think it is good for the country as a whole. It gives us great flexibility in providing for us, the United States, to help feed a good many mouths around the world where they need extra food, and at the same time, it gives us some flexibility in our overall execution of foreign policy.

There has been, and I think properly so, some action taken by the Secretary of Agriculture until the next crop report, which comes out September 11. It certainly is anticipated there will be future sales abroad. But I think until we see just what that September 11 crop report shows, we have to be somewhat discreet in how we handle the problem.

We want to sell more. We will sell more. But I think in the overall context of the multitude of problems and the variety of cross-interests, it is in the best interest to show some restraint until that time.

I can assure you that I am on top of the problem, working with Earl Butz and John Dunlop and the other people in the Administration. I get virtually daily reports on the situation, and I can assure you that we will use our best judgment to try and protect the interests of not only agriculture but others, not only at home but abroad.

I will be glad to answer any questions.

## QUESTIONS

### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS

[2.] Q. Mr. President, we know that you realize the problem, but I would like to emphasize one thing, that when the present Administration, your Administration, asked us to increase production, all of that production has to be exported, because we were producing more than we needed, and we would just like to emphasize that we must have access to these world markets.

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure you know that we have sold so far about 9.8 million tons to the Soviet Union. They have had a serious crop failure. The extent of that crop failure is not known precisely at this time, but I think most knowledgeable people recognize that they undoubtedly will be in the market for additional sales.

How much that will be, no one knows at this time. But if we can act, I think, reasonably and rationally in this situation, the extra production, the full production that the farmer was asked to undertake earlier this year and late last year in the winter wheat crop—I am sure that the price of wheat, the price of

corn, will be a good price and will return a good net income to the American farmer.

I think most of you know, I am sure better than I, that in the last month there has been—maybe a month and a half—there has been an increase in the price of wheat from around \$3 to around \$4 a bushel. The price of corn has gone from roughly \$2.50 a bushel up to about \$3 a bushel. These price increases under the market conditions, I think, are fully justified. I don't think we want to have the kind of total disturbance in the market that took place in some of the years past.

It is better for the farmer, I think, to have a solid income, a good net income, and we are going to make sure that that takes place.

#### LONGSHOREMEN'S STRIKE

[3.] Q. Mr. President, as I am sure you know, producers are very much concerned about the recent action of the longshoremen. In the first 6 months of this year, the price of wheat went down about one-third to us. The price of bread did not go down and, in fact, may have increased. My question to you now is, can you tell us any very recent development in the longshoremen's action to not load our grain?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my judgment that the best way to solve that problem is to lower our voices and to try and work out a negotiated settlement.

I expect to be in communication with the Secretary of Labor, who is in contact with the people in the labor movement. But it seems to me, rather than to accelerate the confrontation, it is better if we more or less lower our voices and try to negotiate a settlement.

I think it is obvious that if everybody talks loudly, it makes it more difficult for us to get an answer. People get frozen into positions.

I think the differences are soluble, and I am working on it today to try and bring the parties together so we can talk in a rational, reasonable way in trying to protect the interests not only of the farmer but American labor, the consumer, and the country as a whole.

If we just lower our voices a bit, I think we can solve the problem so we will ship the grain, the farmer will get his product on the world market, where it ought to be, and the consumers' interests will likewise be protected.

#### FOREIGN GRAIN SALES

[4.] Q. Mr. President, it is a real pleasure to have you with us. I will thank you for making most of my speeches, and you did a real good job. You sure did. He knows something about it, and that is just great.

THE PRESIDENT. You know a lot more about it than I do. I am learning, though.

Q. Well, I think you just did great. He was quoting facts and figures that we have been talking about here for the last few days.

As you know, Mr. President, two out of every three bushels of wheat we produced this year must find a home overseas if our wheat farmers are to have this solid income that you speak about. And I was so glad to hear your remarks. But our farmers, our wheat farmers are really concerned that the gate is not wide open now. And we just hope that it can be opened, the export gate can be opened wide soon, because they are concerned.

We can export 1.3 billion bushels of wheat and still have more wheat than we had last year, in fact, enough for all of our domestic food uses for another year in 1975.

THE PRESIDENT. As I indicated, production is up about 19 percent, and 90 percent of the total wheat crop of winter and spring wheat is in already. And the rest will be in the next month or so.

Wheat is one of the very important products we want to sell overseas. Corn is another one. The corn crop—it won't be as firm by September as the wheat crop will be, but at least we will have a better fix on where we are. I am convinced that when we get those facts together and get the parties down to seeing what we can do, we want the grain shipped overseas.

As I said in my speech in Des Moines the other day, last year the total American agricultural shipment overseas was about \$22 billion. We shipped in, in other agricultural commodities, as I recall, about \$10 billion. So we had a net surplus of roughly \$12 billion.

If we had not had that surplus in our balance of trade from our tremendous agricultural production, this country would be in serious straits right now, particularly with the impact of the foreign oil that has risen in price very substantially. So, we need this overseas sale of American agriculture, and we are going to find a way to make it certain.

But I think if we all just cool it a bit, it will be in the best interests of everybody until we can sit down and refine the issues in the first place, the issues of the consumer, from the point of view of one part of our society.

The maritime industry feels they have been shortchanged, because instead of getting a third of the grain shipment as they were promised, they have ended up with about 21 percent or less. And we are in the process right now of negotiating with the Soviet Union to try and get a better freight rate for American bottoms. This is another aspect of the problem.

It is my recollection that on Monday of this week, the Department of Com-

merce people met with the Soviet negotiators trying to get a better price, better freight rate—if that is the right term—so that more American bottoms can be involved in the shipment of American agriculture to the Soviet Union. So, there are many, many pieces of this very complicated problem.

And I can assure you that I and this Administration are on top of it, and we have good people working on it. But if we just cool it a little bit for the time being, then I am confident we can find some answers.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. I might just say in conclusion, it is my recollection that this organization was initially put together by an old and very dear friend of mine, Cliff Hope.

When I first came to the Congress, Cliff Hope was the ranking Republican on the House Committee on Agriculture. I became a very close and good friend of Cliff's. I learned a lot, not only about Congress from Cliff but a good bit about agriculture from Cliff.

So, through that channel, I do have at least some connection with your organization. Cliff was a great Member of the Congress but also a totally dedicated person to American agriculture.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. in the Home Stake Meeting Room at the Holiday Inn, where members of the boards of directors of the

following organizations were meeting: the National Association of Wheat Growers, the Western Wheat Associates, and the Great Plains Wheat Associates.

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### Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies for the Libby Dam, Libby, Montana. August 24, 1975

*Thank you very, very much, Mike. Minister Macdonald, Governor Judge, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

At the outset, Mike, let me express to all of your wonderful friends from Montana my deep appreciation for the warm welcome here in this great part of our country. I thank each and every one of you.

Obviously, I am deeply grateful to the more than generous and very kind words by my long and dear friend, Mike Mansfield.

I had the privilege of coming to the Congress of the United States when Mike had been in Washington for a number of years as a Member of the House. Our friendship began then, and it has continued over the years.

One of the great things that I feel about our country is that people of different political persuasions can sit down and try to work out the kind of problems that we face in this Nation.

I can say to all of you from Montana that you are most fortunate to have a man like Mike Mansfield not only as your Senator but as the majority leader in the United States Senate.

Mr. Minister, would you please express to Prime Minister Trudeau my very, very best wishes. One of the fine experiences a person has as President of the United States is to meet heads of governments throughout the world. I can say to those from Canada who are here today that the working relationship between Prime Minister Trudeau and myself has been constructive and will continue to be so as we seek to solve these problems between Canada and the United States. Please give to him my very best wishes.

Obviously, I am tremendously pleased to be here to participate in the dedication of the Libby Dam, another multipurpose project, one of the superb projects that the Army Corps of Engineers has constructed for the benefit of you in Canada, but for all of us in the United States as well as the benefit of Canada.

As I look at this structure and know that some \$500 million has been spent to build it, I congratulate the Corps of Engineers for spending our tax dollars wisely.

But I am also very pleased to be here because it provides me with an opportunity to visit this beautiful "Big Sky" country, the kind of country that I have heard about, not only from my son Steve, who spent the last year over in Lolo and more recently up in the grizzly country, but my knowledge of Montana goes back to my friendship with your delegation in both the House of Representatives and the United States Senate.

The problem is that we in Washington sometimes forget how refreshing and how beautiful America is, particularly this part of America, which has been the inspiration for so many poets as well as painters.

Flying across this vast continent, to those of us who come from the Middle West, is an inspiration. And I am filled with awe by how much we have accomplished in two short centuries. We have carved a civilization out of a wilderness. Let us now make sure that we keep some wilderness carved out of our civilization.

All of you know better than I that Montana is one of our most rugged and untouched areas. It stands as a symbol of our natural resources and of our native spirit. Libby Dam is also a symbol of how a commitment to the environment can be balanced with our technological needs. It is a multipurpose project



that shows it is possible to take a natural resource and use it wisely to satisfy a wide variety of human needs.

America needs more homegrown energy. This dam will provide clean electrical power for the equivalent of some 235 (thousand) homes in the Pacific Northwest. In addition, the Libby Dam will provide security for jobs and for industry and for agriculture. But most important, this power will be created without using expensive and depletable fossil fuel. Here at Libby Dam, the marriage of technology and nature will be a happy and a constructive one.

A second welcome purpose of Libby Dam, of course, is flood control. A television commercial tells us it's not nice to fool Mother Nature. On the other hand, Libby Dam will keep Mother Nature from fooling us.

As an outdoor enthusiast, another purpose of Libby Dam which millions of other Americans welcome is, of course, the recreational opportunities of this magnificent lake. It will provide the activities that firm muscles, clear minds, and renew spirits. I doubt if medical science will ever come up with a better tranquilizer than a boat, a fishing pole, and a lazy afternoon.

But there is one area where contentment can only lead to chaos, and that's if we fail to get cracking on a solution to the problem of our increasing dependence on insecure, overseas sources of energy.

To satisfy their needs, as you heard from the Minister, our good friends to the north have had to reduce, and may in the distant future eventually have to eliminate, their exports of oil and natural gas to the United States.

These exports to the United States represent more than 1 million barrels of oil per day, or its equivalent, which the United States will have to make up from its own energy resources or become more and more dependent on OPEC nations primarily in the Middle East.

This is one more indication of why our energy independence is an absolute necessity to the well-being of our Nation. Although Libby Dam will provide power for this region, it's not the answer to the energy scarcity nationally.

In the final analysis, each nation must ultimately cope with its own energy needs and problems of supply. Enlightened self-interest, as the Minister said, is the key phrase. We will cooperate with all others to ease our energy dilemma in the short range as well as the long haul.

In my conversations with the Minister before coming here for this occasion, I assured him and I believe he assured me—as he indicated in his speech to you—that the United States and Canada will work together.

We can't solve all the problems, but if we approach the difficulties with an

open mind and an understanding of the problems of the other, I am confident that many of the difficulties can be resolved.

The fact that the United States as well as Canada and 14 other nations are working together as consuming nations in the International Energy Agency is another indication of how not 2, but 16 nations can work together to solve a problem that affects us on the North American Continent and those in Western Europe, our allies in NATO.

We have resolved in this area, the 16 nations that are part of the organization, to share in research and development to find an answer to the financial problems that have arisen because of the high prices charged by OPEC nations, and to solve the problems and work together in the conservation of energy in the free nations, the industrial nations of the world. And if 16 nations can do it, as we are seeking to do, I am absolutely confident that Canada and the United States can do even better.

But I must say, on the other hand, that we must, all Americans and Congress, must realize that this is our problem to meet and to solve. We cannot look elsewhere for the total solution despite the efforts of cooperation.

More important, we can no longer pretend the national energy problem does not exist. We must develop new sources of energy, not only oil and gas but others such as solar, geothermal, and nuclear. We have delayed far too long. Our vulnerability increases daily. We must act now to achieve the energy self-sufficiency vital to all.

I will continue to work with the Congress and particularly with Senator Mansfield and others on the leadership on the other side of the aisle so we can get this effort off dead center.

Together we must succeed in this effort, not for any personal glory or party gains, but for the benefit of the American people and the free world in which we live.

Before closing, let me say how deeply pleased I am that the harmony this multipurpose project has created between technology and environment is equally reflected in the warm relationship that we in the United States have with our neighbors to the north. Relations between Canada and the United States have long been characterized by friendship and partnership. This dam stands as a powerful reminder of the mutual benefits such close cooperation can accomplish.

The poet Tennyson once wrote, and I quote: "Nothing in nature is unbeautiful." I believe that mankind has the responsibility of preserving that beauty. Let us, therefore, take heart as well as pride in the creation of the Libby Dam.

It will enhance the best we and our environment have to offer. It offers the message loud and clear: We are the defenders, not the despoilers, of this great land.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:58 p.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to Donald S. Macdonald, Canadian Minister of Energy, Mines, and Resources.

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**Remarks in Chicago at a Dinner for Participants in the Annual World Championship of the International Star Class Yacht Racing Association. August 24, 1975**

*Mayor Daley:*

Let me express my very deep gratitude and appreciation for the invitation to join you and your many friends in Chicago on this occasion when you and all of us are paying tribute to the Star Class group, not only from the United States but internationally.

I am most appreciative of the opportunity to meet this group of outstanding sailors and all that goes with being a good sailor, and I thank you very, very much for the opportunity.

Before I begin, I would like to ask an important question. I would most respectfully like to know if there is any correlation between the fact that sailing is one sport that needs a great deal of wind and your invitation for me to speak here tonight. [*Laughter*]

As an old Navy man, it's a great pleasure to be rubbing shoulders with so many fine skippers and their fine crews, and I am deeply grateful to you, Mr. Mayor, and the city of Chicago for making this evening possible.

While Mayor Daley and I don't always see eye-to-eye on politics—he tends to favor the port tack and I tend to favor the starboard tack—I am delighted that we have always been able to join together for wonderful evenings like this tonight.

Let me extend very forcefully my best wishes to all of the participants and the officials of the 1975 world's championship of the International Star Class Yacht Racing Association. In particular, I would welcome the skippers and the crews who have come from Switzerland, Sweden, Germany, the Bahamas, Canada, and Brazil that are competing in the races this week.

I hope—and I say this most sincerely—that you will enjoy your visit to the

United States and take home with you many happy memories of your visit to Chicago and to the United States as a whole.

Let me also congratulate the members of the Chicago Yacht Club on your centennial celebration. I hope your next 100 years will be as rewarding and as memorable as this.

There are so many great champions and so many great celebrities in the yachting world here this evening, and I have been talking to Bill Parks about all of you who are really experts and great dignitaries in this area.

But I have to admit that one skipper and crew in particular has caught my eye. I'd like to ask them to stand up and take a bow—the skipper of Star Number 5607, Ding Schoonmaker and his very talented and capable crew, Jerry Ford. [*Laughter*]

Jerry, all I can say is, I've been crew and now I'm a skipper, and believe me, being a part of the crew is easier. [*Laughter*]

Everyone I have talked to, both before and during the dinner, is already aware of the fact that I am not an expert on sailing, but I have done some of this over in Michigan's wonderful inland lakes and a bit on Lake Michigan over on the other side of this lake.

I was a crewmember, but never qualified as a skipper. Then when I got into the Navy, I served all of my sea duty in World War II on an aircraft carrier in the Pacific, the U.S.S. *Monterey*. But if you will pardon a little pride and nostalgia, of course in the South Pacific, the *Monterey*, according to the crew, was also a star.

Since then, the only sailing I have done has been an occasional cruise up and down the Potomac. And so while it is a new world, as far as I am concerned, what you have told me tonight through Bill Parks and others about star racing, I like and admire.

For instance, I understand there will be six races in this championship, and the rules permit each skipper to throw out his worst race. Mayor Daley, I know a lot of politicians—[*laughter*—I know a lot of politicians who would like to have those same rules in the game. [*Laughter*]

But the aspect of star racing that I admire most is the emphasis on personal skill and instinct. What really counts, as all of you know very well, is the skipper and the crew and how they measure up against every other skipper and the crew. Equipment and design are not the determining factors. Experience, know-how, and guts really are the criteria.

Tonight, Mr. Mayor, I am extremely grateful to you and to all of you for allowing me to share some of the flavor, the stories, and some of the excitement

of star sailing. Bill Parks has done a wonderful job in giving me the history and the experiences that he has had and all of you have had in this great competition.

In tomorrow's races and those that follow, I wish you all could win. But in just being part of this very special sport, I know that you feel it has been a great and a rewarding experience.

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:25 p.m. at the Chicago Yacht Club. The 53d annual competition was held in Chicago to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Chicago Yacht Club.

In his remarks, the President referred to Wil-

liam W. Parks, president of the International Star Class Yacht Racing Association, and James "Ding" Schoonmaker, North American champion in star class yacht racing.

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## Remarks in Chicago at the Convention of the American Hardware Manufacturers Association. August 25, 1975

*Thank you very, very much, Mr. Hudson. Cardinal Cody, Mr. Spencer, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a very special pleasure and privilege for me to be here this morning and to pay tribute to the American hardware industry and to kick off Hardware Week in the city of Chicago.

Yours is an industry that has taken American ingenuity and coupled it with some of the most effective merchandising techniques known to mortal man.

Now, that may seem like some exaggeration, but a hardware store is the only business I know of where you can go to buy a 10-cent carriage bolt and come out with a can of paint, a new, improved screwdriver, 50 pounds of charcoal briquets, a bicycle repair kit, 10 minutes of free advice, 12 picture hooks, 6 fuses, and a lawnmower—and then have to go back because you forgot the 10-cent carriage bolt you went to buy there in the first place. [*Laughter*]

I have been a typical homeowner most of my life, and my wife, Betty, knows it. She says that sending me to a hardware store is the nearest thing she knows to playing chicken with our life savings. [*Laughter*]

Nevertheless, on behalf of all of us "do-it-yourselfers," let me thank all of you here for making possible the wonder of wonders—the neighborhood hardware emporium, more affectionately known as the world's only candy store for grownups. [*Laughter*]

In your business, you constantly seek out those new ideas that are so important to a great country, and so do we in this country. In fact, no nation or

society in history has done more to encourage invention, innovation, and initiative.

The explosion of American ideas began 200 years ago with our Declaration of Independence. A century ago a tide of industrial progress started to sweep over America.

Sewing machines revolutionized the clothing industry. Electricity made life brighter and more prosperous. Automobile assembly lines put us on wheels. The telegraph and telephone, later, movies, radio, and television linked the people of this vast Nation closer and closer together. In our generation, America has split the atom and conquered space. Americans never shirked from challenge. Courage, originality, opportunity, and optimism are national traits.

This has been the spirit of America for the past two centuries—a spirit of ideas and individuality. It was and is the spirit of private enterprise—churning ahead in a free, competitive system fueled by private savings and investment. We need to recall these basic facts about America, about ourselves as a people, and about our way of life.

No nation has invested more than we have in humanity and science. No nation has taken greater risks or experimented as much for progress. As a result, no nation has earned such rewards as the United States.

Today, America is again called upon to invest, to risk, to experiment in the name of progress. But unfortunately, we have reached a watershed. A decision must be made. The question, put simply, is precisely this: How do we finance both the investment needed for economic growth and essential programs needed to solve our human problems?

Today, we are faced with the problem of creating new jobs in numbers greater than ever before in America. Although unemployment is far too high, nevertheless we should not forget that 85 million in this great country are at work, and that is about 1.2 million more than just last March. By 1980, we must create another 14 million jobs to meet the needs of our expanding population. This is our objective, and it will require substantial economic progress.

As always, economic progress depends on our ability as a nation to foster capital investment and increase the productivity of our workers. The share of our gross national product committed to the private sector investment must increase significantly over the next few years if we are to reach our economic potential. Some, for example, estimate that total investment requirements could reach as high as \$4 trillion!

However, as our need for capital grows, the ability of industry to generate necessary funds is declining. This is essentially because inflation has eroded cor-

porate balance sheets and because our national tax laws fail to stimulate such investment.

In short, our financial ability to increase production is declining. This decline is curtailing needed growth in jobs and income and undermining our ability to compete internationally.

I am very confident, once this becomes clear to the American people, they will understand America's need for tax policies that will help to channel sufficient resources into the expansion of productive capacity.

At today's level of economic activity, no shortage of industrial facilities exists. But our Nation's economic machine is not now running at top speed. In the future, we have every reason to expect it will. But we must now not permit bottlenecks and shortages to reappear as the economy gains momentum. We must not condemn our fellow citizens to unemployment because the modern tools needed to compete in world markets are lacking.

Capital, as all of you know, is vital to all segments of our economy to expand agricultural production, to develop domestic resources of energy and raw material, reducing our dependence on oil imports, and to preserve and to improve our economy.

This Administration has proposed reforms to the Congress to stimulate what some call capital formation through tax incentives. But I prefer to use the term "job creation," because that is what the proposals would do as a practical matter. If adopted, they would provide the funds to expand America's industry capability to create jobs, for one thing, by reducing the "double taxation" on dividends.

As expected, these proposals have raised an outcry from some Members of Congress who oppose them, and as a person who was in the Congress for a number of years, I understand these voices.

But the Congress in this case, as in others, has come up with no alternatives. We've got to push them to action here as well as elsewhere. America cannot put its faith in wishing wells. We must do something about expanding our sources of capital to create jobs—and we must do it right now. I ask the Congress to join with me in this commitment to our Nation's future—to increased jobs, income, and full economic recovery.

Let us expand the size of our economic pie rather than simply redistributing the pieces of a much smaller piece of pie.

By itself, however, additional capital cannot revitalize the American economy and our free market system. We must also take steps to help restore the vitality of the marketplace, and effective competition is the way to do it.

Too often in the past, our Government has stifled that competition in the name of economic regulation to the detriment of the consumer. For that reason, my Administration—with strong support of the Congress in this instance—is seeking fundamental reform of economic regulation in the United States.

The problem is simply this: In many industries—transportation, energy, communications, as well as others—Federal regulatory commissions have actually thwarted competition. The bureaucratic monopolies have tangled business in conflicting policies and redtape far, far too long. The record is clear: They have burdened the consumer with the costs of misdirected regulation.

Although I am greatly encouraged by widespread backing for regulatory reform, I also recognize we still have a long, long way to go to achieve it. But with the continued public support, which is very evident, with the support of you as well as your industry, we will reverse the trend of the last few decades. We will establish as national policy this basic fact of economic life, that Government regulation is not an effective substitute for vigorous American competition in the marketplace.

Having said this, let me add that some—and I qualify it by saying “some”—regulations are necessary and appropriate, for instance, involving health, safety, the environment. But the reforms that we seek would eliminate the impractical, the unnecessary, and the obsolete.

As part of this effort to ensure that we have a strong economic system, we must maintain an antitrust policy which validates our commitment to competitive markets. If we reduce Government regulation of business, we must make certain and positive that our antitrust laws are vigorously enforced.

Competition, when freed of Government regulation and supported by antitrust laws, is the driving force of our economy. It will drive costs down to their minimum and assure prices based on these legitimate costs.

Yet, such steps cover only a part of the overall problem. It is much more difficult to deal with areas that antitrust laws do not touch. These are the regulated and legal monopolies and the Government-sanctioned cartels.

For instance, various industry rate bureaus and self-regulatory agencies—transportation rate bureaus, shipping conferences, stock exchanges, and professional associations—now seem to operate in a congenial cost-plus environment. This is simply because government once decided they need not or cannot compete. They are allowed to fix prices and divide markets under the regulatory cloak, free from antitrust enforcement.

An essential element of regulatory reform legislation I have already sent or



will send to the Congress will eliminate most of these anticompetitive practices. The remainder of these practices, now immunized from antitrust laws, are undergoing intensive review in the executive branch of the Government.

In short, this Administration will look at the whole range of Government-sanctioned monopoly—from the small franchises protected by Federal regulations which rule out competition, all the way to Government-endorsed cartels involving entire industries.

We must recognize this: Over the years, Government has done as much to create and perpetuate monopoly as it has done to control or eliminate it. As a result, this Nation has become accustomed to certain forms of monopoly. Some are regarded as beneficial, some not.

If an industry combines to raise prices, it violates our antitrust laws. But no laws are violated if an industry can get the Federal Government to build trade barriers, to increase support prices for the goods or services that it produces, or to police against potential competitors or price cutters. It is sad but true: Too often, the Government walks with the industry along the road to monopoly.

The end result of such special treatment provides special benefits for a few but powerful groups in the economy at the expense of the taxpayer and the consumer.

Let me emphasize: This is not and never will be an Administration of special interests. This is an Administration of public interest and always will be just that. Therefore, we will not permit the continuation of monopoly privilege which is not in the public interest. It is my job and your job to open the American marketplace to all comers.

Ultimately, the vital reforms will be viewed—as they should be—as a pocket-book issue. Government regulation and restrictions now cost consumers billions and billions of dollars each year. We must be concerned about the cost of monopoly however it is imposed and for what reasons.

We must be sure that regulatory reform and antitrust actions go hand-in-hand with incentives to spark capital investment to create new jobs and new competition. This is what I firmly believe is needed to revive the American economic dream.

Before I close, let me share one thought with you. It concerns a subject that affects the lives and the pocketbooks of every American—the runaway growth of the Federal Government itself.

One of the goals I have set for myself as President is to cut big government down to size—and we can do it this way—to make it more manageable, more

responsive, more efficient, and less costly. And I want to put an end to the mountain of paperwork and the quicksand of regulation which big government makes every businessman cope with.

Do you have any idea how many different Federal forms Washington sends out and asks you to fill out? Would you believe it is over 5,000? Five thousand Federal forms to keep Washington at work and businessmen from their work!

Believe me—and obviously you agree—this is not the way this great Nation was built over a 200-year span. I can vividly recall how my father started a small family paint factory back in, of all years, 1929. In those dire economic circumstances, everybody pitched in. My specialty—and it didn't require much skill—was mixing the paint and labeling cans. But my father was always out there selling the merchandise and doing what makes sense for the business, not what makes sense for the bureaucrats.

The Ford Paint and Varnish Company survived the Depression. And I have often wondered if it would have if my father had had to fill out all of today's forms and applications and those thousands and thousands of questionnaires and, at the same time, cope with the patchwork of rules and regulations which face today's businessmen.

My objective is to get the Federal Government as far out of your business, out of your lives, out of your pocketbooks, and out of your hair as I possibly can.

To this end, within 3 weeks after I came into the Office of the Presidency last August, I directed the heads of all Federal Government departments and agencies to reduce the personnel for whom they had requested funds for the remainder of the fiscal year by 40,000. Actually, I can report to you today that their performance exceeded my directive. We ended fiscal year 1975 on June 30 of this year with a reduction or a cutback of 52,000 Federal employees under the planned levels of a year ago.

As for those 5,000 Government forms, I can tell you this: Several months ago, I directed Jim Lynn, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, to examine, to analyze, to evaluate, and then throw out as many of these time-wasters as he possibly can. And I am going to personally monitor it. To put it very simply, I want to see the American businessman pushing merchandise, not pencils.

You don't need a lot of bureaucrats looking over your shoulder and telling you how to run your life or how to run your business. We are a people who declared our independence 200 years ago, and we are not about to lose it now to papershufflers and computers.

Let's take the shackles off American businessmen. That's the only kind of hardware I don't approve of.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:37 a.m. in the Arie Crown Theatre at McCormick Place. In his opening remarks, he referred to Robert C. Hudson, Jr., president of the American Hardware Manufacturers Association, John Cardinal Cody, Archbishop of Chicago,

and Charles R. Spencer, chairman of the executive committee for Hardware Industry Week. Hardware Industry Week was held August 24–28, 1975, in Chicago.

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## Interview in Milwaukee With Television Reporters.

*August 25, 1975*

### THE NATION'S ECONOMY

RON SCOTT (WISN-TV). [1.] Mr. President, first of all, once again, welcome to Milwaukee for this, the seventh of the White House Conferences. I know the economy is on the minds of just about everybody in the country right now, and since we are a little bit in advance of your appearance this afternoon, could you give us any kind of a preview of the message of hope you will bring to the people?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say, Ron, that overall we have made very substantial headway in cutting inflation from last year's rate of about 14 percent down to an annual rate today of between 6 and 7 percent. This is a lot of progress, and we are going to continue making progress, in my judgment, despite the last announcement which was a little disappointing.<sup>1</sup> But I think that was for various reasons a unique report in the overall approach to solving the problem of inflation.

In the area of unemployment, we, of course, are very much against any unemployment rate of about 8.5, 8.6—too much—but I think we have to be also fair to say that in the last 4 months the total number of people gainfully employed has gone up about 1,200,000.

As long as we keep the number of employed going up, we are going to be able to gradually reduce the number of people unemployed. Now, as we look at the overall indicators—the gross national product, industrial purchases, housing starts, and other indicators—I am convinced that we have bottomed out and we are starting an uphill approach to a better economic system, a better economic environment, and some encouraging news for all people.

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<sup>1</sup> The President was referring to the July increase in the Consumer Price Index.

Q. I gather from your statements in Chicago earlier this morning you are not exactly pleased with the speed of that upward swing?

THE PRESIDENT. As a matter of fact, it is reasonably on schedule—some disappointments, but overall, I think we are moving ahead in a constructive way. It doesn't mean, however, that we are satisfied with the current unemployment rate. And we are not satisfied with the increase in the cost of living. But if you look at the overall, the kind of progress we have made in the last 12 months, we are doing quite a bit better. I am sure with the policies we have, with the cooperation of the Congress, we are going to have a healthy economic situation on a growing basis in the months ahead.

Q. We are walking sort of a tightrope in our economy right now.

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. We can't overheat the economy, of course. There is a current tax cut on the books now which ends the end of this year. Do you see a further tax cut next year?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a decision that I will have to make and the Congress will have to make. I think it is a little premature to make a final decision. If we need a further stimulant in the economy beginning on January 1, 1976, then I would recommend that the current tax cut be extended for another year. On the other hand, if we have to keep some additional pressure on inflation, then the judgment most likely would be otherwise.

So, until we get several more months of readings from the economists and all of the technicians, I think it is premature to make any categorical commitment.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[2.] Q. Mr. President, the opening remarks made at this morning's conference whereby the AFL-CIO leader of the State, and he was very critical of your Administration, particularly, for what he said, what he indicated was a callous disregard for the unemployed, saying that there is a 35-percent unemployment rate among the skilled trades here. What would you say if you were speaking to an unemployed worker in Milwaukee today?

THE PRESIDENT. I noticed the newspaper story where the gentleman was quite critical. I think he indicated that the rate of inflation when a Republican administration took over was about 4½ percent, where the unemployment rate was about 5 percent, saying that when Republicans took over from the Democrats, conditions were good, unemployment was down, and inflation was less.

I think it is fair to say that you ought to put those figures in perspective. In 1969, when a Republican administration took over from a Democratic adminis-

tration, we had 550,000 young men fighting in Korea [Vietnam], and we had a military force on active duty of over 3 million men. Today, of course, we have nobody fighting in Vietnam, and we have about 2,100,000 on active duty in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines.

So, I think you have to put all of these factors in perspective. I hope, with the policies that we are following, we are going to get unemployment down, employment up, and the rate of inflation under control.

I think it is a very unfair criticism to say that I have a callous disregard for the unemployed. This Administration, during my 12 months, has recommended the extension of unemployment compensation from 39 weeks to, now, 65 weeks.

We have broadened the eligibility so more people are covered under unemployment compensation. I think this is an indication that I and the people that work with me are very concerned about the unemployed, but more importantly, the policies that we are advocating and urging Congress to enact, in my opinion, would get our economy moving again without any difficulties internationally.

Q. This morning in Chicago you indicated that perhaps there should be a creation of many more jobs by 1980. Will there be some legislation coming from the Administration to do that?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, all of the technicians tell me that if we are to create more jobs, we have to get more money invested in business, because business buys the equipment, provides the factory, and provides the wherewithal for the expansion of business throughout the United States.

Secretary Simon recently appeared before the House Committee on Ways and Means and indicated that we favored new legislation for the creation of funds for job formation, job creation. That legislation is before the Congress. I hope they act affirmatively.

#### COMMON SITUS PICKETING

[3.] Q. Mr. President, one of the job bills or one of the bills that the construction industry here in the State of Wisconsin is vitally interested in is Senate bill 1479, which many of the contractors seem to feel would provide for an illegal secondary boycott. There have been some direct appeals, I know, to your office on 1479. Have you reviewed the bill? Have you made any kind of decision as to whether you will veto that bill or let it go by?

THE PRESIDENT. About 3 months ago, Secretary of Labor Dunlop appeared before the House and Senate Committees on Education and Welfare, and he testified that if the original so-called situs picketing bill were modified with three amendments—at least two amendments—it would be acceptable.

One of those amendments would provide that before you could have on-site picketing, it would require a 10-day cooling off period.

The second provision that would be mandatory as a part of the bill would be that no local could go on strike under those conditions without having gotten prior approval from the international.

Now, in my opinion, those two added amendments would make that bill acceptable, plus one other factor: There is also a bill that the Secretary of Labor is working on, with both management and labor, which in effect provides that there shall be greater responsibility for both labor and management on strikes and lockouts.

If that second bill comes to the White House with the original bill, plus those two amendments, then I think we have put together, working with management and labor and the Congress, an acceptable solution to this longstanding conflict.

#### AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I have sort of a philosophical question here, I guess you'd say. We hear from a lot of people at a television station, the three of us do, and we seem to feel that the people seem to feel that government is getting so big and impersonal and unresponsive, there is a frustration there, even a hopelessness. How can we come out of this? How can we bring people closer to their government?

THE PRESIDENT. I recognize the feeling that you detect here in Milwaukee, and I find it in my travels around the country. The public feels they have to fill out too many forms, answer too many questionnaires, they are bedeviled by too many government inspectors, et cetera, and I suspect that is true.

What I think we have to do is to reduce the number of forms that people in business and otherwise have to fill out. It is hard to believe, but there are about 5,200 forms that are sent out by various Government agencies. I think that is too many. It takes more time than the effort is worth. I believe that some Federal employees are too officious, too demanding. I think that attitude has to change.

In addition, I personally believe there are too many Federal employees, and I am glad to report that the request I made to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget that we had to cut down on the number of employees resulted in a cutback of 52,000 from the planned level. So, we now have 52,000 less Federal employees than was planned a year ago.

In these ways, I think we can restore or rebuild confidence, at least in the Federal Government, and I honestly feel that State and local units of government have to adopt the same attitude.

## THE CONGRESS

[5.] Q. I think one thing that worries them, too, is they see a Democratic Congress, a Republican administration, and on our major issues, we have stalemates now. Do you see any way out of this?

THE PRESIDENT. I wish I could give you a pat answer. Unfortunately, in some areas there is good cooperation, but in other areas we have a stalemate.

In the energy program, there is a head-to-head stalemate. I have a program to solve our energy program. It has been on the desk of the Congress for 8 months now, but no action.

I said, if you don't buy my program, if you won't enact what I have recommended, come up with something else. At least, have a program as an alternative.

Regrettably, they have not either approved mine and they have not come up with an alternative. Now, that kind of a stalemate is intolerable. I tried to phase out the control of old American oil by first a 30-month phaseout and then a 39-month phaseout in an effort to compromise, but the Congress rejected both offers.

I honestly think we have got to find some way. Otherwise, if we don't have an energy program to make us self-sufficient over the next 10 years, we become more and more vulnerable every day to the whims and fancies of foreign oil cartels, and that is not good for the security of the United States.

## THE MIDDLE EAST

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Kissinger is in the Mideast and reportedly very close to working out an agreement in the Sinai between Israel and Egypt that may include the stationing of Americans between the two forces. Do you find that there may be some sort of a backlash if that were attempted, from either Congress or the American people?

THE PRESIDENT. What I say in answer to that question, I don't want to be construed as an affirmation that that is going to happen. There have been rumors in the newspapers, and I have heard it on radio and television, so what I say does not confirm or deny that as a possibility.

There has been talk that there would be American civilians, very limited in number, who would operate technical warning stations in a U.N. zone. As I say, that has not been decided. It has been rumored.

If it does materialize, I think it is my responsibility, if I approve it and it does take place, to submit it to the Congress for the Congress to say yes or no.

We aren't going to have any more action by the President not joined by the Congress. They have to be a partner in this kind of an operation if it does materialize.

When I say “a very limited number,” I am thinking maybe 100, 150, as I have read the papers, and they would all be civilians and they would be in a U.N. zone, not with the Israelis, not with the Egyptians.

So if it happens, I would ask for the concurrence of the House and the Senate because it is a very important step, and then we will decide whether it is necessary, whether America wants to make that contribution to our security in the Middle East.

Q. Yes, but they would be American citizens there, and were there a problem of kidnaping, as the *Mayaguez* incident, or something like that, American forces would have to go in to get them out. Is that a proper assumption?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I really don't want to get into those details. You can always conjure up some very serious situation. But until we get down to the final signing, I think it is premature for me to make any assumption or conjecture concerning that situation developing.

#### CANDIDACY IN 1976

[7.] Q. Mr. President, let's talk politics for a minute. [*Laughter*] I know it is one of your favorite topics. While you obviously will take back some interesting grassroots feedback from a conference like this, a trip like this has to have some political advantage, too, I suppose. Are you heartened by the Harris poll which now is out that, I think, shows you with a 55-to-34 edge over Governor Reagan, or former Governor Reagan? Do you feel good about your political position right now?

THE PRESIDENT. I do feel encouraged, and that poll this morning that came out in a number of newspapers was very good news. But that only means that what we have tried to do does have some appeal, and I can only say that what we do in the future is more the basic criteria.

Naturally, I do want to get nominated, and I can assure you, if nominated, then we are going to put on a very hard campaign. So that news is good, but we've got what, about 14 months to go before the election and about a year before the convention.

Q. By the time the primaries roll around though, I am assuming we will see you on the Wisconsin ballot?

THE PRESIDENT. The probability is that I will enter a number of primaries. Which ones is difficult to forecast right at the moment.

I love a good political campaign. I like to campaign, but I think it is too early for us to make any categorical commitment as to which primaries or all of the primaries.



## DÉTENTE

[8.] Q. Back to an international issue, Mr. President, the continuation of détente with Russia under your Administration has been criticized that Russia has the advantage in this. How do you look at that?

THE PRESIDENT. I categorically deny that. Détente as it has proceeded is a two-way street. It can't answer every question that arises in the international scene, but détente has been very helpful in easing and relaxing tensions between the Soviet Union and ourselves.

In my judgment, there has been a balanced give-and-take by the Soviet Union and by ourselves. I can assure you that in the process of negotiating the strategic arms limitation agreement number two, there will be no unfair advantage gained by either side.

It has to be a completely fair and equitable reduction in strategic nuclear capabilities, but it is also important to understand that if we don't get a SALT II agreement, it means that the arms race continues, that we, the United States, will have to spend roughly \$2 billion to \$3 billion more a year to keep even with the Soviet Union in their planned strategic arms program.

So, it is to the advantage of both sides, the Soviet Union and ourselves, to put a cap on the nuclear arms race, as Mr. Brezhnev and I did on a temporary basis at Vladivostok in December of last year.

I can assure you that we will be tough Yankee traders, and I expect them to do the same. The net result will be a responsible cap on the nuclear arms race. If we do that, it makes our overall economic picture, our overall budget picture a great deal sounder and better.

## STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

[9.] Q. On arms limitation, how do you look at it right now? Can we be optimistic, pessimistic? We have worked on it so long.

THE PRESIDENT. I am optimistic, but I recognize there are some yet controversial issues and some technical matters that will satisfy both sides. We have to be able to have a high degree of capability of verification as to whether or not the Soviet Union is living up to the promises made if and when a SALT II agreement is made.

We have a tremendous technical capability in this regard, through a variety of means. I am sure they feel the same way.

But if the technical problems of verification, if other matters of balance are worked out—and I think it is possible—I think we will have a SALT II agreement.

## MRS. FORD

[10.] Q. Mr. President, there have been many things written and said across the country and here in Milwaukee about some recent viewpoints expressed by Mrs. Ford.<sup>1</sup> You are quoted as saying that you think perhaps those remarks may have cost you some votes or something. What kind of an effect has that had, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, those remarks to which you refer, I said kidding her. She's got a good sense of humor, and she understood that my remarks were in that atmosphere.

Let me just again put this in proper perspective. Our family—my wife, our four children, and myself—are very close. We have a tradition in the family of individual members of the family speaking their mind, discussing matters with their children, with their mother or father, and we speaking quite frankly to our children.

The family is closely knit. We have great affection and admiration for one another, and certainly I couldn't have had a finer marriage. My wife and I have been married almost 27 years now, I guess, and we have a minimum of differences, but we have a frank expression between ourselves.

Now, what Betty was really trying to say was, because of the closeness of our family and the understanding between children and parents, we are deeply concerned about the moral standards by which the family has been raised.

In that atmosphere, her discussions with any one of the four children are aimed at making sure—positive—that the moral standards that we have lived by and believe in are adhered to.

I think there unfortunately has been a misunderstanding. We are proud of the family. We think we have a high moral standard within the family. And we are close as a family, and at the same time, we have a give-and-take among the children as well as among ourselves.

So, I am real proud of what Betty tried to say, and I regret there might have been some misunderstanding of what she did say.

## TELEVISION INTERVIEWS

[11.] Q. This is the first appearance that you have made on local television in this kind of an interview, and one of your aides is quoted in the Wall Street Journal as saying you are doing this because you are dynamite on television. [*Laughter*] Do you feel you are dynamite?

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<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Ford's remarks were made on the August 16, 1975, broadcast of CBS News' "60 Minutes."

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am not the best judge of that. [*Laughter*] I just like to meet with people like yourselves and try to explain my views, our policies, and I enjoy the opportunity to have a give-and-take with top newsmen in a region like Milwaukee.

#### WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON DOMESTIC AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

[12.] Q. We have been addressing ourselves mostly to the “give” here during our meeting. I wonder if you could give us an idea, Mr. President, of what you hope to take back to Washington with you from Wisconsin?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, this White House Conference, as I understand it, has 17 [19] cosponsoring organizations. I hope to answer a question from each one of the 19. If I do, I will get a flavor of what these organizations feel about our policies or what we are trying to do.

I am sure I will get, as I have in the past, written reports from all the other conferences. So, I am not going to prejudge until I have participated, until I have seen the written reports from those that have participated.

#### FOOD PRICES

[13.] Q. One of the groups that you are likely to hear from will be the consumers. And your Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Butz, this morning assured us the farmer was doing his part to hold food prices down, but that there are almost uncontrollable costs in terms of labor and transportation and middleman costs. Do you plan any kind of direct action, legislative action to try to control that kind of price pressure?

THE PRESIDENT. I think competition is the best way to solve that. The farmers have contributed magnificently. With their full production program, we are going to have the biggest wheat year in the history of the United States, the largest corn year, and I think soybeans will also be a record crop.

So, the farmers have contributed. I hope that others that take the farm product from the farm to the home will equally contribute to make good food in America, delivered as cheaply as possible.

#### MICHIGAN-WISCONSIN FOOTBALL GAME

[14.] Q. Mr. President, your Michigan Wolverines are coming here to Wisconsin. They are opening our season with the Badgers. Do you want to predict the outcome of that game? We would like to win the first one and start it off right.

THE PRESIDENT. I know that Wisconsin, the Badgers, would love to win. It brings back a game, the only game I played against Wisconsin—1934—and they

defeated us at Ann Arbor. That rivalry is great. I am a little prejudiced for those Wolverines, but I think it will be a great game, and I understand the Badgers are going to be tougher this year. So——

Q. They smell the roses.

THE PRESIDENT. ——we better be a little cautious and go to work between now and then.

Q. Come see the game.

THE PRESIDENT. I would love to, love to.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[15.] Q. Mr. President, a North Carolina Republican chairman said last night that he felt there was a consensus of the Southern Republican leaders in the meeting over the weekend that Mr. Rockefeller should not be on the ticket in '76. Does that give you any cause for concern? Will you be talking about that with the Republican leaders of the State later on this afternoon?

THE PRESIDENT. I will express, as I have before, that I think Nelson Rockefeller has done an extraordinarily good job as Vice President. He has lived up to my expectations, he works hard, he has got a lot of ideas, he has a lot of energy, he has been a good teammate. And you know I just do not like to break up a good team.

RONALD REAGAN

[16.] Q. The meeting that you have with the Republican leaders later on perhaps will bring up some conservative sentiment. There is some in Wisconsin. Do you anticipate any questions about perhaps Mr. Reagan challenging in the State?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, I think I am a middle-of-the-roader or a conservative, and I am a practical conservative with, I think, a good orientation toward the solution of problems in the international field.

I will be glad to answer any questions the most conservative people want to ask, because I am a practical conservative with a middle-of-the-road orientation. I think that is the only way a Republican can win a national election.

Q. Mr. President, our time is just about up. We want to thank you for being with us this afternoon and answering our questions. Thank you very much, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Ron and John. I appreciate it very much. It has been a good experience.

NOTE: The interview began at 3 p.m. in Room 621 at the Pfister Hotel with John McCullough of WTMJ-TV, Ron Scott of WISN-TV, and Carl

Zimmermann of WITI-TV. It was broadcast live on local television.

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Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Milwaukee. August 25, 1975

THE NATION'S ECONOMY

*Thank you very, very much, Bill. Mr. Watson, Mr. Schmitt, the heads of other organizations that have cooperated so wonderfully in setting up this White House Conference, Congressman Bob Kasten, distinguished members of my Administration, and ladies and gentlemen:*

[1.] I have been a part of the Federal Government now for some 26 years, and it saddens me to see the ever-widening communication gap between Washington and our fellow Americans.

I believe the despair among many, many Americans is over the difficulty that they have in making their wishes best known to the people that they communicate to in Washington. And this difficulty, I think, can best be summed up on the envelope of a letter I recently received. It was plaintively addressed to President Gerald Ford or Vice President Nelson Rockefeller or Secretary of State Henry Kissinger or just plain anybody who will listen. [*Laughter*]

Well, as you have seen during today, I, along with other key members of the Cabinet and the staff, have come here to listen. We have kept the speeches to a minimum and, hopefully, our responsiveness to a maximum.

With the reputation you in Wisconsin have for hard work and keen technical know-how, I look forward to your questions, your concerns, your ideas about the future of our country. But first let me very briefly touch on some of the basic directions I believe our Nation can and should take in the months and years ahead.

Obviously, the economy is one of our principal concerns. Gradually, step by step, the American free enterprise economy has created over the years a better life for more people than any other system in the world. Yet in the past year, we have seen it pass through some very difficult times. Recession on the one hand, inflation on the other, have strained the economic security of millions and millions of Americans.

Some of the causes of our economic difficulties were beyond our control. International development prompted the skyrocketing oil prices. Others were the result of government activity, such as inflationary spending at the Federal

level. But on the basis of the latest figures, the darkest days of the recession are behind us. The American economy is starting a sustained recovery that we all desire.

We are not out of the woods yet. However, as far as the recession is concerned, I think a lot of progress has been made. Unemployment is far, far too high and must be brought down. We must get our factories producing at maximum capacity again, and while we continue fighting the recession, we must also fight just as hard against rising inflation.

The July increase in the Consumer Price Index was a clear warning that we must not relax for one moment in the battle against inflation, and we will not.

Today, you have already heard from some of the key people, some of the real experts in my Administration on energy, inflation, unemployment, and new incentives for the working people and employers. I hope we can go further into these, into other areas in the questions that I think some of you have saved up.

Thank you very much, and the first question.

## QUESTIONS

### REGULATORY REFORM

[2.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Ed Watson, representing the Association of Commerce. Businessmen are having extreme difficulty operating private business under a burgeoning Federal bureaucracy with its overabundance of programs, regulations, laws, and edicts, and the increasing mountains of governmental report forms they require. I would like to ask, Mr. President, what progress is being made in your announced effort to turn the tide and ease the bureaucratic burden on business?

THE PRESIDENT. First, when I took office, I took a look at the total Federal civilian employment. Working with the Director of OMB, we decided that we could cut back 40,000 on the total number of Federal employees, the planned number for the next fiscal year.

I am glad to report to you that we ended up the fiscal year June 30 this year with a reduction of 52,000 less Federal employees than was planned a year earlier.

A few weeks ago, I was in the process of preparing a speech, and I asked how many questionnaires, how many forms have to be filled out by the American people when you put them all together from all agencies.

And I found, to my utter amazement, that there were some 5,200, as I recall. I couldn't believe it, I have told Jim Lynn—where is Jim; is he here?—

[*laughter*]*—*that he better find a way to cut it down. And I am going to monitor it, and we are going to have less next year than we have had at the present time.

Now, you are all familiar with our determined and, I think, constructive effort to get some what we call regulatory reform, which means the many regulatory agencies in the Federal Government have to start lifting the onerous burden that they impose upon the American society.

I can assure you, with the help of the Congress—and in this instance Congress and myself are working together—so, if we achieve that, I think we will have answered most of the questions that you have indicated.

#### THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

[3.] Q. Mr. President, Donald Haldeman, president of the Wisconsin Farm Bureau Federation and also a dairy farmer from western Wisconsin. I have a two-part question that dairy farmers and farmers in general are passing to me, as I further state, and I would like to pass these two on to you at this time. Will the Government import subsidized dairy products in the quantity which will affect our market price? And the second part is, will our Government give us access to world markets free of any form of embargoes or unusual transportation problems?

THE PRESIDENT. We had quite a struggle a few months ago when some of the Western European countries wanted to send in a number of their cheese products to the United States at more or less a subsidized price.

Through negotiations between our representatives in the United States and those in the European economic group, we were able to convince them that they should eliminate that program. And I am glad to report that Earl Butz had a significant part in protecting the farmers' interests in that instance. I can assure you in the negotiations that are underway now under former Secretary of Commerce—now our Special Trade Representative—Fred Dent, that in those negotiations, predicated on the new trade legislation, that we will protect the interests of farmers in making certain that their markets are open in foreign countries for the fine products that we produce.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[4.] Q. For the benefit of the audience, I have cleared this question with Fran Ferguson.<sup>1</sup> [*Laughter*]

Mr. President, I am John Schmitt, president of the State AFL-CIO. Last August there were 4.8 million unemployed and a Consumer Price Index inflation

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<sup>1</sup> President of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company and one of the hosts of the conference.

rate of 9 percent. Today, a year later, there are 8.2 million unemployed and an inflation rate of 12.7 percent. We of the AFL-CIO continue to oppose your economic policies which brought this about, because we believe stimulating production rather than restricting production—restricting production is the best way to fight both unemployment and inflation. Do you still believe we are wrong?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have some differences with the programs of my good friend George Meany and others associated with him.

When I took office, the inflation rate was closer to 12 percent, and the unemployment was about 5, 5½ percent, as I recollect. Shortly thereafter, however, unemployment escalated very rapidly, and the unemployment rate today is far higher than I want it to be.

We have made some slight progress in the last several months. For example, since March of this year, although unemployment has remained too high, we now have 1,200,000 more people gainfully employed than we had in March of this year.

The inflation rate today, for the last 6 months, averages between 6 and 7 percent. So, we have made some, in that instance, substantial progress compared to a year ago. In both cases, the results are not entirely satisfactory.

Now, in the area of unemployment, we have a number of programs. We have extended the unemployment compensation period from 26 weeks to 65 weeks. We have broadened the eligibility, so that people who didn't qualify under individual State programs are now qualified under a Federal program.

We are seeking through, I think, responsible efforts to increase the Federal highway program. Bill Coleman over here is expediting some of the mass transportation programs to get meaningful jobs in that area.

Other departments are taking affirmative action to increase employment in meaningful ways without busting the Federal budget.

It is my judgment that if we keep a steady, firm hand on the tiller, as I think we are, with good programs that mean meaningful jobs, we will not only lick the unemployment problem, lowering the unemployment rate and increasing the number of people gainfully employed, at the same time not letting inflation get out of hand, because if we do, as was done in 1973 and 1974, we could end up, Mr. Schmitt, with a very serious, far more serious economic problem a year or 18 months from now.

I welcome your suggestions. I will differ with you on occasion. But the main problem we have is to work together—the Congress, the President, and organizations such as you represent.



## DÉTENTE

[5.] Q. Mr. President, my name is John Murry, and I am representing the Milwaukee Society of the Polish National Alliance. And for the benefit of Mr. Schmitt, he took my question. But I do have an alternate one. Regarding détente—and I was assured that you would be willing to discuss it for a minute or two—in our relations with other countries who do not agree with our philosophies, Mr. President, are we relaxing too much, are we bending too much, are we stretching ourselves out too much with the result, Mr. President, we may become a follower rather than a leader in the world?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Murry, let me say this very emphatically: By negotiating with the Soviet Union, whether it is on strategic arms limitation, whether it is in mutual balanced force reductions of military personnel on both sides in Western and Eastern Europe, or whether it is over any other questions, this Administration is going to be firm and it is not going to be overwhelmed by any negotiating techniques or programs of the opposition.

Détente is a two-way street. If we are able to get a strategic arms limitation agreement, SALT II, it will mean that we will have put a cap on the strategic arms race, which is in the best interests of both the Soviet Union and ourselves. But at the same time, we must be able to verify their adherence to it, and they must have a similar capability as to our compliance.

What I am really saying is that in SALT we have a unique opportunity to do benefit to all mankind. But let me add a postscript. If we do not get a SALT II agreement, it means that there will be an unlimited nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.

And what does that mean? One, more destructive power. It also means an added \$2 billion to \$3 billion a year to the national defense budget for the United States.

I prefer an honest negotiation between the Soviet Union and ourselves where both countries and all mankind will be the beneficiaries.

## JOB CREATION

[6.] Q. Mr. President, I am Charles Parker, representing the Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce. All day today we have been talking about the need for jobs. My question, Mr. President: Is there any chance of legislation that would enable better capital formation, so that industry can grow in such a way as to provide an increasing number of jobs?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Parker, I made a speech this morning that in more detail will answer the precise question you have asked. But I said at that time that we

need more investment by the American people for job creation, for greater productivity in our overall economy.

I don't like the term "capital formation." I would rather have the American people invest in American industry to provide jobs. And about a month ago, Secretary of Treasury Bill Simon testified before the House Committee on Ways and Means on a proposal which we think is one way to do it.

Now, there was some criticism. But it is my feeling that if the Congress doesn't like our proposal to provide investment for more jobs, then the Congress has an obligation to come up with its own answer. We cannot afford, if we are to take care of the 10 million more jobs that are needed by 1980, we must have more investment in America, and our tax laws have to provide some help in that regard.

We have made a recommendation. If Congress doesn't like that proposal, let them come up with another. I just hope they do better than they have done in the energy program.

#### JOB OPPORTUNITIES

[7.] Q. Mr. President, I am John W. Maxwell, Jr., president of the board of directors of the Milwaukee Urban League. My concerns are similar to those that have been expressed earlier. Since World War II, there have been five recessions and/or depressions. Among minorities, before there was the opportunity for recovery, there was another situation of decreased economic opportunities. Blacks, native Americans, and other minorities have been biting the bullet to the point of lead poisoning.

My question: How long will this Nation, the richest nation in the world, accept our present unemployment situation, particularly among the 18- to 25-year-olds, the Vietnam veterans, and the people of the central cities?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me, at the outset, say that I recommended to the Congress—and Congress did pass—an appropriation for the amount of about \$450 million for what we call a summer youth employment program. I was in Chicago yesterday, and I was told by the mayor of that city that that program worked extremely well this past summer. And if it worked well there, I hope it has worked well in Milwaukee and other major metropolitan areas.

We have for the last several years had a program designed primarily to help the Vietnamese (Vietnam) veterans working through the VA and through other governmental organizations. It is tough, but through the combined efforts of a number of departments, we have made substantial progress.

I am not satisfied, but between the educational opportunities under the GI bill and the other efforts that have been made, the GI from the Vietnam war is,

I think, doing as well as we possibly can, looking at the overall economic circumstances we face.

Now, let me assure you from the point of view of a person that grew up during the Depression, went to school, worked, I have great personal understanding for those who are out of work for reasons beyond their own control.

The programs that we have tried to implement—the unemployment compensation program that I mentioned to Mr. Schmitt, where we have extended the coverage and lengthened the period, plus the programs that we have instituted to stimulate the economy; the housing program, where we have invested roughly \$12 billion, as I recollect, under the tandem plan, is beginning to have an impact in the construction business, not as much as we would like.

But as you look at the spectrum of programs that I have approved, working with the Congress, I am optimistic, not only for the overall improvement but for the specific improvement of job opportunities for young people, the minorities. And if we don't go off the deep end with a lot of programs that cost a lot of money that will increase inflation, I think in the months ahead you will be pleased with the results.

#### FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

[8.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Shirley Crinion. I am representing the League of Women Voters of Wisconsin. The League believes that foreign aid giving should be primarily a response to humanitarianism rather than to further United States security goals. To what degree do you support the separation of military and developmental aid?

THE PRESIDENT. I think in many instances they, of necessity, have to go hand in hand. In some cases, military sales, military grant aid is essential without any economic assistance.

On other occasions, I believe that humanitarian aid through the PL 480 program, the vast amounts of money that we have made available in foodstuffs from the American farmer—I think it is \$25 billion, Earl, in the last 10 or 15 years—in some instances humanitarian aid with food can stand on its own.

In other cases, I think they have to be intertwined. They are mutually complementary. So, I think you have to take each case on its individual merits—some cases only military assistance, some cases humanitarian aid, some cases a combination.

I don't think you and I can write a prescription for the whole world, all the countries in the world that the United States has helped. I think we have to look at each case on an individual basis.

## MINORITY BUSINESS

[9.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Edward Bolton. I am representing the Milwaukee Business Federation. We appreciate the problems facing minority business are similar in kind to those facing big business. However, we are acutely aware operationally that there is a significant and severe difference in degree. In management, the legacy of unequal and marginal opportunity has left us with limited skills and experience to face a business climate and tasks that require an above-average capacity.

Today's economic conditions more acutely affect minority business than it does the general business sector. Still, we are the last to experience economic upturns and the first to feel the severely critical impact of shortages.

In regulatory areas, we have retained several specialists to complete the paperwork who also get theirs off the top, and most of the time it seems the rest goes to the IRS.

We are somewhat aware, Mr. President, of the existence of Federal aid and support programs for minority business, but as a rule in the past have not been involved in planning, policymaking, or program decisions.

A quasi-poll of our membership indicates that a majority of business persons are not familiar with the major Federal programs for minority business, and of the one-digit percentage that did respond positively, a majority indicated inadequate results.

My question, Mr. President, is: What is your Administration planning to do to stabilize and develop minority business and to mend this communication gap between the Federal administration and the actual minority business community?

THE PRESIDENT. The minority business effort is in the Department of Commerce, as I recollect. My impression is that it has done a good job under difficult circumstances. Rog Morton—I will consult with him tomorrow to see why it isn't doing better. [*Laughter*] So, I can assure you that we recognize it is a tough area to take people who are not necessarily trained in business management, to give them an opportunity to undertake an enterprise on their own. We have to help them with money, with business management techniques, sales, et cetera.

I have had some experience when I was representing the district over in Michigan, and I saw some sad examples of people who were gotten into business and not carefully guided, as they had to meet the payroll, the tax burdens, et cetera. If we are not doing a good job there, we will do our utmost to improve it.

Now, the SBA has a program which is aimed at trying to help with financial assistance. I am sure it doesn't satisfy everybody, but it is under the management of a good man in Tom Kleppe, and working with Secretary Morton, where there are deficiencies, I can assure you we will try to help in Milwaukee and elsewhere.

#### PUBLIC EMPLOYEES STRIKES

[10.] Q. Mr. President, Robert Ross representing the Wisconsin Newspaper Association. Two short questions. One, what is the President's attitude toward striking public employees, especially in the areas of vital public services as law enforcement, fire protection, and sanitation? And number two, does your Administration propose to take any action to prevent or modify strikes in the future?

THE PRESIDENT. If my recollection is accurate, when we made the Post Office Department the Postal Service, the Congress wrote into that basic legislation a procedure, if there were differences between management and labor that they couldn't resolve at the bargaining table, they had a procedure for negotiation with the appointment of, as I recollect, two arbitrators, and they picked the third. And they are, under that law, precluded from striking. That is what the Federal Government has done, and I agree with that approach.

It is my general view that the employees working for any unit of government that involves public health, public safety, must have an agreement where there should not be a strike. There ought to be a method of negotiation leading to arbitration such as we have in the Postal Service legislation.

Now, there are alternative ways in which it can be done. One that I think has great appeal is that if the police or the firemen have a dispute with the city or county officials, that both sides could make their best offer—management its best offer, labor its best offer—and have a group of three as arbitrators, not to narrow the differences, but to pick which of the two offers by labor or management is the one in the public interest.

That has been tried in one or more industries that I am familiar with. I think it has considerable merit. And therefore, if we move down the road in that direction, that approach seems to me to be a preferable one.

I think in the case of the Postal Service, the negotiation has not required the utilization of the arbitration procedures. I would hope that in those areas where the Federal Government has no jurisdiction, such as local units of government or even States, that either at the State level or at the local level, they will take a look at what the Postal Service has done or the suggestion that I have made. I think it is the way to settle it and protect the public interest.

## EDUCATIONAL FUNDING

[11.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Father John Raynor, president of Marquette University here in Milwaukee. Recent events have substantiated comments that you made at the 1974 commencement at the Ohio University when you said, "Our goal of quality education is on a collision course with the escalating demands for the public dollar."

Your recent veto of the education bill was accompanied by a statement that you supported educational funding, but that national economic and budget conditions precluded your acceptance of the size of the appropriations being recommended by Congress.

My question is: In light of your directives to Federal agencies to solve the problem between educational needs and adequate funding—this question is two-fold—has your Administration examined new funding policies, that would it be possible? Secondly, is it likely that the Federal Government once again will study broader entitlement programs such as voucher systems in an attempt to expand equality of access to education at all levels?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say, Father Raynor, that if I recall precisely the budget that I submitted for education, primary as well as secondary, and higher education for fiscal 1976, it was a higher figure overall, in each case above the corresponding figure for the preceding year, is that correct? I am almost certain that is correct.

Now, that may not be enough in the minds of the prospective beneficiaries, but I think it does show a recognition that we know you have had higher costs, at either the higher education level or the primary and secondary level.

Now, the Congress—and I know how they operate, I was there for a few years—[*laughter*]*—*they have been under pressure to increase beyond what I proposed. It seems to me that what they have appropriated is far more than can be justified under our Federal budgetary restraints we have at the present time.

I might add, in a postscript way, our experience on vetoes in the past, this past few months, has been that the Congress sends down a piece of legislation that in dollars is either too much or in other ways does not coincide with some views we have. By vetoing it and getting those vetoes sustained, it means that the Congress has another opportunity to look at whether they did the right thing or the wrong thing when they sent the bill down in the first place.

The veto is a constitutional authority given to a President. It is not a negative, it is an affirmative authority. In every instance where there has been a veto sustained, we have had further negotiation with the Congress, and the net result

has been a reasonable compromise. And I think we can do the same thing in the field of education.

Now, on the latter question, I am a firm believer that the public educational system educates children better if they have competition from nonpublic schools, whether they are Catholic, whether they are Lutheran, whether they are Jewish, whether they are Christian Reform in the Dutch background that I had over in Michigan. Competition in education makes better education for all children.

Now, unfortunately, under the Constitution, as recently interpreted by the Supreme Court, some of the plans, like the one in Minnesota or the one in Pennsylvania, were thrown out.

I hope we can find in a constitutional way a proper and legal way to help those nonpublic schools so that they can compete adequately and effectively with the public school system, because the public school system is better off when they have somebody challenging them to see which system can best educate the American children.

#### THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY

[12.] Q. Mr. President, I am Jim Jesinski, representing Wisconsin Teamsters Joint Council Number 39. This morning Secretary Butz, in his presentation, alluded to one of the problems facing the trucking industry, namely, deregulation.

If you are successful in making changes that will increase competition, then, in theory at least, the public would benefit from reduced rates with the industry realizing reduced profits. Considering that this is an industry of high capital investment, our concern is: What steps will you take to ensure that the profit structure will be sufficient to continue to encourage investment in this industry?

THE PRESIDENT. I looked over and tentatively approved a working paper that will provide for some changes in the ICC's control and jurisdiction over the trucking industry. When I get back to Washington, I intend to have some further meetings with people in my Administration. And prior to the submission of any proposals to the Congress, I intend to meet with representatives of the trucking industry and representatives of the Teamsters organization.

I am convinced that we can stimulate competition in the trucking industry without ruining the capability of that industry to survive and compete in the transportation area overall.

It will probably be another 2 or 3 weeks before we finalize our recommendation, but it will be done only after we have had consultation with not only management on the one side but labor on the other. I believe there are some areas, big

areas, where competition can be improved, but I don't want to prejudge it until I have had those consultations.

#### DAY CARE CENTERS

[13.] Q. Mr. President, I am Lois Quinn representing the Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus. We are extremely concerned about the availability of child care for mothers—for the children of mothers who work, often because they are the single head of the household or because two family incomes are required to meet daily expenses.

There are presently about 900,000 spaces in licensed day care centers for children to serve more than 6 million preschool children whose mothers are in the work force. The Mondale-Brademas bill presently in Congress would provide services for these children. Will you sign this bill when passed by the Congress, and if not, what alternatives do you propose for families needing child care for their children?

THE PRESIDENT. I presume the bill that you refer to is similar to the one that was very ardently proposed by an old friend of mine, Ogden Reid. And if that is the same bill, in all honesty, the cost is so unbelievable it just cannot be included in a budget in the atmosphere in which we are living.

Now, as you have indicated, under legislation passed about 6 or 7 years ago, we do provide for day care centers up to around 800,000 working mothers. This is a program tailored specifically to the working mother who goes out, gets a job, provides for the income, and her children are taken care of in these day care centers.

What I am fearful of in the Reid-Brademas-Mondale bill, if they are the same, and I suspect they are, you will find that in many, many cases—at least under the Ogden Reid bill—it was not just for working mothers. It provided day care help and assistance for a good many people who could afford to pay for day care center care for their own. And I do not think Uncle Sam ought to pay or subsidize that kind of a situation.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

[14.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Robert Brown, and I am here as president of the Inland Daily Press Association, which represents 500 daily newspapers located in the Midwestern part of the country. First of all, I want to congratulate you and Mr. Baroody on this splendid conference. Anything which improves communications between your Administration and the people is bound to have beneficial results.

However, to give you one example, as recently as this month, we have noted



that your Administration has kept from the public an important study—negative study about international atomic safeguards. Today Secretary Kissinger is engaged in delicate negotiations in the Mideast which will involve certain commitments on the part of the United States. These commitments and, in fact, others made elsewhere in the world can have profound implications on our citizens. My question is, Mr. President: Will you, as President of the United States, assure us that any commitments made here or elsewhere in our negotiations with foreign governments be reported truthfully and in full detail to our citizens?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me assure you any participation that the United States has in the negotiations between Israel on the one hand and Egypt on the other, any involvement that we have or any prospective involvement will be submitted to the Congress, whether it is dollars or otherwise, because the Congress in this case, under this Administration, is either going to be a partner in it or they are going to reject it.

We are not going to have any indecisiveness as to whether the Congress approves or disapproves. They are going to be a partner in it, and they will have to vote yes or no. This is the only way I think we can make sure that both the executive and the legislative branches of the Government work together and are on the same team.

Now, I am not going to prejudge what those terms are, because they are very delicate negotiations at the present time in the Middle East. But whatever is agreed to by them, the Egyptians or the Israelis, where we have any involvement, will be sent to the Congress. They will have to vote yes or no as to whether they support them. This is the only way to do it.

#### THE NATION'S MOOD

[15.] Q. Mr. President, I am Robert Foote, representing the Greater Milwaukee Committee, and we appreciate the efforts that you and your Administration are making to turn this country back to the people. After a few of these White House Conferences across the country, how do you now judge the mood of the people? Are we ready to go to work solving our own problems, or do you think we are going to continue to ask for more help from big brother, more and bigger government?

THE PRESIDENT. I think there is a greater recognition today than at any time since I have been in the political arena—which goes back to 1949—that the Federal Government is not the answer to all the problems that beset individual Americans, States, or local units of government.

The conclusion has finally been reached, after the multitude of programs that were approved by the Congress in the 1960's, that all of those programs put together just have not solved our domestic, social, economic problems in this country.

I guess Jim Lynn pointed out this morning we have over a thousand categorical grant programs. And as you look at the cost and the number of employees involved, they just don't balance out in many, many cases as the answer to the problems here at home in Milwaukee or Grand Rapids or elsewhere.

It is my judgment that we have turned a corner, and I am going to be out as much as I can, indicating that we at the Federal Government level have to help the States and the local units of government with money and less categorical grant programs, because I happen to believe that the mayors and the Governors and the State legislatures have a far better understanding of the local problem and can, with the help of the Federal Government in money, solve some of these problems better than by dictation from Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. [Assistant to the President for Public Liaison]. Mr. President, unfortunately we have time for just one more question.

THE PRESIDENT. Can I add and make three?

MR. BAROODY. Yes, sir, it is your option. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. We might even go a few more.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

[16.] Q. Mr. President, I am Frank Kessler. I represent the German-American Societies of Milwaukee. I wish I had been question number 13 because Mr. Brown took the punch out of my question.

Now, we all know that the United States has a considerable armed force spread all over Europe. Their purpose, of course, is to support our European allies in keeping the Russians from taking a foothold in Western Europe.

Now, newspaper reports say that Secretary of State Kissinger has made quite a few commitments to Israel, and I have two questions.

Now, you can say yes or no—[*laughter*—and if for reasons—

THE PRESIDENT. Can I say maybe? [*Laughter*]

Q. If for reasons of security, you won't answer question number one, I will accept that. [*Laughter*]

Question number one is: In addition to financial help, do we have to send in the Marines?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I believe, sir, that it would be inappropriate for me to comment publicly on any of the most delicate negotiations that are going on at the present time.

Q. Okay. Question number two is—[*laughter*—in case it is necessary for us to supply help to the State of Israel, in case of open Soviet support of an attack by the Arab States, can we count on the assistance of the armed forces of our European allies or do we have to go it alone?

THE PRESIDENT. Number one—[*laughter*—one of the reasons why the United States, through Secretary Kissinger and myself, is working so hard to try and get Israel and Egypt to negotiate a further settlement of their differences in the Middle East is to avoid a confrontation between the Arab States and Israel.

I concede if we had a resumption of the 1973 Middle East war, it is hard to forecast or predict what might take place. As you know, in 1973, the Yom Kippur war, no European state became involved. As a matter of fact, if my memory is accurate, most of the Western European countries sided with the Arab nations and against Israel.

You will also recall at the height of that war there was a considerable amount of information to the effect that the Soviet Union was beginning an alert which could conceivably have involved the sending of Soviet troops into the Middle East. We, of course, at that time, took some action on our part to alert our forces and warned all nations that we would not tolerate outside assistance.

I get back to my original comment. One of the reasons we are working so hard to work with Egypt and Israel is to avoid a repetition of the Yom Kippur war of 1973. I think we are going to be successful. I am optimistic, although there are the hardest points yet for resolution between them.

But it is in our interest, it is in Western Europe's interest, it is in the interest of the Soviet Union not to have that volatile area again erupt into what would be the sixth war in the last 25 or 30 years.

That is why we are making every possible effort, reasonably, responsibly, to avoid it.

#### ENERGY

[17.] Q. Mr. President, I am glad that you overruled Bill Baroody, otherwise I would have gotten cut out. My name is Glenn Anderson, and I represent the Wisconsin Federation of Cooperatives, which is a voluntary organization of some 325 cooperative corporations which has 350,000 members living in every county of the State of Wisconsin. The members of this statewide organization are very concerned about the availability of energy and its costs. Cooperatives provide some 50 percent of the fuel and fertilizer for our State's farmers.

My question is divided really into three parts. One, if a comprehensive energy bill is not passed, what will be the cost and availability of fuel to farmers? Also,

will natural gas be available to our dairy and food-processing plants? And lastly, will crude oil be supplied to our farmer-owned cooperative refineries?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if the Congress doesn't pass my energy program, which I submitted in a comprehensive way in January, or if they don't come up with their own program, which they haven't done thus far, our energy vulnerability becomes greater and greater to forces outside of our control.

I can't understand why there should be the present stalemate. The Congress either ought to take what I proposed or come up with their own solution. But to sit there and do nothing is unforgivable.

Now, the second question—or the third—as I recollect, was whether we, the Federal Government, would guarantee to farmers crude oil or heating oil or gasoline or diesel oil. We will do the best we can, but the Congress does have to give us some tools. And if we don't have the tools, or if we don't have the crude oil, there is nothing we can do about it.

Now, on the second question involving natural gas, going back better than a year, I recommended the decontrol of natural gas in the United States. Why? Because, unless we do, you are not going to have natural gas that is available in Texas and Louisiana and in Oklahoma, for example, crossing State lines to States like Wisconsin, Michigan, North Carolina, New Jersey, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, et cetera.

The people who own that commodity in those three States, or maybe a few others, are not going to sell that commodity at a price that they don't believe is fair. And the net result is that the gas in those States will remain there, will not get to Wisconsin or Michigan or the other States, and the worse aspect of it is—and it is already happening—those States are enticing Michigan industry—I know for sure—to move from Michigan to Texas where they can sell them the natural gas at any price they want to charge them.

Now, I don't think that is right, and I think the Congress is negligent in not deregulating natural gas so that it can continue to come to our State, to your State, and to the other States. I just hope there is a massive lobby to get the Congress to move.

I saw some statistics the other day involving North Carolina and New Jersey. If we don't get more natural gas moving through interstate pipelines from the source to those two States, the economic disaster in those States will be serious.

And again, I don't understand why Congress has not acted. You know, you can say the price might go up, but which is better, to have the gas for jobs, for homes, for factories, for schools at a price that you will have to pay, or not

have it? It is just that cold and understandable. We will do the best we can, but if you can lobby the Congress, I will appreciate your help.

#### COMMUNITY SERVICES

[18.] Q. Mr. President, I am Marshal Loewi, representing United Community Services of Greater Milwaukee, Milwaukee's combined united fund and planning council. We would like to know if it would be possible to set up a direct working relationship between the policymaking Federal agency officials and the voluntary or private planning and service delivery agencies of major cities as Milwaukee—the purpose being to make the most of our collective dollar and leadership resources in responding to human needs.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know why those arrangements can't be established. Primarily those services would come from HEW, I would believe. There is no reason, in my judgment, why that arrangement can't be established, and we will make a note and get our new Secretary of HEW to try to move them.

#### STUDENT LOAN PROGRAMS

[19.] Q. Mr. President, I am Bertram McNamara, president of the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin System. College-aged students are finding it increasingly difficult to finance their education. The so-called needs criteria used in Federal aid programs cuts off eligibility at about \$9,000 in family income. Recent Census Bureau studies show that almost 70 percent of all American families are thus ineligible.

Furthermore, the Department of Labor's modest family budget without higher education requires about \$14,000 annually. This means that the Federal aid programs discriminate against middle-income families, including both blue collar and white collar workers. Is your Administration aware of this problem? If so, what program changes are contemplated?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my recollection—and I stand to be corrected if wrong—that we recommended in the three or four programs—the loan guarantee program, the basic opportunity grant program, and what is the other one—well, there is another one—a work study program—better than a billion dollars, as I recollect, has been made available in this current fiscal year for student assistance.

This is higher than it was last year in total. It seems to me that that is a lot of money to either grant or loan, and if there has to be any correction in the figure—you quoted \$9,000—it is my best recollection that there is a criteria established by law and there has to be a change in the law. Is that correct? That is my understanding. So, if there is a change, we will have to work with the Congress.

But let me add one thing. We have had these loan programs to students in higher education for a number of years. It is awfully disappointing to see the very poor repayment schedule of a lot of the students. I looked at the figures the other day, and you get some variation, but as I recall, it is somewhere between 25 and 10 percent—how you judge it.

Now, that is not a very good record for students who have borrowed from their country. And it better be better.

Q. Mr. President, my name is Orville Mertz. I am chairman of the Wisconsin Manufacturers Association. The question that I had dealt with the actions that you are taking selectively to deregulate business for the benefit of our total economy. You have really virtually answered that question to my satisfaction already, so let me just say our hearts are with you, Mr. President, you and your team, in the job that you are trying to do and are doing. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. That concludes the 19, but there is a gentleman back here who has been standing. I will be glad to answer his question.

#### THE GREAT LAKES

[20.] Q. Mr. President, I want to thank you. My name is Mosby—William Mosby. I am president of the Longshoremen's Local 815, Milwaukee. I asked this morning Secretary Butz a question. I asked again Secretary Coleman that question. I met him before in various places. I would like to ask you a question. I am sort of in the same position that you are—[*laughter*]—

THE PRESIDENT. I am glad somebody shares those problems. [*Laughter*]

Q. I have a lot of people that I am the president of their organization and a lot of them are out of work—the same as you, the President of this wonderful United States of America, and a lot of us are out of work, our people.

About 5 or 6 years ago, the military units came through and did a survey of the Great Lakes District as far as shipping military cargo. We have not heard why they did not ship military cargo through the Great Lakes.

Is there anything that you can do about that and let us have some information on what can be done, because we do know that military cargo is being shipped through other ports, and I think that not only Milwaukee but the ports on the Great Lakes are equipped, efficient to handle this work.

THE PRESIDENT. I must confess I am no expert on this precise problem. I appreciate your calling it to my attention.

As one person who was a long fighter for the St. Lawrence Seaway, which permitted ocean shipping to come into the Great Lakes and shipping to go out, offhand, without any more information than I have, I don't understand

why military hardware can't be shipped from Great Lakes ports to wherever the destination is.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. And we will see what we can do about it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Pfister Hotel.

503

### **Exchange With Reporters on Departure From Milwaukee.**

*August 25, 1975*

WELL, it has been a really great day with a wide variety of activities that I think have been very constructive. I leave Milwaukee with great memories, and I think a good dialog between the White House people, the Cabinet, and myself with the people of Milwaukee, and the opportunity to have this dialog, I am most appreciative of.

REPORTER. What happened at your meeting with Republican leaders in Wisconsin, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. We talked about how we hope to increase the Republican contribution in the political arena in the State of Wisconsin. I think we can. We've got good leadership, we've got good people, and I think the Republican Party can be a stronger factor in the two-party system in the State of Wisconsin.

Q. Mr. President, how influential is this type of conference in making your decisions?

THE PRESIDENT. They are very helpful. We had 19 organizations representing a wide variety of political and sociological views. It is helpful not only to my Cabinet and my top administrative people but it is important to me to get the kind of questions they ask, the suggestions they make. Too often I think administrations in the past have listened only to the lobbyists in Washington. What we are trying to do with these various White House Conferences around the country is to get the American people from all walks of life to make constructive suggestions and recommendations. I can assure you we listen to them.

Q. Of all the suggestions today, what one particularly impressed you?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I ought to discriminate against those of one kind or praise others. They were all good, and we will make an honest effort to evaluate their recommendations and hopefully come up with some answers

that will satisfy people not only in Milwaukee but elsewhere throughout the country.

Thank you very much, everybody. It's nice to see you all.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:10 p.m. at General Mitchell Field.

## 504

### **Message on the Observance of Women's Equality Day, 1975.** *August 26, 1975*

THE CELEBRATION of Women's Equality Day reminds us of how much more needs to be done to make equal opportunity a reality in our national life. Last year the United States joined with nations around the world in proclaiming 1975 as International Women's Year. This should add even greater encouragement to our national goals in this vitally important area.

Women's Equality Day gives me another welcome chance to assure all Americans that their Government is firmly committed to achieving a record during this important year which will be a source of national pride to us and inspiration to others. We are determined to make our Government a showcase of equal opportunity. Guided by the firm belief that our Nation derives its vitality from this basic concept, we shall not waiver in our task to make it the cornerstone of daily life throughout our country.

GERALD R. FORD

## 505

### **Statement on the Death of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.** *August 27, 1975*

IT IS with the deepest regret that we have learned of the death of Emperor Haile Selassie. For five decades, he was a towering leader not only of his own country but of the entire African Continent. At the time of the invasion of his country, he was an inspiration to everyone around the world who believes in national independence and peace with freedom among nations. As a friend of this country and as a symbol of the emergence of developing nations, he will be greatly missed. But his achievements—peaceful cooperation among African



States and between African States and the rest of the world—will live on and continue to have fullest American support.

NOTE: Haile Selassie was Emperor from 1930 to 1974.

506

**Special Message to the Congress on the Federal Civilian and Military Pay Increases. August 29, 1975**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Consideration of an adjustment in Federal white collar pay comes at a time when, although the economy is recovering, unsettling conditions are still adversely affecting the Nation's general welfare.

Under the Pay Comparability Act of 1970, an adjustment in Federal white collar pay will be required on October 1.

I have reviewed the report of my "pay agent" and the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Federal Pay relative to a pay adjustment. Their findings indicate that an 8.66 percent increase will be required to achieve comparability with the private sector. I would normally order such a pay raise in recognition of the loyal service given the country by the Government's civilian and military personnel.

However, pay comparability must be viewed in the light of the country's current economic situation. Inflation, unemployment and recession continue to cause hardships on American consumers, workers and taxpayers—with inflation showing a new spurt which hits hardest at the jobless and the disadvantaged.

I have attempted to curtail inflation by proposing Federal cost-saving measures and drawing the line at a \$60 billion deficit. However, with Congressional inaction on the expenditure reduction proposals made in my budget, this proposed deficit has already been exceeded by more than \$1 billion and will increase month after month unless there is new fiscal restraint.

A Federal white collar pay increase at the proposed 8.66 percent figure would add more than \$3½ billion to Federal expenditures. A five percent increase, as I proposed in my budget, would reduce these expenditures by about \$1.6 billion.

Over the past several months, I have had to veto legislation involving a number of programs because of the costs involved. This meant some curtailment in the future expectations of many Americans. However, the cost impact of these proposals would have added to inflationary pressures and thus proven to be a hoax rather than a help.

My overriding objective is to achieve national economic stability for all Americans. Full comparability pay, at this time, is inconsistent with my course of action to build a strong and stable economy and to bring inflation under control. Therefore, the size of the proposed pay raise must be temporarily restrained for the economic well-being of the Nation as a whole.

The pay act gives me the authority to propose whatever alternative pay adjustment I consider appropriate in the light of "economic conditions affecting the general welfare." The pay increase I have chosen will allow the Federal Government to lead the fight against inflation by example, and not just words alone.

It is my considered judgment that the salary adjustment should level off at the five percent increase which I called for last January. I strongly urge the Congress to support the alternative recommendation which is attached.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
August 29, 1975.

NOTE: The President's pay comparability alternative plan is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 910).

## 507

### Statement on the Death of Former President Eamon de Valera of Ireland. *August 29, 1975*

IT IS with profound regret that I have learned of the death of Eamon de Valera, the former President of Ireland. I extend my deepest sympathy and that of the American people to his family and to the people and the Government of Ireland. For half a century, Mr. de Valera was a symbol of Ireland's ideals and aspirations. He served the Irish people devotedly and unstintingly, as parliamentarian, Prime Minister, and as President for 14 years. Mr. de Valera also personified the ties of kinship and friendship between Ireland and the United States. Together with the Irish people, we mourn his passing.

NOTE: Eamon de Valera was Prime Minister 1932-48, 1951-54, and 1957-59, and President 1959-73.

508

**Remarks at the Maine AFL–CIO Field Day Program in Augusta.  
August 30, 1975**

*Thank you very, very much, Governor Jim Longley. Mr. Dorsky, my good friends Senator Ed Muskie and Bill Hathaway, my good friends Bill Cohen and Dave Emery—Members of the House of Representatives where I had the privilege of serving so long in Washington, D.C.—Mayor Elvin, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a great privilege and great pleasure for me to be in the State of Maine, and I thank you for the very warm and very friendly welcome. It is just wonderful being here. And let me express my deep appreciation and gratitude to your fine Governor. I have gotten to know him since his election last November, and he has been helpful, cooperative, friendly, and we have developed a good personal relationship. And I thank you, Governor, for your kind words this morning.

I have known, of course, Ed Muskie and Bill Hathaway a long time. I worked closely with Bill Cohen. I have gotten to know Dave Emery. And although there may be some differences in party labels, I am always delighted to work with your delegation in trying to solve not only the problems of Maine but the problems that we face in this country. And I thank all four of you for being here this morning.

I especially am indebted to Mr. Dorsky for inviting me to participate in this wonderful project and to be here this morning, showing the unanimity and unity that we can have when we face some of the overall civic community projects that must be done if we are to help those less fortunate than ourselves.

Let me say on behalf of the children of Pineland Hospital and Training Center, may I thank all of you that are here today for your participation and your contribution to provide them with this much needed therapeutic swimming pool.

If there is anyone who recognizes and values the therapeutic benefits of a swimming pool, it's myself. And I salute the Maine AFL–CIO, its members, its friends, its supporters, for bringing this pool, this means of therapy, this means of a little bit of happiness as well into the lives of these unfortunate and troubled children. On behalf of all of your fellow citizens around the country, I express their appreciation for your efforts.

Governor Longley and I have one thing in common: In college, we both

won our letter in football. But frankly, I am always a little apprehensive when a former football player introduces me.

It all goes back some time ago when I was introduced by a former teammate at the University of Michigan, where I played a good many years ago. This friend of mine got up, and he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, it might interest you to know that I played football with Jerry Ford for 2 years, and it made a lasting impression on me. I was quarterback. Jerry Ford was the center. And you might say it gave me a completely different view of the President!" [*Laughter*]

As a nation, we pause this weekend to pay tribute to our country's working people. Let us this year give this weekend a very special meaning by considering not only the working people but the millions of our fellow citizens who are out of work through no fault of their own.

So today, I will address myself to the working people and to those who are temporarily unemployed in Maine, elsewhere in New England, and all over America.

Here in Maine and throughout New England you have a work ethic of individual enterprise, Yankee ingenuity, skilled craftsmanship, and an independent spirit devoted to freedom. Your determination is as enduring as your legendary rock-ribbed coasts.

But you, like many other Americans, have endured more than your share. You are among the citizens who suffered the heaviest impact of the recession, inflation, unemployment, and the energy crisis. I am especially aware of the special burden of the energy crunch on Maine and your neighboring States in New England. I am also aware of the frustration of individuals on fixed incomes.

Labor Day is no holiday for those who are out of work. The level of unemployment in the United States is too high today by any standard.

I have heard some references to so-called acceptable rates of unemployment. I do not recognize the acceptability of any level of unemployment as long as there are people who want to work and can't find jobs.

We in Washington are determined to help create enough new jobs, on a sound economic basis to make every day a real Labor Day. And we are going to do it.

When statistics are published on the loss of jobs, there are some losses which are not published. I refer to the loss of hope among the high school and college graduates seeking their first job, the loss of self-esteem among the heads of households who are laid off, the loss of security and living standards that people worked for years to achieve, and most important of all, the loss of faith

in America's future. These are very tragic losses. They are losses that the United States of America cannot and will not endure.

Today, I reaffirm to you and to millions all over this great country my pledge to do everything in my power to generate new jobs. But to achieve the stability that we want, I will continue to oppose stopgap programs that we cannot afford, programs conceived in panic and, to some extent perhaps, in partisanship that will lead to nothing but new rounds of inflation and even worse unemployment.

Our system in America now provides 85 million jobs. This represents some 26 million more jobs than existed in America 25 years ago. It represents about 1,200,000 more jobs than last March, indicating a trend in the right direction.

I agree with George Meany that jobs are what Labor Day is all about. And I join with all working people on this occasion when America honors its workers, organized and unorganized, in a determined resolve to put America back to work.

The door of the White House is open, as it has been since I became President, to those who champion the cause of America's working people. And as long as I remain in this office, that door will always be open. And obviously, neither I nor the Members of the Congress on both sides of the aisle will close our hearts to the plight of millions who are unable to find work.

There have been some favorable indicators of an easing of the recession. The rate of inflation this year is much less than it was a year ago. But the creation of new jobs is going to be a tough job for all of us. Making sure that jobs that exist in our economy must be jobs that provide a good future—real jobs and not makework jobs—this is going to be very difficult. And I don't want to kid you.

We have been making some progress, as I said a moment ago. Since March, over a million more people are gainfully employed, even though the unemployment statistics are far too high. But to get back to where we were just a year ago, we must produce 3,200,000 more jobs. And each year from now until 1980, some 5 years, as our labor force expands, our economy must provide work for another 1.6 million people. By 1980, we must have created 11 million more jobs as our population grows and our economy expands.

This is a big order. It cannot be filled by government alone or by industry alone or by unions or politicians acting on their own. But the problem can and will be solved if we all work together, just as you in this hall today united to help those less fortunate than ourselves. It can be solved with the spirit of joint

cooperation, demonstrated by a labor-management committee that works with me in the White House.

We have developed a strong, flexible collective bargaining system which stands, in my judgment, as a tribute to the men and women of labor and management who have devoted themselves to building a better America.

While the government, as I said a moment ago, can't do everything, it can do some things. It can help stimulate the private sector of the economy to create jobs, the jobs that are needed to put people to work and provide work for those entering the labor force.

During the past year, American workers and businesses received a Federal tax cut to increase purchasing power and to stimulate growth in our economy. It did generate jobs, and it did generate movement toward economic recovery.

While the unemployment insurance system is no permanent solution—we all know that, no permanent solution to the joblessness that we face today—it temporarily keeps individuals and our society functioning.

Some \$20 billion in benefits will be disbursed in 1975, this calendar year, providing a means of income maintenance for our unemployed workers. That money pumped into the economy serves as another built-in stabilizer by providing purchasing power to the unemployed worker.

This year, we increased the number of weeks of unemployment compensation from 39 to 65. We extended the coverage of unemployment insurance to 12 million people not previously protected. I have proposed to the Congress other necessary improvements to be made in such areas as adequacy and duration of coverage. Using new insights and some of our more recent experience, we will work with the Congress to improve this system.

I am fully aware that some workers in Maine and elsewhere have lost their job as a result of imports from abroad. Last May, for example, just a few months ago, some 300 employees of the Allen Quimby Veneer Company in Bingham, Maine, became the first workers to be certified under the Trade Act of 1974 as eligible for adjustment assistance.

For the first time in the nearly 40-year history of unemployment compensation in the State of Maine, your State applied this month for a \$2,400,000 Federal loan to pay unemployment insurance benefits starting in September. This is a role that the Federal Government can play in these unique circumstances that we face, and I am glad to say that today we are granting Maine's request.

Now, I can't stress too much that this Administration recognizes the equal importance to recovery of controlling inflation and creating good jobs. These

joint goals, controlling inflation and creating new jobs, are essential to our programs of restoring the strength of our economy.

All of us—labor, management, government—must work together if we are to achieve long-term economic health.

I call on business, I call on industry to do everything possible to bring back our laid-off workers, to reassess the job assignments of those employed beneath their true qualifications, and to give new opportunities to young people eager to join the labor force.

I appeal not only to the patriotism and courage and determination of America's working people but to those same qualities in our business community.

I ask managers to take a new look at ways they can expand productivity to make possible the rehiring and the new hiring of workers, and I ask them to be more aggressive in seeking new markets at home and abroad to create new jobs.

Economic progress depends on our ability to foster capital investment and to increase the productivity of our workers the length and the breadth of this country. The share of our gross national product committed to private investment must increase over the next few years if we are able to reach our economic potential. Economists predict, or I should say, estimate that the total investment requirements could be in excess of \$4 trillion. And I had the privilege, riding from the airport to this community center, of talking with your Governor, indicating to him some of the thoughts that I would express here today. And I was pleased and delighted to learn that in Maine he is approaching the problem in a similar way, seeking to expand industry by making certain that there is adequate investment capability.

As we look at the history of recent years, however, overall, we find that our financial ability to increase production is declining. This decline is curtailing needed growth in jobs, in income. It undermines seriously our capability to compete abroad.

Once this becomes clear, I am confident that there will be an understanding of the need for tax policies to channel our resources into the expansion of productive capacity.

We must not, under any circumstances, condemn our fellow citizens to unemployment because the modern tools needed to compete in world markets are lacking.

This Administration has proposed some reforms to the Congress to stimulate what economists call capital formation through tax incentives. I like a better

definition or a better combination of words. I prefer the term "job creation." That is what my recommendations are all about.

I ask the Congress to join with me in this firm commitment to our Nation's future, to more jobs, to more income, and full economic recovery.

To ensure a strong economic system, we must maintain, of course, in conjunction, an antitrust policy which validates our commitment to competitive markets.

As we reduce government regulation of business, we must be absolutely certain that our antitrust laws are vigorously enforced, and they will be.

Competition, when freed of government regulation and supported by anti-trust laws, is the driving force of our economy. It will drive costs down and assure new jobs. This is actually the story of America's amazing growth over some 200 years.

Let me emphasize that this is not an administration of special interests, not of business interests, not of labor interests. We are doing our very best to make this an administration of public interests. We will not permit the continuation of monopoly privilege, which is not in the public interest.

It is my job and your job, the job of the Congress, the job of everybody, to open the American marketplace. It is our job, collectively, to create new jobs. And as we work conscientiously and seriously to overcome the problems of individuals, let us remember our Founding Fathers' vision of a nation in which people work together for the common good.

I have often stated my deep conviction that we must have a national defense second to none. Labor has stood at the forefront of the defense of liberty, in war or in peace. But defense must rest upon more than arms, upon more than armies. Defense depends upon the strength of the American individual, the unity of the American family, the food in the American kitchen, and the self-esteem that goes with the American paycheck.

We must maintain the social fabric of America for the national defense to be credible. If we cannot believe in ourselves and in our future as a nation, what will there be left to defend?

Two hundred years ago, American patriots—working people, business people, and farming people—risked their lives so that this Nation might be born. To win independence, they surmounted great individual differences in background, culture, and outlook. They worked, they fought, and they died together for a common cause none of them could have achieved alone.

Although conditions have changed greatly in 200 years, I am fully confident that the spirit that saw us through in 1776 will guide us to an even greater future



in the years ahead. I know that the working men and women of America will be in the forefront. They have been in the past, they will in the future. We depend upon them, and we honor them.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. at the Augusta Civic Center. The field day program was sponsored for the benefit of the Pineland Hospital

and Training Center for Retarded Children.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to Ben Dorsky, Maine AFL-CIO president.

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### Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Luncheon in Portland, Maine. August 30, 1975

*Thank you very, very much, Jack. Bill Cohen, Dave Emery, Mrs. Bickmore, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a very, very great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of participating in this wonderful function today, not only because of the great crowds you have but the enthusiasm that I detect.

There is a special dividend about traveling to various parts of the country that I haven't been to too frequently or too recently, in that you see some old and very dear friends, people that you worked with, people that you have known, individuals with whom you have a very fine relationship, or did, over a period of time.

And let me say at this point it's nice to see Bob Hale, who was a real stalwart oldtimer when I came to the Congress in January of 1949, and who was very kind and friendly, most helpful. Bob, it's good to see you.

And then, Stan Tupper, who was extremely helpful at a time when I decided to make a challenge for the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives against some considerable odds. And Stan was extremely helpful. Stan, I thank you for embarking me on this present course. None of us suspected it, but you were a very important part in it, and I thank you very much.

And then I have had the opportunity over a period of time and various incidents and capacities to know two of your fine Governors—Governor Cross and Governor Reed. And I thank them for the relationship that I had with them, and I thank them for their contributions to Maine as well as to the country.

Very few of you know that I came to Maine for some considerable period of time before some of you were born and had a very wonderful experience here

in your great State. And it is a pleasure to see an old friend of mine, and his lovely bride, Gardner Brown. Thank you very much for coming, Gardner and Susan.

Let me express very deeply and very appreciatively the overly generous remarks that Bill Cohen made. I just hope and trust that in the months and years ahead that I can fully justify the kind and very greatly appreciated remarks that he made. And in the course of serving some 25 years in the House of Representatives, you get to those that come and those that will go rather rapidly and those that will stay because they have merit in the job they do on behalf of the country, but equally important, the job that they will do on behalf of the people that they represent.

Some people who come to the House, they are like Greyhound buses, they come and go very quickly. But Bill Cohen, I could tell the minute he walked in, was a person who had great capability and he has done everything, not only up to the expectations but beyond the expectations that I would have anticipated. And Bill, I thank you very, very much.

And although I was not in the House of Representatives when Dave came and was sworn in, I have had the privilege and the opportunity to get to know him. And based on this bank of knowledge that you acquire, if you have been in the House, particularly in the leadership, you can detect quality. And it is my judgment, in Dave you have a new, young Congressman with great quality; keep him there.

The thing that I like about both of them, they are team players. They work together. I have talked to Bill and Dave about a matter that's of great concern, and properly so, as far as the State of Maine is concerned. And that's the so-called 200-mile limit. Now, Bill was one of the initiators, and Dave has carried on along with Bill to protect your coast and the waters that are adjacent to it.

I believe in the concept of the 200-mile limit. In the executive branch, we have a little different problem. We are in the process, and have been for some months, of negotiating on a worldwide basis a 200-mile limit with a number of other very important relationships between countries, land and water, in the Law of the Sea Conference. The United States is pushing hard, has been, is and will particularly, for a 200-mile limit.

And I just want you to know that people like Bill and Dave are leading the fight in this extremely important area in the Congress while we in the executive branch are pushing equally strongly in the world forum for the accomplishment and the achievement of this limit as well as the other relationships that are

so vital for all of us in the world in which we live. And I thank you, Bill and Dave, for the work you are doing in this regard.

I think it is perfectly obvious that I have looked forward to coming to Maine for a long, long time. I like your people, I love the country, and I am just delighted to see what I see here today.

I am especially pleased to see so many young people in the audience. I think that typifies the spirit and the actuality of the Republican Party in Maine. I don't want you to cross off us oldtimers, but we need the young people in our political party, because they are going to be the strength not only in the next election but they are going to embrace and make actual the things that we believe in, the principles that we espouse, and those that we are dedicated to.

I think the best illustration of the youth in your party is the fact that you have two young Congressmen, a young State chairman, a young executive director, a State Senate majority that is, as I am told, 15 years younger on the average than their Democratic counterparts.

And the point is quite clear: Here in Maine we can all say with great pride, Republicans have their eyes firmly fixed on the future instead of their feet frozen in the past.

Seventy-five years ago, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Thomas Brackett Reed came to this great city of Portland and said, and here I quote: "Here's to the State of Maine, the land of the bluest skies, the greenest earth, the richest air, the strongest and, what is better, the sturdiest men, the fairest and, what is best of all, the truest women under the sun."

I come to Portland today to second that motion. [*Laughter*]

I don't think there is a better place than Portland and no better way than a good old-fashioned clambake to celebrate the last weekend of summer. I obviously appreciate your invitation and thank you for the extremely warm welcome.

You know, it's easy to see that Maine Republicans are enthusiastic, along with a lot of other people in the great State of Maine. It appears to me that this enthusiasm, which I think is vital and necessary not only for the Republican Party but for Maine and the country, is contagious, and I congratulate you for it.

I have seen this kind of enthusiasm as I have been privileged to travel around the United States. This enthusiasm is infectious, and everywhere I go I like what I see as far as the Republican Party is concerned and what I see among our fellow Americans generally. If we can keep this kind of enthusiasm going for the next 14 months, I predict that 1976 will be a year of victory for the Repub-

lican Party in Maine as well as the United States as a whole, and you can lead the pack.

Because Maine has been traditionally a bellwether State as far as national politics is concerned, the Republican Party here has not only a great opportunity but, in my judgment, a great responsibility to field the best candidates, to raise the required funds, to develop winning issues, and to convince the voters that their interests and the interests of the Republican Party are identical.

If you achieve these objectives here in Maine, the Pinetree State, I predict that the old saying, "As Maine goes, so goes the Nation," will once again take its rightful place in the language of politics as the accurate barometer of America's election contest.

Now, what makes the 1976 election so vitally important? For one thing it will provide the Republican Party with an opportunity to again demonstrate that it has the strength to survive setbacks, the resolution to rouse this Nation to its greatness, and the will to win elections. With your help in this bellwether State, we can and we will do it in 1976.

Even more important, the 1976 election will enable the people of this great country to send us, to Washington, more Republican Congressmen like Bill Cohen and Dave Emery, who I think typify the dedicated, hard-working, intelligent legislators that we need in Washington. They are a part of a relatively small minority. They are outnumbered better than 2 to 1, and that's a hard job.

I like to think that despite the fact we are outnumbered quantitatively, we have the quality. And we need not only the quality we have but we have to add to the quantity.

Now, you can't do much to change that in Maine, except in case Bill might like to be a candidate for another office. [*Laughter*]

But let me add a thought parenthetically, if I might. Bill and Dave don't always vote the way I would necessarily like them to. There is something I believe ingrained in people in Maine of some independence—[*laughter*—and I respect it. But their prime responsibility is to represent the people that they have the honor to represent in the State of Maine. And even though I think it is of maximum importance that we have a national energy program, I understand, I respect their somewhat differing view as to how we should implement it as far as Maine and New England is concerned.

They recognize, as I do, that we have an energy problem and it is getting more and more like an energy crisis. And if we don't get a settlement in the Middle East—hopefully we will—we could have an energy crisis of severe magnitude as we did in 1973.

I recognize, of course, that New England does rely more heavily on imported fuel than any other region of the country and that your regional economy feels the effect of energy disruptions more rapidly and even more severely than in any other.

You know as well as Bill and Dave, better than our neighbors in other areas of the country, the importance, the absolute necessity of achieving energy independence for America. We cannot tolerate being vulnerable to outside national interests over which we have no influence. Energy must be developed internally. Energy must be developed from our own natural resources so that America is invulnerable to foreign sources.

And you also know that energy is absolutely essential, not just for running the machines of industry but for fueling the whole economy of this region as well as the Nation. I think all of you fully recognize that a healthy economy means more jobs for more people, one of the principal concerns of me as well as Bill and Dave and the Congress.

You know the danger of being at the mercy of some force beyond our control. And in this case, in energy, it is the Middle East, the OPEC nations.

I think you understand firsthand the inconvenience, the uncertainty, even the suffering that that kind of a situation can create, where somebody can turn a spigot off in the Middle East and we could be in dire trouble.

And you also know the system—if I might change the subject—that the system of checks and balances which this Nation's founders wrote into the Constitution 200 years ago wasn't designed as a roadblock to progress.

When I said a year ago that I wanted a good marriage with the Congress, I meant it, and I still believe it. But a good marriage requires the best efforts of both partners to make it work. It requires compromise, it requires moderation in meeting the problems and the challenges in a marriage or in the relationship between the White House and Capitol Hill.

I must say that so far I have seen little compromise and less moderation in the policies and the legislative proposals of the Democratic Congress that was sworn in, in January of this year.

What we as a nation need—and I say this with the deepest sincerity and the strongest conviction that I have—what we need is more of the politics of cooperation, not the politics of confrontation. What we need is to carve out solutions so that our problems can be solved. We shouldn't confront just to get political issues for partisan purposes.

It is my judgment that the American people want action, not debate, not delay. They want a responsive Government committed to responsible progress.

That is exactly what we in the Republican Party are prepared to offer the American people. Perhaps more than at any time in our Nation's history, our party's principles and its objectives match the hopes and the aspirations of the American people. Our Republican commitment to fiscal responsibility in government, to a vigorous free enterprise system, to a strong national defense, one second to none, to local control over local matters, and to personal freedom for the individual—these are commitments shared by the vast majority of the American people and, I am sure, downeasters.

Let's open, as I see it, the party's door to all Americans who happen to believe as we do the principles that I just set forth, rather than opening that door just a crack for a very limited few. Let's work together for a common victory rather than working against each other for a sure defeat.

The victory we seek as Republicans is not just a Republican victory. It is one we can share easily and properly with all the people of Maine and with all Americans. It can be a victory of action over apathy, decisiveness over delay, confidence over confusion. It can be a victory of responsive, responsible government that sees to people's needs but does not order people's lives.

This is the kind of victory that we can work for, we are working for, the kind of a victory that will make the next 4 years the best 4 years for peace, tranquillity, domestic progress, and a renewal of the hopes and the aspirations of all that came before us and for the betterment of all that follow.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:17 p.m. in the Convention Hall at the Holiday Inn. In his remarks, he referred to Jack Linnell, Maine State Republican

chairman, Hattie M. Bickmore, Maine State Republican vice chairwoman, and former Representatives from Maine Robert Hale and Stanley R. Tupper.

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### **Exchange With Reporters on Arrival at Warwick, Rhode Island. *August 30, 1975***

I SPENT 5 years here when I was a few years younger. So, I know New England very well. I know a good many people up here. I love the country, and I think I am a good candidate.

REPORTER. They say your oil policy doesn't make you a friend of New England.

THE PRESIDENT. We have to integrate New England's oil policy with the overall policy of the United States. It is more important to New England that we have a good energy policy than it is any other part of the United States.

What we are seeking to do is to find an energy policy that will solve it for New England and solve it for the United States as a whole. We cannot be dependent on foreign oil sources, and we are working with the Congress—and I hope they will work with me—to try and achieve this oil——

Q. Do you think you have found that policy yet, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. We are working hard at it.

Q. Is there anything new on the decontrol of oil?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we had a very good meeting yesterday with Senator Mansfield and Speaker Carl Albert, and we have laid out a plan that—if they can produce the votes, I think we will find an answer.

Q. Many of the Congressional leaders are very uneasy about the possibility of American civilians going to the Middle East and essentially being the glue to secure the peace there. What is going to be your answer to them and to their objections fearing another Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. If there are a limited number of American civilians who would go to the Middle East, they would go in the area controlled by the United Nations, and they would be there in a noncombat capacity, acting as technicians.

The final decision has not been made, but I can assure you that they will be civilians if they go. They will be technicians, not military personnel, and they will be in a U.N. zone.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any message for the State with the highest unemployment rate in the country right here?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think we are making some headway. In the last 6 months, we have had about an increase of 1,200,000 in employment throughout the United States. We are gradually edging down the unemployment throughout the United States. It is slow, but more importantly, we are doing it the right way as we try to achieve success against inflation.

Q. But it is not going down here, sir. It is going up.

THE PRESIDENT. I think you will find that it will go down.

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:07 p.m. at Theodore Francis Green Airport.

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**Interview With Television Reporters in Newport,  
Rhode Island. *August 30, 1975***

SARA WYE. What you are about to see is a weekly public affairs program we at WJAR normally call "10 News Conference." Because of the stature of our guest, we have expanded the format and produced this special edition, which is being shared with 12 television stations throughout New England. All of you are most welcome.

Our guest is President Gerald Ford, who promised when he came into office a year ago to bring a new openness and accessibility to the White House. His presence in this unusual sort of regional format indicates he is making that effort.

Mr. President, welcome.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you. It is a pleasure to be on the program, Sara.

Ms. WYE. Thank you. Asking the questions along with me tonight will be Jack Kavanagh of the WJAR news staff and Arthur Alpert, news director of WJAR Radio and TV.

**OIL PRICES**

[1.] I think one of the subjects you will be hearing a lot about in this discussion in the next half hour is energy. Obviously, it is heavily on the minds of most people in the country and, certainly, those of us in New England. Until Friday we were braced for a massive increase in domestic crude oil because of your decision to veto the Congressional extension of price controls. You have since changed your mind about decontrol, and you are suggesting perhaps a 60-day extension and gradual decontrol. What went into the decision to change your mind?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think first, Sara, you have to understand that the United States, our country has a serious energy crisis. Actually, the energy crisis in New England is more serious than it is in any other part of the country, primarily because New England is more dependent on foreign oil than any other part of the United States.

So, unless we solve the energy problem for the United States and unless we make ourselves more free of foreign oil imports, New England is going to be in more and more trouble.

Now, in January I submitted to the Congress a comprehensive energy program for a 10-year period, and we made some exceptions as far as New England was concerned, recognizing the vulnerability of New England.



I had hoped that the Congress would act on a comprehensive plan, either the one I submitted or the one that they might put together. Unfortunately, Congress has not acted.

So, after attempting to decontrol on a phased basis on two occasions—one over a 30-month period with an increase in old oil, so to speak, at a rate of about 3 percent per month—the Congress turned that down.

Then I made another effort of compromise and conciliation, making it a 39-month phased decontrol program. The Congress turned that down.

Under those circumstances, I had no alternative but to say: Unless you act, we are going to decontrol all old oil, all domestic old oil. Well, I think at least the leadership in the Congress—Senator Mansfield and Speaker Albert—recognized that was not the right answer.

So, we had a meeting on Friday, and I said that I would hold off the veto until they could get their troops together and come up and agree to the phased program that I submitted about a month ago.

Q. So, what you are saying is that you never were in favor of immediate and sudden decontrol?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I proposed two examples of phased decontrol, one a 30-month, another a 39, but the Congress turned both down. So, in order to try and avoid an abrupt end, I agreed to resubmit a 39-month phased decontrol program, and hopefully, the majority party leadership will be able to work with the Republicans in the House and get a phased program over a 39-month period.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[2.] Q. Mr. President, the controls have to come off eventually, but New England will have to bear the brunt of those controls because we have such problems with energy, because our economy is in such bad shape right now. What do you say to the people who are unemployed here, who have to bear up under this energy crisis, or is the Federal Government going to make any kind of a specific commitment to New England to help us bail out of this situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Over the last 3 or 4 months, I have made exceptions as far as New England is concerned. In the first imposition of the import levy, it had no effect on New England, it had an effect on the rest of the United States. When I put the second dollar on to try and prod Congress to do something, the second dollar only affected New England to—I think it was 60 cents a barrel.

So, I've tried to recognize the needs, the problems that exist in New England. As I said at the outset, New England has a greater need for a comprehensive solution to the energy problem than any other part of the United States.

So, what I have tried to do is to make exceptions for New England and at the same time get the Congress moving to enact an energy program that would solve the problem, not only in the short haul but the long pull. Now, in the interim, while we have this unfortunate unemployment—and we do have more unemployment, not only in New England but elsewhere, than I certainly want—we have done a number of things. For example, we have extended the unemployment payments from 39 weeks to 65 weeks. We have broadened the coverage so that 12 million more people are covered under unemployment. I recommended and the Congress approved about \$450 million for the summer youth program so that young people this past summer would be gainfully employed.

We have done a great deal with what they call public service employment. I recommended about \$2 billion for that program. And I was talking to the mayor of Providence today, and he says it has been a very helpful program in that city. We have also tried to expedite some public works projects. I made available a \$2 billion allocation for highway construction, which has been used in many, many States and, I presume, here in Rhode Island.

We have, for example, been trying to get some local projects going. I talked to the mayor of Providence today coming down here about a \$32 million Federal building in the city of Providence. I am going to give it some personal attention when I get back to Washington. I think that kind of a project could be very helpful.

So, as we try to push forward for an energy program, which is what we need over the long haul, we are trying to take care of individual geographical problems.

Q. And yet, while we are working on it, the unemployment rate in this State here is about 16 percent, 12 percent in Massachusetts, 11 percent throughout New England. Is it possible for the Federal Government to redirect some of its major installations, relocate them, transfer them here, create new ones here? After 1972, when military bases were closed in New Hampshire, in Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, the economies were hit very, very hard.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course I am deeply concerned about the unemployment problem, not only in Rhode Island but Massachusetts and the 48 other States. But we have to try and rebuild the economy from an inflation-ridden economy of a year ago to one that is solidly based, so that over the next few months when we get better employment—as we are at the present time, overall—we are not going to have a reigniting of inflation like we had a year ago.

So, we will do all we can through public works, through unemployment in-

surance, through public service employment, summer youth employment, in order to meet the unique circumstances of a particular State. But the basic way to solve our unemployment, whether it is Rhode Island or 49 other States, is to get a healthy private sector economy. And we can do that through some tax proposals that I have recommended and some of the other legislation which we will be submitting shortly.

#### INFLATION

[3.] Q. Mr. President, Andrew Brimmer, who used to be a Governor of the Federal Reserve and who is a fiscal conservative, said—well, I think he disagrees with you. He says that next year, thanks to the Project Independence, your energy policy, thanks to grain sales, there will be 6- to 7-percent inflation, but he says there is no chance really that excess demand will push the inflation higher. And he says now you can do it, now you can lower interest rates, now you can provide jobs by encouraging the economy without the danger of inflation. Have you considered that and talked about that with Arthur Burns?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, I am sure you recognize I don't control interest rates. Those are basically controlled by several factors—one, the Federal Reserve Board.

I have talked to Mr. Arthur Burns, and we have what I think are appropriate as well as private conversations. He is cognizant of the need of an adequate supply of money, and he is very cognizant of the problem of higher interest rates.

Now, at the same time, I think you have to recognize that if the Federal deficit goes beyond my \$60 billion deficit—and unfortunately, the Congress is spending more money than I think they should—that will contribute significantly to higher interest rates and a shorter supply of money available in the private sector.

So, we have to control the Federal deficit. Sixty billion dollars is too darned big a deficit, but the Congress is continuously pressing to make it bigger.

Now, we are going to hold the deficit as low as we can, and we are hopefully expecting cooperation, and I think we will get it, from the Federal Reserve Board.

Now, I respectfully disagree with Mr. Brimmer if he alleged that the grain sales to the Soviet Union are a significant factor in inflation. I respectfully disagree with him. Does he want us to put all that grain in storage and pay \$1 million a day in storage charges as we did in the sixties? I don't think that is a very satisfactory answer.

## ECONOMIC RECOVERY

[4.] Q. I think he did say that energy was the main component. But following up on your answer, I have been talking to people around New England in anticipation of your visit, and I keep coming up with that old folk saying: "Democrats get us into wars, Republicans into depressions." That, of course, may be oversimplified, but previous administrations and your Administration have chosen to fight inflation first and unemployment second.

I am just wondering, when will the time come to switch so that this recovery, which seems as if it is on the horizon, will recover in a hurry rather than just stumble along?

THE PRESIDENT. I would say that the recovery is doing better, that we are coming out of it more quickly now than some people anticipated. For the fifth month in a row, as I recollect, our overall indicators show that we were making headway. We are seeing higher housing starts. We are seeing better retail sales. We are making some headway, except for the last month, in inflation, and I think that was an unusual example. And we are optimistic in the future.

One thing I'd like to point out is I think it is important to talk about some affirmative things. In the last 5 months, we have had 1,200,000 more people gainfully employed in this country. We now have over 85 million people gainfully employed.

We have too many unemployed, but more and more people are being employed, and the indications are that that will be a continuing trend.

So, we have to win the battle against inflation. If we let the problems of inflation recur—every knowledgeable economist that I have talked to says, if you went back up to 10- or 12-percent inflation, in 12 to 18 to 24 months we would be in a far worse recession than we are at the present time.

So, it is a very narrow line that we are trying to follow: to win the battle against inflation on the one hand and at the same time provide more job opportunities. And I think we are being reasonably successful.

As Jack said over here, New England, or at least Rhode Island, has some unique problems, and we are going to work on it, as I indicated.

## OIL PRICES

[5.] Q. Mr. President, let's return briefly to energy. We have dealt with domestic crude oil by saying the approach now is to gradually decontrol domestic oil prices. The OPEC countries, the oil-producing countries, will be meeting to decide soon what price increases they will ask by October 1. It is

widely rumored in the oil industry that you have let it be known that an 8-percent increase in foreign oil prices would be acceptable to you. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not familiar with that statement. A lot of statements are attributed to me. I have a pretty good memory, and I don't know where that statement came from.

Q. What are you looking for from the oil-producing countries?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me put it this way, Sara. If the Congress had passed early this year the comprehensive energy program that I recommended, we would be in a lot better position to meet the challenge of any OPEC oil price increase. Unfortunately, nothing has been done legislatively. So, we are now more vulnerable today than we would have been otherwise.

I have said that, as far as I am concerned, we will do everything we can to defeat any OPEC oil price increase. Unfortunately, without an energy program we don't have many tools to do that with.

#### SCHOOL BUSING

[6.] Q. Mr. President, school opens very soon around the country and in New England. And in Boston and Springfield, Massachusetts, that means forced busing for desegregation. Now, you have had a position on busing before. Can you take a minute and clarify? What is your position on busing?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, before I say anything about what my own personal views are, I want to say most emphatically that I, as President, and all that serve with me in the Federal Government will enforce the law, no question about that. We will, to the extent necessary, make sure that any court order is enforced.

Now, I add one thing that I hope is understood. We don't want any conflict developing in Boston or any of these other communities that have court orders forcing busing on local school systems. So, I have sent up through the Attorney General, the community relations experts—they have four or five people up there that are working with the court, with the school boards, and with parents, and with others. At the same time, the new Secretary of HEW, David Mathews, has sent up his top man to work with the school system. And that individual, Dr. Goldberg,<sup>1</sup> has authority to spend extra Federal funds to try and improve the situation in Boston.

Now, having said the law is going to be enforced, that we are going to try and moderate and work with the people in Boston, I will give you my views on what we are trying to do.

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<sup>1</sup> Herman R. Goldberg, Associate Commissioner for Education for Equal Educational Opportunity Programs.

The basic thing that everyone is trying to do is to provide quality education. There is a difference of opinion on how you achieve quality education. My personal view is that forced busing by courts is not the way to achieve quality education. I think there is a better way.

We have had court-ordered forced busing in a number of communities. There are studies that indicate that it has not provided quality education for the young people, which is our personal concern.

I think there is a better way to do it. In my judgment, if the courts would follow a law that was passed, I think, 2 years ago, or maybe 2½ years ago, it said that in those areas where you have a problem in seeking desegregation, the court should follow five or six rules. Busing was the last option.

There were five other proposals that courts could have followed, guidelines that the courts should have followed, and I think we would have avoided a lot of this conflict. That is one way I think we could have solved the problem. The other is the utilization of Federal funds to upgrade school buildings, provide better teacher-pupil ratios, to provide better equipment. That is the way, in my opinion, we achieve what we all want, which is quality education. I just don't think court-ordered forced busing is the way to achieve quality education. I think there are better ways.

#### APPROPRIATIONS VETOES

[7.] Q. Mr. President, if I may follow up on that, you have come up with an alternative. But it would seem that because you were afraid of inflation, you have vetoed bills for more aid to education, you have vetoed bills for more public service jobs. So, are you prepared, you know, to turn around on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Arthur, let me just clarify something. The appropriation bill concerning public service employment that you say I vetoed—let me give you the history of it so the matter is clarified. I recommended \$1,900 million—\$450 million for summer youth employment and the remainder, which is roughly a billion and a half, for public service employment. The Congress loaded it up with \$3 billion in nonessential spending. Sure, I vetoed it. When the Congress saw that the veto was sustained, they came back and virtually approved what I sent up there in the first place. So, we had \$2 billion in summer youth employment money, and we had public service employment money.

Now, the education bill. The education bill that I submitted in January for the budget that started July 1 had more money in it for education than any other year in recent years. We increased it over previous years. Again, the Congress loaded it up with some programs that I think can't be justified if you are going to have any fiscal responsibility. I hope the Congress sustains that veto, because

there is a lot of nonessential spending in it. Now, having vetoed that bill, there was nothing in there, in that proposal Congress passed, to do anything more in desegregation cases than I recommended. So, that is a moot issue as far as the Boston case is concerned.

#### LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE

[8.] Q. Can I move you along to another area completely, and that is fishing, which is of some importance to the New England States. Our fishing industry is dying, and it would appear that foreign fleets, modern fleets, are perhaps wiping out fish for a long time, perhaps forever. The Senate has passed the 200-mile-limit bill. The House probably will, too. Will you sign it?

THE PRESIDENT. If my recollection is accurate, in this session of the Congress, the Senate has not acted. I think they acted last year.

Q. Right.

THE PRESIDENT. The House committee has acted, and it will be on the House agenda shortly. What we are trying to do, through the Law of the Sea Conference, is to settle all of the controversies on a worldwide basis involving fishing, the 200-mile zone, et cetera.

I am for the concept of a 200-mile zone. I think it is better to settle it on a worldwide basis rather than to do it unilaterally just for the United States.

Q. The problem, Mr. President, is that while we are waiting for the international treaty, our fish supplies are being depleted.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we had the second meeting of this Law of the Sea Conference ending earlier this year.

They've got a draft proposal at the present time. They are going back to negotiations early next year. It is my hope that we can do it on a worldwide basis, and the United States, at my direction, is going to fight for a 200-mile zone. I think that is a better way to solve it than to do it on a unilateral basis, just the United States.

Q. But how long are you willing to wait?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we hope that the Law of the Sea Conference will be completed early next year. As I recollect, the conferees are getting together in January. We have made a lot of progress, and if we can get it on a worldwide basis in 1976, that is far preferable to unilateral action just by the United States.

#### SENATE ELECTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

[9.] Q. One quick question for New Hampshire. New Hampshire would like to know if you are planning to come up sometime before September 16 and campaign for Louie Wyman?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my expectation that I will. We are working on a date. Louie Wyman is a very good friend of mine. I served with him in the House. I think he'd make a fine Senator. I certainly expect to go up sometime between now and September 16 to help him if I can.

#### OFFSHORE OIL RIGHTS

[10.] Q. Mr. President, why can't the northeast New England States share in the profits from the leasing of offshore oil rights off the coast?

THE PRESIDENT. Under the legislation that we are working on—and there are about 10 different alternative proposals—I think that the coastal areas ought to get some help.

There is a bill in the Senate that goes, I think, further than it should. Of course, there are many inland States who say, well, this is a United States resource. Why can't we share equally with the coastal States? So, we've got these competing interests.

I believe, without any question of a doubt, that coastal States ought to get a high priority, the highest priority, and then we will have to work out some formula where I think we can equitably take care of any other interests that are involved.

#### VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[11.] Q. Mr. President, two quick ones on politics. We presume you will be back in New Hampshire next winter——

THE PRESIDENT. I am looking forward to it.

Q. —and that between now and then, there will be a lot of pressure on you from the Reagan forces—some people call them the Connally forces—to dump Mr. Rockefeller. If it is necessary to do that to get the nomination, will you do it?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't put it that way. I picked Nelson Rockefeller for Vice President because I thought he was an outstanding public servant. He has exceeded any expectations that I have had. He has done a superb job. He has been a good teammate. I don't dump good teammates.

#### GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[12.] Q. Mr. President, in 1972 when the Soviets bought 15 million tons of grain, food prices went up. Now, they would like to buy 21 million tons. Will they get it all? Will they get part of it? Will food prices go up?

THE PRESIDENT. You've got more information than I have. They bought about



10 million tons. There are rumors to the effect that they want to buy additional amounts.

I have indicated that we will make no more sales until we get the September crop report. All the indications are that we will have a record crop in wheat, in corn, in feed grains, including soybeans.

Now, if we get a record crop and if we can work out some fair and equitable arrangement, I think it is in the best interest of the farmer, the consumer, our relations on a worldwide basis, and best for the country, if we do make some additional sales to the Soviet Union.

Q. Mr. President, I have never seen a President end so neatly. You finished up the question, and we don't have to cut you off. It's really delightful.

Thank you. The time went awfully fast.

THE PRESIDENT. It did, and I enjoyed it. I thank all of you very much.

NOTE: The interview began at 6 p.m. in the America's Cup Room at the Sheraton-Islander Inn. It was taped for broadcast at 7:30 p.m. the same evening.

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### Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in Newport. *August 30, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, John. Buddy Cianci, Jim Taft, Jim Field, Jim DiPrete, Bill Middendorf, and of course, our wonderful host and hostess, John and Eileen Slocum, and all that worked:*

Let me say without any hesitation or reservation, one, it has been a long day, but the culmination of a meeting like this makes it just like it was beginning all over again. Thank you very much.

As either Jim or Buddy or Jim Taft said, it has been my privilege to be in Rhode Island on a number of occasions over a period of years. I was happy and proud to come here when your fortunes were low to help in a municipal election, in a State election, or in an occasion such as this.

I've detected from time to time that all of you in Rhode Island were a little down in the dumps. You felt that the odds were much too great for any progress. But I have a distinct feeling tonight that you are on the way up and that you are going to make Rhode Island a good Republican State in 1976.

You've got good candidates. You've got excellent examples of people that can run either Providence or Cranston or, I am sure, other communities in the State of Rhode Island.

You've got the enthusiasm. You've got the unity. You've got the feeling that you are going to beat the opposition. You've got 14 months to prove it—with money—[*laughter*—]with candidates, with unity. I will be very disappointed if you don't make it in November of 1976.

In the months ahead, as I have tried to do in the months before, it is my feeling that we have to make a tremendous effort to go to every State to talk to the people who have fought long, hard battles, people who have been disappointed for one reason or another that we didn't do everything or we didn't succeed.

But it seems to me that we have the most unique opportunity in the months ahead to decide that America is going to continue to rise, to make the progress in the future that we have been blessed with in the past.

It is my judgment that the Republican Party is the vehicle that can achieve that. And if we are going to do it, I think we ought to take a look and see what our commitments are—at least mine.

And I believe most, as I travel around the country, would agree in these four or five basic commitments that we have, that seem to fall within the framework of what is good for our country: Fiscal responsibility in the Federal Government, the reinvigoration of a free enterprise system in this country, a strong national defense program that makes America second to none, local control over local concerns under the leadership of people like Buddy and Jim and others in your State of Rhode Island, and then lastly but far from least, personal freedom for the individual.

We are about to kick off our Bicentennial in America. The other day I was looking at the progress that we have made as a nation over the last 200 years. And if I were to analyze it, I would say that in the first hundred years—and Rhode Island was a tremendous contributor to this effort—in the United States in that first century, we developed a kind of government that gave us strength, consistency, a solid base from which we could operate.

In our second century in America, what did we do? We went through what I think most historians would call an industrial revolution. We built the mills and the plants, and we developed means of transportation, communication, and the like. We moved from the 1-yard line a long, long ways down the field to become the most effective and constructive and successful nation in the history of mankind in an industrial competition.

So, we have a government and we have the industrial capability. What do we want in our third century, which begins in just a few months? It seems to me

that this third century relates to the last point I made in our commitments—personal freedom for the individual.

We have mass education. We have mass industry. We have mass government. We have mass communication. I think the American people, whether they are in Rhode Island or Michigan or California or Florida or Alaska or Hawaii—I don't care where they come from—they want their individuality preserved and expanded. They don't want to be subjected to massive anything. They want to believe in their family and themselves, and that should be our objective in the third century of America's history.

I indicated that in the first century of our Nation's history that we developed a kind of government that gave us strength and stability and opportunity to carry us through one crisis after another, and we have.

Now, it is not written in the Constitution, but fortunately for all of us, we developed in this country a two-party system—and how blessed we have been. We don't want a one-party system like they have in some countries throughout the globe. We find that that, of course, would be an anathema to everything we have inherited and everything we want to pass on to others.

We don't want the kind of a government where there is a multiplicity of political parties, either. We have seen in the pages of history those countries that have 5, 10, 20—whatever the number is—of political parties, and they are unable under those circumstances to meet the challenge, to govern, to run a country.

We have been blessed in this Nation with a two-party system in most States of the Union. [*Laughter*] If I could go back a quarter of a century when I came to Washington in January of 1949 and took the oath of office as a young, you know, excited Congressman, the Republicans controlled New England. There wasn't a Democrat, as I recall, in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont—there were a couple in Massachusetts—[*laughter*—]but basically, New England was a Republican domain, so to speak. And then we had 10 or 11 States down in the South, and they were totally, completely dominated by the Democrats.

Well, it wasn't a very healthy situation, I didn't think. I will tell you why. I think political competition is good. It is good for the candidates, but more importantly, it is good for the country.

Our whole system, whether it is in commerce or in industry or whatever, is predicated on the idea that competition is a better price, a better product to the consumer.

As I travel around 25 years after that day that I was sworn in, I find that the political environment in the South is a lot healthier, since we have a pretty fair

share of Congressmen and a few Senators. The domination, the monopoly of a political party in the South has been broken.

The net result is that the people in those 10 or 11 States are getting better government. If I might respectfully suggest, I think it would be good to have that same kind of competition right here in Rhode Island.

Obviously, I have thrown away the text that my very dedicated and very competent speechwriters have prepared for me. [*Laughter*] But as I look over this audience, I'd like to talk straight from the shoulder—what I believe, what I feel is good for all of you, for Rhode Island, and more importantly, for the country.

We've got a few problems in America and, to be frank and honest and candid, instead of trying to hide them and gloss them over, I think we ought to be very frank.

We have trouble in our economy. A year ago we were faced with 12- to 14-percent inflation, the worst in this country for a good many years. We have to lick that problem. In the last 12 months we have cut it in half, roughly speaking. That is not good enough, but we aren't going to lick it if we let the Congress spend and spend and spend, as they are prone to do.

Let me tell you, I am on the way to a record of vetoes. [*Laughter*] But I think they have been good for America, and they haven't been negative. Let me tell you why they are positive.

In that great Constitution that we have in this country, it says the President of the United States has the right of veto. That is a constitutionally given authority to the President of the United States.

Now, the Congress has the opportunity and the responsibility to pass legislation, but the Constitution also gives to a President the responsibility to veto it if he thinks, in his judgment—representing all of the people, not a parochial interest, a provincial interest—and I have done it quite a few times.

But you know what the net result is, and this is the proof of the pudding. Let me just take two examples to prove that the utilization of a veto is a constructive, not a negative weapon—and I emphasize it is a constitutionally given authority.

Early this year I submitted a request, as Buddy and Jim know, for \$1,900 million—\$450 million for a summer youth program to keep the young people, principally in our disadvantaged areas, off the streets and to keep them occupied, plus another \$1.5 billion to try and give public service employment during the critical period that we are facing with unemployment.

The bill went to the House, and they added \$2 billion, if I remember, and then it went to the Senate, and they added another \$1 billion. So, it came down

to me with a roughly \$5 billion figure, or \$3 billion more than I recommended.

They had added, in a Christmas tree fashion, all kinds of extraneous, unnecessary programs. I vetoed it. We didn't think we could win, but the American people were wiser than a good many of the Members of the House and the Senate. And the net result—we sustained the veto. Then the Congress responded and came back with virtually the recommendation that I had made, saving roughly \$3 billion.

What I am trying to say is that a veto is constructive, not negative. Well, we could go on with the housing bill and several others.

As a matter of fact, some of the experts in the statistical field have indicated that over the last year, through vetoes that have been wisely and judiciously used, we have been able to save the American people roughly \$6 billion. I think that is meaningful, and we are going to keep on doing it until they get the word.

Now, let's be frank. We've got the problem, also, of unemployment. There are about 535 Members of the House and Senate. Every one of them has got an idea how you can solve the problem of unemployment. They want quick fixes. They want some, you know, automatic panacea. We have gone through this before. I don't like the fact that our unemployment is at the height that it is. I have great sympathy for those who are, unfortunately, out of work because of circumstances beyond their control. But it doesn't do them any good to give them something that in the long run is not good for the country or even for themselves.

So, what we are doing or trying to do is to constructively rehabilitate an economy that was in bad shape about a year ago. And we are not going to do those things that have an apparent—and I say “apparent”—short dividend if in the long run it is not healthy for the United States of America.

We have about 85 million Americans currently gainfully employed. We have too many unemployed, but do you realize that in the last 5 months, despite the high unemployment percentage, we have added to the payrolls in this country, primarily in the private sector, about 1,200,000? This is encouraging, and we are going to do better and better.

We must provide jobs in America, not necessarily in the government sector but, more importantly, in the private sector.

May I say a word about energy. I was on a television show after I got down here today—I have forgotten the channel, or the station. [*Laughter*] A very attractive young lady and two very able interrogators from the same station—[*laughter*—asked me about energy, and the inference was that somehow there

had been some discrimination against New England. Let me just talk, if I might, for a minute, straight from the shoulder.

This country has an energy problem, and those of you in New England are more seriously affected perhaps than any other part of the country. And I am not going to get into why that might have happened or what might have caused it. But America today is getting, on a day-by-day-by-day-by-day basis, more vulnerable to decisionmaking by countries in the Middle East.

Our domestic production of oil is going down, and we are buying more oil overseas daily from those countries that could turn off the spigot tomorrow if they decided to. And the net result is that we have to find an energy answer in America, and if we do, we will solve it for New England at the same time. We can do it by stimulating domestic production of oil here, by conserving the utilization of energy in America, by developing new, exotic energy sources—solar, geothermal, et cetera.

In January of this year, we tried to put together—and we were successful in putting together a comprehensive energy program that would have answered the short-range as well as the long-range problems that we face in America—a program that would have made us invulnerable to foreign decisionmaking. I submitted it to the Congress. And do you realize that as of now, not one energy bill has come down to the White House for approval? Not one, not one piece of a comprehensive program.

America cannot tolerate this kind of lack of action. We have bent over backwards trying to work with the Congress to get a program, to get a policy enacted into law so America could move ahead and become invulnerable to decisionmaking by other nations, Middle East or otherwise. We understand the problem you have in New England, and we made exceptions to recognize the difficulties that you face here in this part of the country and we will continue to do so. But I just plead with you, beg with you to get your Members of the House and the Senate to join in putting together, with compromise and conciliation if necessary, a program that is good for America. We must have it for today, tomorrow, and 10 years from now.

We've got some tough decisions in foreign policy. Secretary Kissinger has been spending the last week or so in the Middle East. We are narrowing the differences in cooperation, of course, between the principal negotiators, Israel and Egypt. And it is encouraging that the last decisions by them, of course, are of maximum importance.

But let me say this as deeply as I can: It is important for the world as a whole that there be continued progress in the Middle East toward peace, because if it

fails, if we aren't successful, the potential controversy in that part of the world could be explosive for the world as a whole. So, we are fortunate to have Henry Kissinger over there working with those two countries now and, hopefully, on a broader basis in the years ahead.

We have had some disappointments in foreign policy, and we won't get into those, because I think we have to look forward. We have to realize that it is important for America to strengthen our alliance in Europe.

It is important that we continue to work with Japan in the Pacific and to strengthen our world relations in Latin America and Africa, that we work with those less developed countries as well as the industrial countries of the world.

We must, as I see it, at least try to ease tensions and to achieve relaxations of competition between the Soviet Union and the United States. In the months ahead, we are going to be negotiating with Mr. Brezhnev on SALT II.

About 10 days ago, I made a speech in Minneapolis, Minnesota, to the American Legion, and I said *détente* means a relaxation, an ability to try and talk with those with whom we don't agree in order to bring peace and to maintain it in the world.

We are seeking to put a cap on the arms race, the nuclear arms race. I hope we will be successful. It means that we will make some compromises and the Soviet Union will make some compromises. It will be a two-way street. It will be an agreement, if we achieve it, that is good for us, for them, and for the world at large.

But let me say very categorically, if we don't achieve a cap on the nuclear arms race, if the United States is to keep pace, if the United States is going to be second to none in this area, it will be my obligation as President of the United States to go to the Congress and ask for substantial increases in military appropriations to keep our nuclear capability second to none.

That extra \$2 or \$3 billion a year, without a SALT II agreement, is needed and necessary. I would prefer—I would prefer a cap. I would prefer that we could agree that we shouldn't build these extra missiles and add to our military capability. And that is why we are going to negotiate, because it is in the best interest not only of ourselves and the Soviet Union but mankind as a whole to stop this fruitless arms race.

Let me say that despite the problems in the economy and energy, despite the difficulties we face as we work with our allies and negotiate with our adversaries, I am an optimist about America. I think the American people believe that we have a great future just as we have had a great past.

I know there are some in this country that think that the solution to our prob-

lems at home are more programs, more spending, et cetera. And every time I think of that solution, I can't help but repeat something that I have used as sort of a guideline or a criteria, and I apologize to those I have said it to before or those that have listened to it before: We must be certain that we understand that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

It is my judgment, in the third century of America's greatness—and I go back to what I said at the outset—the American people still want their individual liberty, and they are going to fight for it. They are going to demand it. They aren't going to be overwhelmed by big government, big labor, big business, big education, massive communication.

They want their individual freedom, and to the extent that I can, with your help—this is what is important—no man can do it alone. Every one of you in this room are a teammate. Every one of you, by being here tonight, have indicated your willingness to work with us.

I thank you, and we will be out there working for you.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 p.m. at the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Slocum. In his opening remarks, he referred to Mayors Vincent Cianci, of Providence, and James L. Taft, Jr., of Cranston, and

H. James Field, Jr., Rhode Island State Republican chairman; Jim DiPrete, dinner chairman; and Secretary of the Navy J. William Middendorf II.

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### **Message on the Observance of Labor Day.**

*August 31, 1975*

LABOR DAY assumes a special significance this year as we prepare to celebrate our National Bicentennial. Designated to honor America's working men and women, Labor Day offers an excellent opportunity to review these contributions in the light of the new goals that will guide us in the third century of our independence.

America's workers are our national strength. Their skills have forged our greatness. Their pride in quality craftsmanship sustains it. We owe the unprecedented progress we have realized in this century to the initiative, determination and talent of the American worker.

We are a nation of working men and women whose willingness to sacrifice and eagerness to support responsible economic policies have pulled us through many rough periods in our past. This record provides inspiration and encouragement in this difficult time. It also gives those of us who work in Government an



extra incentive to honor the trust our working citizens have placed in us by ensuring wise, responsive and sensitive planning for our future.

I pledge my wholehearted commitment to this task.

GERALD R. FORD

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### **Remarks for Labor Day.**

*August 31, 1975*

[Recorded August 29, 1975. Released August 31, 1975]

THE GREATNESS of America is a reflection of the strength, character, and the will of the American people. Without the dedication of millions of men and women willing to roll up their sleeves and go to work, the American dream would remain only that—a dream.

With that dedication and hard work, America has developed over the last 200 years into not only the most prosperous of nations but an enduring example of the democratic process and spirit. Yet, Labor Day is no holiday for those who are out of work through no fault of their own.

Let us this year give Labor Day special meaning by considering not only the working people but the millions of Americans who are looking for work. I pledge to do everything in my power to generate new and decent jobs.

When figures are published on the loss of jobs, some of the losses are not announced. These trouble me very deeply. I refer to the loss of hope among the young people seeking their first job, the loss of self-esteem among family people who are laid off, the loss of security that people work for for years to achieve, and most importantly, the loss of faith in America's future. These are tragic losses which the United States of America cannot endure.

One encouraging factor on this Labor Day is that there are more than 85 million Americans at work. That is 1,200,000 more than 6 months ago. We expect this trend to continue.

Let government, labor, and business today unite to hasten the moment when enough new jobs are created on a sound economic base to make every day Labor Day with all of its rewards.

As America enters its third century, let us pay tribute to those who have made our system work, the men and women of American labor, organized and unorganized.

On this Labor Day 1975, let us renew our dedication to making sure that there are jobs available for all Americans who want to work.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. His remarks were recorded for later broadcast.

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### **Statement on the Interim Egyptian-Israeli Troop Disengagement Agreement. *September 1, 1975***

THE INTERIM agreement being initialed by Egypt and Israel this evening reduces the risk of war in the Middle East and provides fresh opportunities for further progress toward peace for a troubled area whose turmoil has affected the lives and prosperity of peoples of all nations.

Under the agreement, Israel will withdraw its forces from the Sinai passes and oil fields, both parties agree not to resort to force and to continue their efforts to negotiate a final peace settlement. I have consistently worked for this outcome. I am deeply gratified by it and proud of the contribution America has made. By reducing the dangers of military and economic warfare, this agreement is of great significance for the well-being of every American.

The parties have taken an important and indispensable step on the long and hard road to peace. The countries concerned made clear that they wanted America's effort to continue. Following my meetings with President Sadat in Salzburg and with Prime Minister Rabin in Washington, the United States intensified its active mediation.

The agreement is fair and balanced, and we hope that as a further practical test of peace on the ground it will contribute to building the confidence between the two sides which is required if ultimate peace is to be achieved.

The United States does not consider this agreement an end in itself, and it is strongly committed to continue to help make progress on all aspects of the problem.

I will be speaking personally with Prime Minister Rabin of Israel and President Sadat of Egypt to congratulate them on their leadership and statesmanship, which in large measure made the agreement possible. I commend Secretary Kissinger for his tireless efforts in bringing about a successful conclusion to the negotiations.

NOTE: The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 927).

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Telephone Conversations With Secretary of State Kissinger,  
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel, and President  
Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt on the Egyptian-Israeli  
Agreement. *September 1, 1975*

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Hello, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Henry, how are you?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I am fine. How nice to hear from you.

THE PRESIDENT. The same to you. I have just been warned by Ron [Nessen] that I have to tell you—and later when I talk to the Prime Minister and to the President—that WHCA [White House Communications Agency] is recording this conversation. You don't have any objections, I trust?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No, I don't have any objection.

THE PRESIDENT. I think they wanted it for historical purposes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Right.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say very, very deeply how very grateful I am for the tremendous effort that you have made in this last round of negotiations, but I know how long and how hard and devotedly you have spent many, many hours, not only with me but with Prime Minister Rabin and President Sadat.

I think this is a great achievement, one of the most historic, certainly of this decade and perhaps in this century. And I know that the American people will be most grateful for the successful efforts that you made. I just want to express it very strongly and very deeply for myself.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I appreciate this very much, Mr. President, and of course, we have spent more time on the Middle East—you and I—than on almost any other problem.

THE PRESIDENT. I think if we added up the hours, it would be a good many days, and the fact that we finally made a successful conclusion, I know, gives you as well as myself and many, many others a great deal of satisfaction. It is in the best interests of not only the two countries ourselves but, in my judgment, Henry, one of the great achievements for the world at this time.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I think it gives peace a chance in this area, and the consequences, as the U.S. pointed out repeatedly, of stalemate were simply unacceptable.

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure there will be some critics, but I think in all honesty they have to understand what the alternatives would have been.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Exactly, Mr. President. That is the problem, that the continuation of the stalemate would have had both military and economic consequences for the world that we had to do something about.

THE PRESIDENT. You are leaving very shortly, as I understand, for the actual initialing.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I am going to see Prime Minister Rabin now, and then we are going to initial the documents.

THE PRESIDENT. Right.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Then shortly after that, I will go to Egypt to meet with President Sadat and participate in the initialing of the documents there.

THE PRESIDENT. You will actually carry the documents with you to Alexandria, then?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Exactly, the documents and maps.

THE PRESIDENT. I am going to call the Prime Minister after talking with you, and I will express to him my appreciation, but if you will do it in person for me, I would also be very grateful.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I will do that, Mr. President, and I look forward very much to seeing you on Thursday.

THE PRESIDENT. You are getting in Wednesday night, as I understand?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. That is right. I am getting in Wednesday night about 9 or 10 o'clock.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will be at the airport to meet you.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. And it is arranged for us to have a [Congressional] bipartisan leadership meeting on Thursday morning at 8 a.m.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Good.

THE PRESIDENT. And I am sure that their reaction will be the same as mine, that this is a great achievement for not only the parties involved but for the world as a whole, and I just can't express deeply enough my appreciation for your own magnificent efforts in this area.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Mr. President, we have worked together on this, and your strong support and your leadership and your talks with Sadat and Rabin made this possible.

THE PRESIDENT. You go over there and participate with the Prime Minister, give him my best, and at the same time give Nancy my very best.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Thank you, and the best to Betty.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, and we will see you Wednesday night.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. See you Wednesday night.

THE PRESIDENT. Okay. Thanks, Henry.

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PRIME MINISTER RABIN. Hello?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Prime Minister, how are you, sir?

PRIME MINISTER RABIN. I am fine, Mr. President. How are you?

THE PRESIDENT. I am excellent, thank you. I just finished talking with Henry, and I understand he is coming over to meet with you very shortly for the actual initialing. Let me congratulate you for the superb efforts that you have made under most trying circumstances.

I think your role has been one of great statesmanship under terribly difficult circumstances, and I congratulate you and compliment you on the achievement of, I think, an outstanding negotiation that has culminated in a document that will lead to great progress in the Middle East for the benefit of the world as a whole.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN. Mr. President, thank you very much for your kind words. It was not an easy decision. They were complicated negotiations, but we have decided this time to take risks—and I stress “to take risks”—for an opening for peace.

I hope that what we have decided will set a new pattern in the area, and we all hope here that the agreement will really lead to both tranquillity in the area and to bring closer the positions of at least Egypt and Israel.

I would like to thank you very much for the role that you personally, the United States, and your envoy, Dr. Kissinger, have served in the achievement of this agreement.

THE PRESIDENT. I thank you very much, Mr. Prime Minister. Let me assure you that you can count on us to continue to stand with you. We have a close relationship, and it will continue as we move forward under the basis of this outstanding agreement.

You have laid a solid foundation with this agreement, in my judgment, on which we can build for real peace efforts in the future.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN. We all hope for it here, and we really hope that it will be the beginning of something which we have not yet experienced in this area, and we hope that the other side, the Egyptian side, feels the same.

THE PRESIDENT. You can rest assured that we will work with you to make certain that the agreement is carried out, not only in the spirit but in the letter,

and that we expect to continue the relationship that we have had over a good many years, your country and ours.

You have heroic people, and the American people are most sympathetic to those that you so ably represent, Mr. Prime Minister.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN. Mr. President, as you are fully aware, we appreciate very much you, we appreciate very much the special relations that have been so significant in the past and the present between our two countries, and I am sure that what we have done there today will add a new dimension to the relations between our two countries.

THE PRESIDENT. Will you give my very best to Mrs. Rabin, and I hope that in the near future you can come back and see us again, sir.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN. Thank you, very much, Mr. President, and please convey our best wishes to Mrs. Ford.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, and we will see you, I hope, soon.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN. I hope so, too.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

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*[In the following transcript of President Ford's telephone conversation with President Sadat, President Sadat's remarks are incomplete because of a poor telephone connection with Egypt.]*

PRESIDENT FORD. President Sadat?

PRESIDENT SADAT. Hello. This is President Sadat.

PRESIDENT FORD. How are you this morning?

President Sadat, I wanted to call you and congratulate you on the great role that you played in the negotiations that have culminated in this agreement.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Hello? *[Inaudible]*

PRESIDENT FORD. Unfortunately, I don't hear you too well, Mr. President. I hope that my conversation is coming through more clearly.

Let me express most emphatically on behalf of my Government the appreciation for your statesmanship, despite adversity and some criticism, the spirit with which you have approached the need for an agreement.

I am most grateful for the leadership that you have given, and I look forward to continuing to work with you in—

PRESIDENT SADAT. Hello?

PRESIDENT FORD. Hello. Can you hear me, Mr. President?

PRESIDENT SADAT. No, I can't hear you very well.

PRESIDENT FORD. I know that you and I recognize that stagnation and stalemate in the Middle East would have been potentially disastrous, and your leadership in working with Secretary Kissinger and with the Israelis, all of us are most grateful for.

And as we continue to work together, personally, as well as government-to-government—

PRESIDENT SADAT. Hello? President Ford is speaking?

PRESIDENT FORD. Yes. I can hear you, Mr. President. I hope you can hear me, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT SADAT. President Ford, hello.

PRESIDENT FORD. I don't hear too well, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT SADAT. President Ford speaking?

PRESIDENT FORD. Yes, this is President Ford.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Go ahead, please.

PRESIDENT FORD. The connection, unfortunately, is not too good for me to hear your comments, Mr. President.

Let me say, if I might, despite the difficulties, that Mrs. Ford and I hope that Mrs. Sadat and you and your children will visit the United States sometime this fall.

Secretary Kissinger has told me of the very warm hospitality that you have extended to him and Mrs. Kissinger, and we look forward to reciprocating when you come to the United States in the fall of 1975.

I regret that I can't hear. The connection is very bad. I hope that you can hear me and my comments from the United States.

Mr. President, I understand that Secretary Kissinger is coming to Alexandria to personally deliver the document for your initialing, and I have asked Henry to extend to you on that occasion the gratitude and appreciation of the American people for your patience, your leadership, and your understanding of the need and necessity for a forward step, and important step in the ultimate aim of total peace in the Middle East.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Hello?

PRESIDENT FORD. Hello, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Hello, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT FORD. I can hear you better now, sir.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Mr. President, I hope you and your family are well.

PRESIDENT FORD. I am feeling very well, Mr. President, and I hope you are, too.

PRESIDENT SADAT. I want to thank you for your personal message. [*Inaudible*]

PRESIDENT FORD. Mr. President, I couldn't hear every word distinctly, but I got

the thrust of your kind comments and your encouraging words, and I can assure you that we will work with Egypt, not only in seeing that the agreement is implemented with the spirit as well as the letter, that we will continue to develop the good relations between Egypt and the United States, working to make sure that we expand trade, tourism, and our help to the maximum degree possible and that this is the way that the United States can continue to play a constructive role in the most important area—the Middle East.

And you have my personal assurance, and I am sure the Congress will co-operate, because it is recognized in the United States that the Middle East is in a vitally important area of the world and that our participation in a constructive way is an important element in the tremendous success that has been achieved in the negotiations between your country and Israel. I wish to thank you very, very much.

I said a few moments ago, Mrs. Ford and I look forward to having Mrs. Sadat, your family, and yourself here in the United States early this fall.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Mr. President, I am looking forward to this visit with you and Mrs. Ford and your family. [*Inaudible*] I also assure you we accept this agreement as a further step towards a successful and peaceful conclusion. I consider it a turning point in the history of the country.

I again thank you, but it is essential, Mr. President, that we must keep the momentum of the peace process going and continue it.

PRESIDENT FORD. I can assure you, Mr. President, we are going to keep the momentum going in the peace process. We will not tolerate stagnation or stalemate. The momentum is on the way for a peaceful solution on a permanent and an equitable basis, and you have my pledge that we will make sure that that momentum keeps going.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT FORD. I look forward to seeing you after that wonderful visit we had in Salzburg, and give my very best to Mrs. Sadat, if you will, please.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT FORD. Thank you, sir.

PRESIDENT SADAT. I should like to add another point, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT FORD. Yes.

PRESIDENT SADAT. I think I would like to emphasize the importance of [*inaudible*].

PRESIDENT FORD. I, unfortunately, could not hear as well as I would like the last comments you made. The connection from here is not, apparently, as good as I hope you have there, but——



PRESIDENT SADAT. I hear you quite well.

PRESIDENT FORD. The efforts of Secretary Kissinger and myself, we feel, were completely worth what we have done, but our efforts could not have been successful without the leadership and the statesmanship by you and the equally fine actions by the Israeli Government and Prime Minister Rabin.

But as you said a moment ago, President Sadat, the momentum is moving in the right direction, and you have my personal assurance that we will continue that movement, because it is vital not only in the Middle East but elsewhere for the benefit of all peoples.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Thank you, Mr. President, very much.

PRESIDENT FORD. We will see you soon, I hope.

PRESIDENT SADAT. We are looking forward to coming, with pleasure, and convey my good wishes to your family.

PRESIDENT FORD. Thank you, and the best to yours, sir.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT FORD. Have a good day, and Henry will be there shortly, I understand.

PRESIDENT SADAT. I am waiting for him.

NOTE: The telephone conversations began at 12 noon. President Ford spoke from Aspen Lodge at Camp David, Md. Separate calls were placed to Sec-

retary Kissinger and Prime Minister Rabin in Jerusalem, Israel, and President Sadat in Alexandria, Egypt.

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## Exchange With Reporters on the Egyptian-Israeli Troop Disengagement Agreement. *September 1, 1975*

I UNDERSTAND there is a statement to be released from the White House that points out the strong feelings that I have that this negotiation, culminating in the agreement, is a great success in not only preventing stagnation and stalemate in the Middle East but, more importantly, getting the momentum going for what all of us hope will be a continued effort to expand the permanent peace that all hope for that would conform, of course, to the resolutions in the United Nations, 242 and 338.

I suspect there can be anticipated some criticism, but I respectfully suggest that if we had not achieved this historic settlement, the alternative would have been turmoil, increased tension, obviously greater dangers in the Middle East for a renewal of the kind of tragic conflict that took place in 1973.

By the agreement between Israel and Egypt, the momentum has been continued. And I am convinced that when the Congress and the American people see what has been achieved and objectively look at the alternative of no success, that the Congress and the American people will support our role.

REPORTER. What sort of criticism do you anticipate, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not sure there will be too much criticism, but there will be some legitimate questions asked, such as what is the anticipated role of the limited number of American technicians, civilian experts.

I can assure the Congress and the American people that the number will be in the range of 100 to 150. They will be civilians; they will be technicians; they will have no military role; they will be in the United Nations zone.

So, this contribution by the United States, I think, is a constructive one and not one that has great peril or danger. The United States will, of course, contribute assistance to Israel, and we will continue our aid to Egypt.

This, I believe, is another constructive effort by the United States to this peace agreement, this effort to, in the long run, provide a permanent, fair, and equitable settlement of the many differences in the Middle East.

Q. If Congress should not approve the stationing of technicians there, will the agreement fall apart?

THE PRESIDENT. It would have a very serious impact, because the contribution of the United States is important, and those technicians are a vital ingredient in assuring both Egypt and Israel that the agreement will be upheld. So, a turndown by the Congress would have serious repercussions.

Q. What will be their role, Mr. President? They are not acting as policemen to enforce the agreement, are they?

THE PRESIDENT. They are not. They are going to be stationed in what you can call warning stations, and their role will simply be that of a technician and have no other responsibilities.

Q. Mr. President, has there been any Russian comment on the presence of technicians themselves as distinguished from some criticism of having the early warning teams outside of the U.N. zone?

THE PRESIDENT. I have read of some questions being raised. I have not seen any—and I don't believe there is any—direct objection.

Q. Mr. President, why is it necessary to have Americans to do that? Can't other people be trained to do that, or is it more than just the technical skills they will bring to that that makes it important?

THE PRESIDENT. It is a very highly, very sophisticated technical knowledge, and we have Americans who are trained and who can carry on that responsi-

bility. And I believe that both Egypt and Israel have faith that ours will perform that function in a responsible and fair way.

Q. I suppose the criticism that is going to be leveled against that is that by putting those people there you increase the danger that they could become hostages and the United States could be drawn in, in a direct way, into a new conflict. Is that part of the reason they are there?

THE PRESIDENT. They are not there for the potentiality of being held hostage. They are there to perform a technical responsibility, and I have no fear that they can or will be held hostage under any circumstances.

Q. Mr. President, there has been some talk about the figure of \$3.1 billion in aid to Israel. Is that accurate?

THE PRESIDENT. That is not an accurate figure. Our aid will be significant, but I would not at this point wish to comment on the precise dollar total.

Q. What is the next step in the Middle East? Are you going to try to negotiate a Syrian-Israeli agreement now?

THE PRESIDENT. I can only say that this is a step in the overall settlement. The precise next step has not yet been discussed. I will, of course, talk to Secretary Kissinger on his return, but having achieved this, I can only say our overall objective fits in with the two U.N. resolutions, 242 and 338.

Q. Is there any change in the picture on your dealings with Congress on the oil veto? It is still expected it will lead to a veto?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't want to go beyond what we said—when was it, Friday morning? I am encouraged. I am always optimistic. But until Congress returns and until we hear from the Democratic leaders, I don't believe I should comment further.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The exchange began at approximately 12:30 p.m. at Camp David, Md.

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### Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group. *September 2, 1975*

*Thank you, Mr. Secretary. Mr. Chairman, Mr. McNamara, Mr. Witteveen, Governors, ladies and gentlemen:*

Welcome again to Washington.

At your meeting last year, the major areas of concern were the international

economic disruption resulting from sharp increases in oil prices and worldwide inflation.

Over the past year another problem—stagnation in world economics—has been a primary concern. These problems—increased oil prices, inflation, and recession—are intimately related. Progress is needed in all three simultaneously. Individual governments have responded with policies to halt the decline in economic activity and restore economic health.

I am confident that these steps, combined with the resilience of people and institutions around the world, will succeed. But the forces of recovery do not always move quickly. Too many, today, national economies are in an uncomfortable and unavoidable period of waiting for the results of earlier actions.

But even in the midst of recession, inflation continues at an uncomfortably high rate. While some progress has been made, the simple truth is that reestablishment of a durable and noninflationary period of economic growth in the world will not be easy.

In the United States, recovery is well underway. Each week brings additional evidence of renewed economic health, and I am determined to fight against an acceleration of inflation that could restrain this recovery.

The achievement of a durable economic recovery in America is also in the world interest. A sound, healthy, growing United States economy is the best lasting contribution that this Nation can make to other nations. No other action by the United States will contribute as much to the welfare of the world economy.

A resurgent United States economy will assist expansion of trade and promote prosperity for other countries. The United States will continue to ensure that goods, services, and capital move freely across our frontiers.

We will move forward with negotiations to remove trade barriers and bring about a more efficient use of world resources. Our capital market will be kept open. The production of American goods in short supply will be increased. All of these are firm commitments of the United States.

The United States is acutely aware that while recession and inflation and high oil prices have resulted in many hardships for the industrial nations, the economic consequences have been far more severe for the developing nations. In recent months, my advisers and I have been studying means of alleviating the distress of the developing world. True to the traditions of the past, the United States recognizes its responsibilities to assist others in the most constructive way, and we intend to live up to those responsibilities.

Yesterday in a speech delivered on his behalf at the United Nations, Secretary Kissinger set forth a wide range of initiatives directed to that purpose. Later this morning, Secretary Simon will address several of these proposals in this forum. These new programs, coupled with existing forms of aid with the restoration of a forward momentum in the world economy and with the critically important efforts of the developing nations to help themselves, should form the building blocks for a better life for people all around the world.

You meet as representatives of 127 politically independent nations, but also as representatives of 127 economically interdependent nations. Each nation must be free to choose its own goals, establish its own priorities, and rely on its own institutions and traditions. An international economic system which allows each nation maximum freedom of choice and economic independence is imperative.

Each government must make its own difficult choices about its own problems. No country can expect the actions of others to resolve its problems, and no country should follow economic policies designed to solve its economic problems at the expense of others.

Actions by any of us affect the ability of others to fulfill individual objectives. We must consult together. We must pull together.

The United States stands ready to work with all nations to strengthen international mechanisms and international practices which will enable each of us to pursue domestic goals in harmony with the welfare of others.

In reaching agreement over the weekend on the technically complex and politically sensitive questions of a major increase in quotas and on phasing gold out of the monetary system, you have already scored a major breakthrough.

I am confident that in the coming months you will complete the comprehensive agreement—including an accord on exchange rates—that you have started so well.

As we face current world economic and social problems, there is a temptation to focus attention on the changes in the division of the existing levels of world resources and production. But we must all recognize that the problems of equity and fairness, whether domestic or international, can best and perhaps only be resolved in a world environment characterized by economic expansion. It is the restoration of such a world that we must all seek together.

If all the nations act in recognition that their own lasting prosperity requires the prosperity of others, we can restore international economic growth. You are here this week to carry on deliberations directed to this end. I welcome you, and I wish you great success.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:39 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Sheraton-Park Hotel at the opening session of the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), International Development Association, and the International Finance Corporation.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to W. Lawrence Hebbard, Secretary of the IMF, Gumsindo Rodriguez, chairman of the annual meetings, Robert S. McNamara, President of the IBRD, and H. Johannes Witteveen, Managing Director of the IMF.

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## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Trademark Registration Treaty. *September 3, 1975*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification, I transmit herewith the Trademark Registration Treaty, signed at Vienna, Austria, on June 12, 1973, together with the Regulations under the Trademark Registration Treaty. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Trademark Registration Treaty will establish an international trademark filing arrangement, through which persons and companies residing in one of the member States can more easily register trademarks (including service marks, and collective and certification marks) and maintain these property rights in all of the member States.

Separate actions in approximately 150 jurisdictions (i.e. States, possessions, territories, etc.) are now required of United States companies in order to extend the protection of a trademark throughout the world. The complexity and high cost of establishing and protecting trademarks in international markets through the diverse national laws and procedures is a serious problem for international business concerns.

This Treaty would alleviate these problems by establishing a uniform international registration procedure through which national trademark registration effects in the member countries may be secured, maintained and renewed on a central international register of marks. With a few exceptions, the effects of international registration are subject to the substantive legal requirements of the participating States.

One of the exceptions is that for the first three years after the filing date of the application for registration, no member State may refuse trademark protection on grounds that the mark has not been used during that period. Because of this provision, and others of lesser importance, it is necessary, in order to implement the Treaty, that our national trademark law ("Trademark Act of 1946, As

Amended”) be further amended. Opinion among interested persons and associations is divided as to the desirability of making the required amendments. So that this important legislative question may be considered in connection with the question of ratification, proposed implementing legislation will be forwarded to the Congress in the near future. Since the Treaty is not self-executing, the instrument of ratification will not be deposited until the necessary implementing legislation has been enacted.

It is important that a Treaty such as this one have the broadest possible membership. Since this Treaty was initiated by the United States, the interest of many countries is contingent on positive United States action. I recommend, therefore, that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty submitted herewith and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
September 3, 1975.

NOTE: The treaty and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive H (94th Cong., 1st Sess.).

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**Message to the Congress Transmitting Report on United States  
Actions To Strengthen International Safeguards for Nuclear  
Materials. September 3, 1975**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

As required by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974, I am submitting the following report concerning actions to be taken by the United States to strengthen international procedures of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to prevent the unauthorized dissemination or use of nuclear materials.

The Act requires that a reasonable amount of the funds authorized for the IAEA as technical assistance should be used to improve such safeguards. The \$200,000 program outlined in this report in conjunction with other U.S. programs, will support the task of assessing, influencing and strengthening these preventive procedures.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
September 3, 1975.

NOTE: The seven-page report is entitled “Report by the President to the Congress on US Actions To Strengthen IAEA Safeguards Procedures.”

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**Message on the Observance of the Jewish High Holy Days.*****September 3, 1975***

MRS. FORD and I send warmest greetings to our fellow Americans of the Jewish Faith as you observe the High Holy Days.

This year adds a special dimension to the meaning of your observance. These solemn days are marked by a traditional exhortation to prayer and self-examination. They mirror in a unique way the general mood in our country as we approach the celebration of our National Bicentennial.

On the eve of the two hundredth year of our independence as a nation, we are joined as Americans in a spirit of reflection, renewal and reaffirmation. This same spirit has united the Jewish people for centuries in the observance of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

Each of you can take deep pride in the profound and positive influence of the Judaic heritage on our national life. The principles that guide you in your religious worship have also inspired countless and enduring contributions of the Jewish people to humanity and social justice. Your values are a great component of our quest for the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. The inspired leadership and special sensitivity of Judaism in areas of humanitarian concern fill many brilliant chapters of America's history.

Mrs. Ford and I extend our sincere best wishes for the Jewish New Year. May it witness world progress toward fulfillment of the prophets' vision of peace and prosperity for all mankind.

GERALD R. FORD

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**Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposal for United States Participation in an Early Warning System in the Sinai Peninsula.*****September 3, 1975***

[Dated September 2, 1975. Released September 3, 1975]

I AM enclosing for the immediate information of the Congress, the text of a proposal to be signed by the President of Egypt regarding the terms under which American civilian personnel could play a role in connection with an early



warning system in the buffer zone between the Egyptian and Israeli forces in the Sinai.

A similar proposal will be signed by the Prime Minister of Israel. The text of that document is also enclosed. I intend to request formally that Congress approve this document. I would appreciate your views on the form which this approval should take. As soon as the official texts of the other documents related to the Egypt-Israel agreement initialed on September 1st have been signed by the parties in Geneva, I will be making a formal transmission of the texts of the agreement and related documents for the information of the Congress.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, President of the Senate.

The texts of the proposals approved by the Egyptian and Israeli Governments are printed in *Treaties and Other International Acts Series* (TIAS 8155 and 8156, respectively).

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## Remarks on Secretary of State Kissinger's Return From the Middle East. *September 3, 1975*

*Mr. Secretary and Nancy and the party that have spent so many hours and days in the Middle East:*

Let me say with great emphasis that I am delighted to welcome you, Mr. Secretary, back from this very important mission of peace in the Middle East.

The success of that extraordinary mission is of tremendous importance, not only to the parties immediately involved but, in my judgment, all the world. The interim agreement that Secretary Kissinger negotiated with great skill and with enormous diligence provides an important contribution to our continuing efforts toward an overall settlement in the Middle East. For that, all of us have great reason to be most grateful.

As far as both sides were concerned, war was an unacceptable alternative in the Middle East. Both sides felt that the risks of peace in the long run were more acceptable than the dangers of war. The agreement initialed this past week provides time that will be needed to work—and we intend to work very, very hard—toward concluding a lasting peace agreement in the Middle East.

America can be very proud of its role as peacemaker in these negotiations, a role which demanded the respect and the trust on each side, a role which demonstrated again America's credibility. We can be confident that the civilian

American technicians who will help monitor the agreement will be making a similar contribution to peace. I trust that the Congress will agree that this very small contingent is an altogether proper contribution for the United States to make a stabilizing and secure situation in the Sinai.

Tonight, however, our thoughts are primarily centered on welcoming Secretary Kissinger back home. And welcome you are, Henry. Henry has carried the flag of peace through weeks and weeks of very difficult negotiations. His achievements on this occasion, as in the past, have been remarkable.

I am very delighted, Henry, to welcome you back with this successful negotiation. I know from personal experience how long and hard you have worked, how difficult the task and the problem has been, and I can say from a very personal point of view that I am most appreciative and deeply grateful. And I think my words are the words of millions and millions and millions of Americans. We thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 p.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md. Secretary Kissinger's response to the President's remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 939).

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## Remarks on Arrival at Seattle, Washington.

*September 4, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, Governor Dan Evans. Senator Magnuson, Senator Stevens, Congressman Joel Pritchard, Mayor Uhlman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is really wonderful to be in Seattle, and I do thank you for the beautiful salmon. We are now the beneficiaries in my State of Michigan, not of salmon quite as large as that, but salmon. We started developing a few years ago by transplanting some salmon from this area of the world, and we now have tremendous supplies in Lake Michigan of Coho salmon. And we are proud of it. They don't match that salmon in size, but they do remind us of the west coast and the wonderful opportunities that all of you have who live here.

May I also thank you, Governor, for the beautiful fruit and the Bicentennial medal.

As I flew in from Washington, I couldn't help but be impressed with the superb port facilities that you all have here. And that reminded me of the great significance that foreign trade has, not only for you here in Seattle but the impact that it has in a beneficial way for all of the United States.

Naturally, I thought of Seattle when I flew out in Air Force One. I suspect that was made—wherever the plant is—right here. [*Laughter*] It is a great aircraft. And of course, Seattle, with the Boeing Company, contributes very significantly not only to the aerospace industry as a whole but, very importantly, to our national security. And I compliment the company and particularly its employees for this contribution to our domestic as well as military security.

But also as we flew, as we arrived in the Seattle area, we traveled over some great, great country, the Northwest. I saw the wonderful fields, the grain growing. And it couldn't help but have an impact on me coming from my part of the country and, particularly, now from Washington, D.C., to appreciate how vast our Nation is and how diverse it is, not only in agricultural land but people, natural resources.

When you add it all up, we in America have something that few, if any, other countries in the world have. We have unbelievable assets that we have inherited from others. It is our responsibility—and I know we will assume it—to utilize these resources, whether it is land, natural resources, a harbor, a technical scientific capability. But we will use the resources of people to make this an even better country in which to live.

I know all of us in the Congress, in the executive branch, and all Americans, some 214 million, want America to keep moving ahead for the benefit of everybody.

I thank you, Governor Evans, and all of you from the State of Washington for your very warm welcome. I know I will have a real good time here.

Thank you again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:59 a.m. at Boeing Field.

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### Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Luncheon in Seattle. *September 4, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, Governor Dan Evans. Senator Bob Packwood, Congressman Joel Pritchard, Chairman Ross Davis, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is wonderful to be here. I can't express sufficiently my deep appreciation to Governor Evans. I do want to congratulate all of you for being here in participation in a wonderful political activity.

Let me say that this kind of a meeting inspires me, as I am sure it does your

great Governor—and I will add parenthetically I find a similar enthusiasm and an equal participation all over the country.

The American people are eager and anxious for what we have to develop: a party with a program, with candidates, with enthusiasm. And I thank you for being here on this occasion.

Now you know, I had heard before arrival that you had had some rather disagreeable weather for the last 3 weeks. [*Laughter*] Of course, it is not typical of Seattle, so I had a story I was going to tell that took somewhat advantage of this unique break in the weather that you have had for the past month or so.

But we brought from Washington some good weather, so I am just going to let the story go and say how nice it is to be here on a sunny day in Seattle.

Governor Evans indicated to you how long our friendship has existed, going back to the dark and dismal days in 1965 when we took a shellacking—or a good many did—and our party certainly did on a national basis.

Through the efforts of people like Dan Evans and many others, we started a slow rebuilding process. It was the contribution of a young Governor from the great State of Washington that was a significant input into the deliberations of what we call the Republican Coordinating Committee. It had Members of Congress, it had former candidates, or Republican Presidents, it had a number of Governors, it had State legislators.

But I could tell then, as his record has proven, that you had a man in your highest State office who could do the job, could make your State grow and prosper, and I thank Dan Evans for that friendship and I thank all of you for keeping him in that office—11 years now, I understand.

I think it is wonderful, and I thank Dan for his help and assistance during this past year, which has been a very trying one. You are lucky. Keep him. You have got a real fine person in your Governor. I don't want anything to be misinterpreted—we have had our eye on Dan, also. [*Laughter*]

Let me just add another comment about your only Republican Member of the Congress of the United States.

Joel Pritchard came, and I had the privilege of knowing him for 1 year before I became Vice President. But in the span of some 25 years, while I was a Member of the House of Representatives, I saw a great many Members come and go. The ones that stayed you could almost detect had a competence and a quality that would permit them to serve for an extended period of time. Others, you had the reaction almost instantaneously that he or she wouldn't make it.

In Joel Pritchard, you have the kind of a Congressman who immediately caught the eye of the people who have some capability of judging, people who

have seen Members of the House come and go like Greyhound buses, and Joel has done a fine job, and you have a good investment in him. I hope and trust that Joel will continue his fine service representing this State.

I am not going to say anything about Bob Packwood, because we are going to Oregon later this afternoon, and I don't think you have got many votes up here. [*Laughter*] But anyhow, I was in Maine and Rhode Island this past weekend and one thing I noticed was that in both cases they had young, vigorous, active, Republican State chairmen. And it is going to make a difference in those two States, and those are tough States for us.

Let me congratulate Ross Davis, who has an equal enthusiasm and drive. I know that Ross will work wonders for your party, and I congratulate you on his leadership.

From the many times that I have been privileged to visit the State of Washington, I know that Washingtonians as a whole are some of the most independent-minded people in our great country. I appreciate that, and I am grateful that we have this solid group of independent thinkers and workers and doers.

But I also believe that the Republican Party has a lot to say and a lot to give to the independent-minded voter in America today. So I suggest that we reach out and welcome in the independent-minded voter in Washington and elsewhere. It should be a great marriage, but we ought to make the initial overture and gesture. I believe that they will respond.

It seems to me that the independent voter is deeply concerned more with the future of his country than with the fortunes of one political party or another. That independent thinker is concerned with economic progress, energy independence, national defense, the pursuit of justice, the protection of society in America.

He wants a good education, good housing, good health care, and good food for his family—and at prices that he can afford.

These are very basic concerns that affect all of our lives regardless of our political persuasion. These are the elements that help determine the quality of our private lives, far more determining the issues for political debate.

Improving the quality of life in America is the great challenge that we face as we enter our third century of independence just 10 months from today.

In our first 100 years, our most urgent goal was to establish firmly and very securely a system of government and an order of society that would safeguard our liberties and allow progress to flourish in our new land. Our freedoms and

our form of government were the marvels for the world and the promise of America that gave hope to millions of oppressed people all around the world.

America's second century was a century of independence devoted to increasing our material wealth, making the most of the industrial revolution, expanding westward to Washington and California and Oregon. Our civilization advanced during this period at an incredible pace with a host of inventions and discoveries that made our lives more pleasurable and our work much more profitable. America's past, like its present, is a mixture of successes and setbacks, of good and bad.

The future in this sense will be no different. And yet the future must be different.

We must reclaim our independence from those huge institutions of society which have come so close to snuffing out the fire of personal initiative and individual achievement. We must rededicate ourselves to those very great principles of freedom and equality which first gave life and purpose to this Nation. We must demonstrate that far from being in a state of decline, America and its people are prepared for adventures and achievements far excelling any we have seen in the past. We must agree that a successful blend of personal initiative, private enterprise, and public service will come closer to solving our problems in realizing our potential than will total reliance on massive, musclebound bureaucracy of government.

Too many Americans have relied too much for too long on the Government in Washington to meet their demands, grant their wishes, and solve their problems. I think it is time we look elsewhere, more to Washington State, for example, and less to Washington, D.C.

We should look in the offices and shops, the factories, the firms, the laboratories, the homes, the schools, and the churches of America. There is where the real strength and the real promise and the potential of America reside. There is where to find the creative genius, the knack for problemsolving, the pioneering spirit, and the Yankee ingenuity for which this country is so well known on a global basis.

I am convinced that if we shoulder more of life's responsibilities ourselves and take a more personal stake in the life and success of this Nation, we can truly make a fresh start in America, even as we celebrate our 200th anniversary.

In our third century we should seek to enhance the individual freedom of each of our citizens and strive to make America's civilization the wonder of the world. And we should gauge the progress of our civilization not just by our standards of living but by the quality of our lives.

I know that the people in the leadership of the Republican Party like Dan Evans and Bob Packwood and Joel Pritchard and many others—that the Republican Party is prepared to help guide that kind of progress. Perhaps more than at any other time in the history of our Nation, our party's principles and its objectives match the hopes and aspirations of the American people.

Our Republican commitments to fiscal responsibility, to a vigorous free enterprise system, to a strong national defense, to local control over local concerns, and a personal freedom for the individual—these are commitments shared by the vast majority of our fellow Americans and your Washingtonian friends in this great State.

We believe, as Abraham Lincoln said, that “government should only do for the people what they cannot do as well for themselves.”

We believe that the American people have grown weary of government's overblown promises and overbearing controls.

We believe the American people are ready to do great things for themselves and for their country.

We are prepared to govern but not dominate the American people—that is our pledge for the coming campaign and for the years ahead.

We can help to make these great years great ones for America, so much so that we and our children and their children may say with new meaning and with fresh enthusiasm the words of Daniel Webster: “Thank God I am an American.”

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. at the Seattle Center. In his opening remarks, he referred to Ross Davis, Washington State Republican chairman.

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## Remarks at a Republican Party Luncheon in Seattle.

*September 4, 1975*

*Dan, and Bob Packwood, Joel Pritchard, distinguished public officials, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a great delight and great privilege and pleasure to be here again in Seattle. I always enjoy coming back to Washington because of your great, although somewhat moist weather. And if you are in politics, it really is great. It is the only place I know where you can be all wet and still get elected. [*Laughter*] Scoop,<sup>1</sup> if you are listening, I am only kidding. [*Laughter*]

<sup>1</sup> Democratic Senator Henry M. Jackson.

Let me say with all the sincerity and conviction that I have, it is meetings like this and the one I was privileged to attend an hour or so ago, and the one that I attended in Maine last Saturday noon, and the great one I was privileged to participate in in Rhode Island last Saturday night—I find everywhere that the enthusiasm that exists in one State is apparently contagious in another. And the net result is that the views, the people, the attitudes of the Republican Party are expanding. And I think it is good for the country, and let's keep it going.

Of course you in Washington are extremely fortunate to have Dan Evans as your Governor. He sets the tone, he sets the spirit, he is substantive in the manner in which he approaches the problems, he is far more skillful than I in getting a legislature to respond. [*Laughter*] But I just want to thank Dan for his very kind remarks and say to you that we who operate on the national scene look upon Dan as a great Governor, and you are fortunate to have him, and we are lucky to have him in the Republican Party.

Now, we have Senator Bob Packwood here—he is from Oregon, and I am not going to say anything about him now, because I am going down to Oregon tonight. So I will just revise and extend my remarks in the case of Bob at the moment.

But you do have in Joel Pritchard the kind of a person that I could feel—the minute he walked into the House of Representatives, and I had an opportunity to watch and observe—that he was going to stay and represent you. After you have been in the House and, particularly, in the leadership, you can observe and, after a relatively short period of time, you can get a feeling that that person won't be back the next time or this one is just beginning a great, new career.

It was my observation in the time that I served jointly with Joel that he is the kind that will stay. You have got a good investment in him; he will do a good job. I certainly hope that you will make certain that he comes back—and a good many more times than 1976.

I think it is fair to say that no political party can really be strong and effective over a long period of time if they don't have a sound, well-led State organization. And I think from all I have heard and what I am told, particularly from the people that work for me who have been out here, in Ross Davis and in the others in your State organization, Washington is in good hands, and I thank you for making that possible.

It seems to me that there are three very basic issues that we, as a country, not just as a party, have to face: energy, the economy, and foreign policy.

I have some prepared notes here, but if you will permit me, I will extemporize rather than read the script.



Let's talk about energy. You in the great State of Washington, of course, are the beneficiary in one respect because of your great utilization of hydroelectric energy. On the other hand, you are showing some vision in protecting yourself with development of some of the newer sources.

But equally important, you are a very vital part of making certain that the Alaskan pipeline is built on time and that great reservoir of oil that is there will come to the Lower 48 on time. I am not going to quote the statistics—I am sure that many of you are far more knowledgeable than I—but we in the Lower 48 are dependent on the contribution that all of you are making here in the State of Washington in this regard.

The United States, on the broader sense, has a tremendous energy problem. On the other hand, we could have an energy crisis overnight. Every day that passes, the country as a whole is becoming more and more dependent on foreign oil sources.

Our domestic production of oil, whether it is old U.S. oil or new U.S. oil, is going down. Seventy-three was less than 1972; '74 was less than '73; and 1975 is less than last year. It is going down slowly but seriously, and as we have less and less American production, we buy more from overseas.

Until we get alternative sources or until we find means of sufficiently conserving energy, our country could be extremely vulnerable tomorrow on foreign sources of oil.

So, we have tried to promote in the Congress, I think, a comprehensive energy program. It was a massive job to put it together, and it is a big proposal in words and dollars—as a matter of fact, it is about 200 pages if we put all the bills together. We sent it up to the Congress and said, "Here is a plan. We can have energy independence in the next decade if Congress will pass this."

There were many hues and cries and critics. I said, "Well, if you don't want to buy this, come up with your own plan." I am being not literal, but figurative: The first week we had 535 plans in the House and the Senate. [*Laughter*]

We have winnowed it down now—Bob, how many?—about five or six. But not one of those has been enacted into law, mine or any one that they are proposing.

We are trying to negotiate in a responsible and reasonable way to achieve a plan that is going to move. I met this morning with the Democratic and Republican leadership before I came west. We are getting some cooperation from some of the Democratic leaders. I hope we can get more. I think we can get significant support from our Republicans, but if we don't, this country is making

a serious mistake that could affect our future, because at any day there could be a turn-off of a substantial part of our energy capability.

America can't look down the road with optimism for success if our security is dependent on somebody else. So, if you have influence—and I know you do—try to get some action in the Congress on this important issue.

Let me turn quickly, if I might, to the situation in the economy. I start out by saying unemployment is too high, inflation is too bad. But let me be quite candid with you.

A year ago, the rate of inflation was roughly 12 percent, maybe 12 to 13, the highest inflation in this country for this century at least. Some corrective actions were taken. We tried to put the lid on fiscal policy, and there were some restrictions as far as monetary policy.

The net result is we made slow but steady progress in achieving some success in reducing the rate of inflation. We are down now somewhere between 6 and 7 percent. That is not good enough, but if we do what we have been doing, I think we can continue progress in this critical area.

I said at the outset in discussing this subject that unemployment is too high. The Governor was talking to me, and I think it is 9 to 10 percent in your State. But because of the initiative of the Governor and others in your State, you have taken it down from what it was—what, 16 percent, roughly?—several years ago.

I commend you and the policies that you followed during that span of time were right. It is not easy, as the Governor and others know, to tackle this problem, and it is no easier on a national basis than it is on a State basis.

But I am convinced, as we look at the statistics and look at the future—and let me quote one or two that are important—even though unemployment, the rate of unemployment has been between 8.5 and 9 percent for the last 2 or 3 months, since March of this year we have had an increase in the number of people employed of 1,200,000. In other words, the people are being put on the payroll in increasing numbers.

The unemployment rate is affected by the total number who are also in the labor markets and the number that are unemployed. But as long as we keep steady progress, I am convinced that we can come out of a recession, the worst we have had since World War II, not with a quick fix that will only lead us to a more serious problem in a year or two, but we can come out of it with a sound and secure position as far as inflation is concerned and a healthy, growing economy that will provide jobs for people.

That is what we want, and we have to provide around a million and a half

new jobs every year for young people coming into the labor market. Now, I am an optimist, despite the problems that we face in this area.

Now, let me talk for a moment, if I might, about foreign policy. For the last 2 weeks or thereabouts, Secretary Kissinger has been in the Middle East. He arrived back last night. I talked to him for an hour or so upon his return, and I had a meeting with the Democratic and Republican leadership at the White House at 7:45 this morning, where we had a report from him firsthand.

Let me summarize very quickly how I see the situation, because this agreement is a key to building a firmer and broader program for peace in the Middle East.

I can put it this way: If we had not had this agreement, the probability of another war, the fifth in 20-some years, would have been very, very high. You know what happened in the '67 war and the '73 war, particularly the latter, with the oil embargo and the economic dislocations that resulted. If we had not been able to help get Israel and Egypt together—and Secretary Kissinger played a very key role—the prospects for war in that area would have been exceedingly high in a relatively short period of time.

But we got the agreement, and the net result is the path of peace has been broadened and made stronger. And we will work with others to keep the momentum going; we have eliminated stagnation and stalemate, and the momentum for peace on a broader basis, I think, can be kept going and can materialize. I am not going to be foolish enough to pick a date, but I am firmly of the conviction that the attitude, the atmosphere is such that this momentum will keep going.

So, I am pleased to report to you that after the meeting with the leadership this morning, some 20 Members of the House and Senate, both sides of the political aisle, there was near unanimity that the concurrent resolution that will be submitted to the House and Senate will be approved.

The one issue that I am sure bothers you—it was the one issue that was raised primarily in the meeting with the Congressional leaders this morning—why is the United States agreeing to send up to 200—up to but not more than, and those are the precise words in the agreement—civilians, technicians, to be a partner in the manning of these early warning stations?

Let me tell you the history of it. President Sadat, when I met him in Austria in early June, suggested it. Prime Minister Rabin several weeks later independently suggested it. So, we have in this case both Israel and Egypt wanting us to do it.

Secondly, they are highly skilled technicians. They are nonmilitary, and they will operate in the U.N. zone with roughly 7 to 8,000 U.N. military personnel.

Now they are, under these circumstances, a contribution to peace, and they are not vulnerable as our early technicians were, or military personnel were when we sent them to Vietnam. There was a war going on. The North Vietnamese didn't want our military personnel in there. This is a totally different situation. Both sides in a period of peace want American civilians to be there surrounded by U.N. peacekeeping forces, and this is added insurance for the maintenance of peace in that important area of the world.

Let me quickly turn to another subject. We have an opportunity later this year, possibly, to put a firm cap on strategic arms. It was my privilege last November and December to meet in Vladivostok with Secretary Brezhnev, and we made a broad agreement to put a cap on strategic arms—they having to cut back and we having to level off. Now, we anticipate further negotiations sometime in the next several months—hopefully, the possibility for an agreement.

I think the prospects are encouraging, and if we are successful, it will be possible for us to have a more economical military budget and still have American security and still be second to none.

On the other hand, if we don't get a strategic arms agreement, SALT II, there will be no choice on my part except to ask the Congress for another \$2 billion in funds for additional strategic arms; because if there is no cap agreed to between the Soviet Union and the United States, and they go off—as they have a capability of doing, of increasing their ballistic missiles, increasing their high-performance manned aircraft, and increasing their submarine construction and their other strategic arms—if they go off as they have a capability, the United States can't sit idly by.

But the choice is a better one—to put a cap on that can be monitored and where you have an opportunity to control it.

The United States, I can assure you, is going to be strong domestically in energy and our economy. The United States is going to be strong internationally. We will be a leader for peace in the future as we have in the past. But to do that, we must be strong at home and capable in our national security program.

Your great State makes a contribution in so many ways, not only in the leadership of your Governor but in the products that you produce, whether on the farm or in the factory.

I thank you for your help. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:14 p.m. in the Georgian Room at the Olympic Hotel.

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Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the  
White House Conference on Domestic and Economic  
Affairs in Seattle. *September 4, 1975*

*Dan, members of the Cabinet, members of the executive branch of the Government, all of you from the States in the Northwest:*

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have an opportunity of participating in this White House Conference. I thank your great Governor for his warm welcome on this and other occasions here today. And I can only reiterate that it has been always a great honor for me to work with him on governmental, political, substantive matters, and I think you are very fortunate in this State to have Dan Evans as your Governor.

Obviously, I am very pleased to be in the Pacific Northwest and particularly in the great city of Seattle in the State of Washington. I know you have had a full day of White House Conference, so I will try to keep my remarks brief. I might say parenthetically, I know you have interrogated people from the executive branch, from the Cabinet. I hope that you have used all your venom—*[laughter]*—if you had any, on them and will be kind and considerate to me.

THE NATION'S GOALS

[1.] As you know, many of you, I am sure, I have been a part of the Federal Government for 26 years, and I am very concerned about the ever-widening communications gap between Washington on our east coast and our fellow Americans in all other parts of the United States. Too many Americans have difficulty making their views and their wishes known to the people with whom they must communicate in Washington. This difficulty was probably best summed up in a letter, or an envelope that I received quite recently. It was plaintively addressed as follows: To President Gerald R. Ford, or Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, or Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, or just plain anybody who will listen. *[Laughter]*

As you have seen here today, I, along with other key members of the Cabinet and the staff, have come to listen and to learn. I hope we have kept the speeches to a minimum and, hopefully, our responses to a maximum.

I do look forward to your questions, your concerns, your ideas about the future of our country, about the directions that you believe we should take. But first, let

me very briefly touch on some of the basic directions I think our Nation can and should take in the months and years ahead. Obviously, the economy is one of our principal concerns; energy is another.

Over the years, the American free enterprise economy has created a better life for more people than any other system of government in the history of the world. Yet in the past year we have seen it pass through some very difficult times. Recession on the one hand, inflation on the other have strained the economic security of millions and millions of Americans. Some of the causes of our economic difficulties were beyond our control. International developments prompted the skyrocketing oil prices. Others were the result of Government activity, such as inflationary spending at the Federal level. But on the basis of the latest figures, the darkest days of the recession are behind us. The American economy is starting a sustained recovery that we all desire.

But let's be frank, we have a long way to go. Unemployment is far, far too high and must be brought down. Our factories must start producing at maximum capacity again. And while we must start to fight the recession, we must also fight just as hard against rising inflation, a problem that is still with us.

Another problem is energy dependence. No one knows better than the people of the Pacific Northwest the importance of energy in the economy. At the same time, no part of the Nation is more interested in environmental quality. You are moving to combine the two, to balance them in the interest of both the economy and the ecology. The Alaska pipeline will ultimately make Seattle a lifeline of energy for this part of the country. At the same time recognizing the need for alternative sources of energy, you are building nuclear energy plants.

In short, you here in Seattle and the State of Washington are making your own decisions. You are taking action to ensure your future. We must do precisely the same thing at the Federal level.

You have already heard from some of the key people, some of the real experts in the Administration on energy, inflation, unemployment, new incentives, the working people, and employers. I hope we can go into the issues in greater depth and into any other areas you wish to cover. So, let's start the questions.

## QUESTIONS

### FEDERAL SPENDING

[2.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Ralph Davis, president of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce. My question relates to the problem of inflation. You mentioned just now—and there is a consensus within the business community—

that excessive Government spending over the years has had a very serious impact on this problem of inflation. Could you mention for us the principal points of the programs and the plans that your Administration may have to try to bring Federal spending more within the line of revenues?

THE PRESIDENT. I will be very glad to, Mr. Davis.

In the budget figures that were submitted to me in November, shortly after I was sworn in as President, I was reviewing the budget to be submitted to the Congress in January for the fiscal year that begins July 1.

When the figures first came to me, they showed a deficit substantially higher than the one I finally submitted. It was an astronomical figure, somewhere in the magnitude of 60 or 70—or higher—billions of dollars.

In order to get at the basic problem that had accumulated over the years, I instructed that in the preparation of the budget, for example, we should put certain caps on spending programs that would have risen to coincide with the cost-of-living increases.

I suggested a 5-percent cap. This would have saved, as I recollect, \$3 or 4 billion. It wouldn't have reduced any payments or benefits. It simply would have put a cap on the spending for a 1-year period.

Unfortunately, the Congress rejected all of those recommendations.

We have also instituted what I call a no new program approach, which meant that any new program other than those affecting national security or energy would not be approved by me. I thought we should have a 1-year moratorium on new spending programs. So far, as best I can recollect, we have been able to preclude any new programs being initiated by the Congress, and we in the White House did not propose any.

These are the kind of efforts that we have made, but despite that—and I want to be very frank with you—the deficit, when we added up all the income that could be anticipated and the expenditures that were frozen into the Federal statutes, we ended up with a deficit of \$60 billion—originally 52, but the added costs of the recession made the difference between 52 and 60.

Now, our biggest problem is trying to convince the Congress to go along with the caps, to go along with our no new spending programs, and to show initiative in other areas.

But if we don't for this fiscal year, you will have more than \$60 billion deficit, and you will have built into the next budget figures that will probably mean as big a deficit for the following fiscal year.

That is one of our basic causes of inflation; and it has been in the past, it is now, and it will be in the future.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

[3.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Jim Williams. As executive director of the Seattle Opportunities Industrialization Center, my concern is with the position of the national Administration regarding full employment and training opportunities.

In the transmittal message accompanying your fiscal year 1976 budget recommendation, it indicated that out of the total outlay of some \$349 billion, there will be a deficit of some \$60 billion or 52 or more. If the economy were to be as fully employed in 1976 as it was in 1974, the deficit will be totally eliminated, because there will be an additional \$40 billion in tax receipts and \$12.7 billion or less being paid out in unemployment compensation.

My specific question is, Mr. President, what exactly is the national Administration doing to reduce unemployment, at least to the levels of pre-1974?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the first place, the figures you cite are accurate. If we had had a healthy economy, we would have paid out far less in unemployment compensation, public service employment and others, and we would have had higher revenues. The net result would have been roughly a balance.

Now, unfortunately, when the economic problems started going, with inflation at 12 to 14 percent in 1974, followed by precipitous increases in unemployment, you just can't turn a spigot and stop inflation and all of a sudden get the private sector to do something about increasing employment or reducing of layoffs.

I suppose, or at least you could try in a dictatorship, a different kind of government, but it doesn't happen that way in our kind of free society.

Now, what we have tried to do is to restore public confidence against inflation by cutting back inflation—I think we have made significant headway—at the same time, to ameliorate the unemployment of those who, through no cause of their own, but cutbacks in job opportunities, to cover them during this span of time.

We are making headway, but it is a slower process than it might look like on paper, and I have yet to find an economist or an expert in the field of finance or otherwise who could give me a pat answer to the precise question that you ask.

It sounds good, but I don't know of anybody who said the President or the Congress could turn a wheel or turn a spigot and achieve full employment without inflation after we were in the circumstances of 12- to 14-percent inflation and unemployment of the magnitude that we have.



The recovery from those very serious recessionary problems is a slow process. In the meantime, we are trying to, in a humane way, help those that are unemployed and to prevent the sad losses of inflation of those who are working as well as unemployed.

#### FEDERAL ELECTION LAW

[4.] Q. Mr. President, my name is John Henry, I am president of the Municipal League. You are aware, I am sure, of the public opinion polls which show a steadily ebbing degree of confidence in government and public officials. It is partly because of this that the Municipal League in this State took a major part in enacting one of the most comprehensive public disclosure laws of any State in the United States. Bearing this in mind, we are concerned about the Federal election law passed in 1974, which is presently being challenged in the courts, and would appreciate hearing your comments on that act as to whether it should be strengthened. Should it be more encompassing than it is at the present?

THE PRESIDENT. I signed the Congressional action putting on the statute books the campaign election law of 1974. I had some reservations about it. We are in the process now of trying to get the Federal Election Commission to give some interpretations under the law. The Federal Election Commission is finding some imprecise language, some ambiguities. Their decisions, I am sure, in some instances will be challenged. I am not predicting which ones, because they are just getting started.

I don't think we should undertake any significant changes in it until we find out how it works in the '76 election that it will apply both to the Presidency and Congressional races. I suspect after we have gone through one national election and after we find out how it works, there will be some recommendations from a wide variety of sources, because any piece of legislation as complicated as that, as innovative and new as that, is bound to have some imperfections. But to prejudge it before it has actually been used, I think, is unwise. I would wait until after November of '76 when we have had practical experience and then take a look and see what ought to be done.

#### COASTAL FISHING LIMIT

[5.] Q. Virginia Foust, president of the Washington State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. As part of our legislative platform passed in our 1975 national convention, we gave full support to the extension of the United States coastal limit to 200 miles wherever geographically feasible. We were taunted by the press that this was not a concern for a woman's group.

But from Maine through the gulf coast, up the West, through Alaska, we felt as citizens it was our concern. Do you foresee that this 200-mile limit could in the near future be given some consideration?

THE PRESIDENT. I was asked somewhat the same question up in Maine last Saturday, so I will tell you what I said then. The answer here will be precisely the same as the one I gave there.

I believe in the 200-mile concept. The Law of the Sea Conference, which is an international group, has been working on a comprehensive international treaty or agreement aimed at solving not only the 200-mile limit but a number of other very intricate and complicated points. They adjourned sometime last fall—early this spring, I am sorry—and are reconvening in either January or February. Our Government's position in this negotiation on a global basis is for a 200-mile limit.

Now, in the meantime the Congress—in both the House and the Senate, we have had unilateral actions taken by, or proposed, so that the United States would establish a 200-mile economic zone regardless of what the Law of the Sea Conference proposes.

It is my hope that, in light of my endorsement of the 200-mile concept, that the Congress will wait and see if we can't get an international agreement obviating the need and the necessity for U.S. unilateral action.

I would hope that the Law of the Sea Conference would be concluded sometime in 1976. We are going to fight for the 200-mile concept. I think we can get that concept incorporated in the Law of the Sea Conference.

So, therefore, I urge that the Congress slow down a bit until we have been successful—and I think we will be—in the Law of the Sea Conference.

#### COAL

[6.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Leo Bodine. I am president of the Idaho Association of Commerce and Industry. My question roots to a problem that is developing within our State, the State of Idaho, as indeed it is elsewhere about these United States, that of a budding energy shortage. The question also roots to an awareness of a generally conceded fact that there is an awful lot of coal abundantly available to us as an alternate fuel. So I ask, what do you see as necessary to substantially increase the use and reliance upon coal to provide energy and what can be anticipated in the way of a timetable for the accomplishment of that objective, assuming a greatly increased use of coal can be conceded to be an objective?

THE PRESIDENT. In a normal year for the last several years—and I say “normal”

because we had a strike last fall—but in a normal year we have been using roughly 600 million tons of coal a year. Our energy program over the next 10 years aims at increasing coal utilization from 600 million tons a year to 1,200 million tons.

Now, in order to do that, we have to take some affirmative actions to get conversion from oil-burning utilities to coal-burning utilities. The reason for that is that we have about a 300-year, as I recollect, supply of coal in the United States, and we are rapidly running out of domestic crude oil production in the United States.

It is going down every year. So, we want to get conversion. We want to, through research and development, develop new ways to use coal more efficiently, more economically, more environmentally acceptable, and we are spending, as I recollect, about \$100 million in research and development on better utilization of coal.

I think it is in our national interest. It helps us become less vulnerable to foreign oil sources. It is a domestic product that, if we mine it here, the money stays here, but if we don't mine it here and buy more foreign oil, our money and jobs—they go overseas. We have too much of that now with the kind of prices we are paying for overseas oil and the dependence we are getting.

So, I can simply assure you through conversion, through research, through a number of other efforts, we are going to become more and more dependent on American coal and less dependent on foreign oil sources.

#### AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Bob Thompson, publisher of the *Post-Intelligencer* here. This is sort of the second half of a question that was asked earlier. Public opinion polls tell us that there is a disenchantment of citizens, if you will, about public institutions and public officials. I would think as President of the United States you would be disturbed by that. I guess the question is, philosophically, how can we restore the confidence of the people in their government?

THE PRESIDENT. I have watched those polls. I am disturbed by what I see. It is not only a lack of confidence in the Federal Government, but I think it is broader than that. If that attitude prevails, I think it erodes the capability of government to do its job, public officials to effectively achieve what they have to do.

It is my opinion that, at the Federal level—and I would not want to comment beyond that, because I have never served in local office—it seems to me that whether you are in the White House or in Congress, the person holding office

has to come out and solicit views and listen to the views of people, so that the public doesn't get the impression decisions are made in a smoke-filled room or behind the locked door.

The people want to participate, and I think by conferences such as this and other means, the public will feel they are a part of something. Once they feel they are a part of something, in my judgment, confidence will be restored.

#### THE MARITIME INDUSTRY

[8.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Harvey Mesford, and I represent the Seafarers International Union. In 1970, the maritime industry was given a tremendous shot in the arm through the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1970. Now, 5 years later, this industry is in dire need of a booster shot in some form of cargo preference, preferably in the dry bulk import and export field. My question is, is there any hope for legislation being passed and signed in this area?

THE PRESIDENT. I am very familiar with the issue, and I have talked with a good many people, both in labor and management, who have been involved in this legislative effort. And the basic problem—which is what we have to solve—our merchant marine is being unfairly attacked on a competitive basis by highly subsidized foreign ships, and to some extent, other countries are using the cargo preference approach.

I believe there is a better answer than specific cargo preference legislation, although if it were properly drafted, I said I would sign such a bill.

But let me just take a specific case. In 1972, when the first shipment of grain was sent to the Soviet Union, an agreement was reached so that one-third of that purchase would go in Soviet vessels, one-third in United States bottoms, and the other third in, I guess, any bottom.

Unfortunately, in the 3 years, the United States 1 year got up to its third, in the other 2 years we were between 20 and 24 percent. That is inexcusable.

Now, one of the problems is that rates paid by the Soviet Union for the shipment have not been adequate, and American shipowners have put the ships in lay-up. We are in the process now of trying to negotiate with the Soviet Union a higher freight rate per ton so that those American ships—about 34 or 35 of them—will be taken out of lay-up and will be used in the shipment of any grain, whatever the amount is. This, in effect, will provide the dry cargo that you are talking about, or at least I think you are referring to.

Now, in addition, we are trying to broaden the utilization of any such ships that are in that category, so they don't come back deadheading, so to speak, but

they come back with another cargo, and this is a possibility. It seems to me that that is a better way than an arbitrary cargo preference approach.

We are working on it. We hope to get the freight rate up, and if we get it up, those 34 ships will come out and they will be a part of our active fleet.

If we can negotiate and achieve proper arrangement, we might be able to get more out without having a preference per se. I can assure you, I have talked to Paul Hall and Phil Carlip and Teddy Gleason,<sup>1</sup> and all of them, and I can just assure you, as I told them, we are going to get those ships in active duty, period.

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. He is in charge. Talk to him. [*Laughter*]

#### THE NATION'S ECONOMY

[9.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Mike Galvin. I am the president of the Washington Environmental Council. Amongst professional economists, businessmen, and just plain citizens like myself, there is a debate as to how we as a country and economic system shall grow. Will we grow as we have in the past—that is one question—or can we afford to have our economic system expand at the same rate as it has in the past?

Part of this debate reflects the concern that historical growth patterns cannot, in fact, be maintained in view of diminishing net energy and raw materials and increased pollution related to the doubling of the gross national product every two decades. In addition, a critical question associated with this growth debate is how to keep people employed, however we choose to grow.

I would like to ask you, is it the Administration's position that our economic system must expand at past growth rates in order to maintain employment levels, or can we channel some of our great resources and abilities to different sectors of the economy in order to achieve greater energy efficiency, greater employment levels, and more sensible use and preservation of our natural resources and environment?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me emphatically say that I believe this country can and must continue its growth at a high level—and I am not going to define the level here. But if we are to provide about 1,600,000 new jobs every year for the young people entering the labor market, we have to have growth. It is mandatory.

We can't bear these children and then not provide jobs when they become of

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Hall, president, and Phil Carlip, legislative representative, Seafarers International Union of North America; and Thomas Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association.

an employable age. We have to have a society that gives them an opportunity for work, and we are going to.

I can't predict with precision what that growth rate ought to be, whether it is higher or lower than what we have had, but we are going to have a sufficient growth to provide that job opportunity.

Now secondly, I happen to be sufficiently optimistic that if we manage our resources adequately, we can provide those job opportunities and still not despoil our environment, like we have for the last 20 or 50 years.

We have been trying to catch up, to make up for the deficiencies in this area that were our responsibility for the last two or three decades. We have made substantial progress.

I think we are reaching a point now where there can be a balance to recovering our environment, preserving it, and saving it in the future and, at the same time, maintain an economy that has a growth factor to take care of the job requirements of the young people entering our society.

Russ Train is here. I don't know whether it came from his shop or not, but I do know a little bit about the Great Lakes. We were in a serious problem 5 years ago, and through a wide variety of activity forcing municipalities to improve their pollution controls, forcing industry to take corrective action, I saw something over the last several days that the Great Lakes have stopped their degeneration and are now affirmatively being cleaned up.

Believe me, that is an important factor in that area where some 10 or 11 States depend on that fresh water for their livelihood.

#### INTEREST RATES ON SAVINGS

[10.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Kemper Freeman, Sr. I am president of the Bellview Chamber of Commerce, and I am here representing the Puget Sound Chambers of Commerce. The savings institutions are looked to as a primary housing source of financing with all the benefits for better living and the stimulation of the construction industry and our whole economy as out-growths. The question: Will the Federal Government require private savings institutions to operate under Federal price ceilings on savings interest rates and at the same time permit Federal Government agencies to out-compete for savings dollars by paying higher than the legal limits for interest, and thus causing the savings to be withdrawn from the home financing?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the best evidence that this Administration doesn't believe in that is the fact that over the last 8 months the in-flow, the net in-flow in savings and loans has been the biggest in the history of the United States.

So, that situation proves that this Administration is not going to set artificially high interest rates and force—not force them—but entice people to buy Government securities instead of utilizing the savings capabilities of the savings and loan.

As far as I know, we have no intention of moving in the direction that you are concerned about. We want the savings and loans to have lots of money so they will aggressively go out and try to sell houses with the homebuilders. You have got a lot of money, get it out there and let's get some homes built.

Q. Thank you, and good for you, Mr. President. [*Laughter*]

#### NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

[11.] Q. Mr. President, I am John Hogness of the University of Washington. What are the chances of the passage of a comprehensive national health insurance bill this year or next?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said in my remarks or answer to one of the questions, I decided for the budget year of 1976 that I would not advocate any new programs, and that, of course, included a comprehensive national health insurance program.

I had, when I was in the Congress, advocated a program that was, I believe, one that would use the private sector and not a monopolistic Federal Government program that could be financed and, in effect, would improve our health care facilities and institutions.

But it would have imposed—let me be very frank—new budget problems on the Federal Government. In my opinion, because of the deficit that we faced and the need to control fiscal deficits, that we couldn't—at least for fiscal 1976—endorse or support what I had supported when I was a Member of the House of Representatives. That is my view.

Now, what is the Congress going to do? I have noticed of late that there has been less enthusiasm, apparently, in the Congress for such a program. For example—this was in the paper, so I am not telling any secrets out of school—Senator John Tunney, who has long been an advocate of the so-called Kennedy health insurance program, publicly announced about 2 weeks ago that he was withdrawing his support because of the fiscal situation.

I believe that there is a feeling that the approach ought to be thought out more carefully. We have the Kennedy approach, which is pretty much a government monopoly. We have the approach that I endorse, which is one that uses the private institutions. You have the American Medical Society that uses what they call Medigap. You have the American Hospital Association that has some

program. I think, for the time being, we have got to do a little more in-depth study before we commit ourselves to any program of that kind.

#### CONSUMER PROTECTION

[12.] Q. Mr. President, it is a real pleasure having you here in Seattle with us today. My name is Ken Bostock. I am representing the Washington Committee on Consumer Interest. Recently in a widely reported speech before the Hardware Manufacturers Association in Chicago, you promised to get government out of their business, their lives, their pocketbooks, and their hair. [*Laughter*]

Now, this same theme has been echoed throughout the day by your staff and Cabinet members. Now, virtually everyone agrees with that laudable goal, even consumer advocates. Unfortunately from our perception, too many times the perpetrator of unnecessarily restrictive governmental regulations is not consumers, rather it is a business, an industry, or a profession that seeks to limit the ability of others to enter the marketplace and compete with them.

Well, my question to you is: It has been reported in the news media that you intend to veto the legislation creating the Agency for Consumer Protection when it reaches your desk. First, is that true, and secondly, if so, given the best efforts of previous administrations to accomplish this same goal and the continuing failure of Federal agencies to lessen these regulatory burdens, why are you rejecting this opportunity for instituting significant regulatory reform?

THE PRESIDENT. I am going to veto the bill. I've so indicated that to the House and Senate. I am going to veto it for several reasons. One, it fits into the category of no new programs. Secondly, it would, under the legislation as it has been introduced—would cost, over a 2- or 3-year period, just for administrative costs, \$60 million. Thirdly, I think there is a better answer to the adequate protection of consumer interests as far as the Federal Government is concerned.

All the Cabinet members here as well as their associates in the Cabinet know that Virginia Knauer, who is the White House consumer head, has gone to every department and sat down with the Secretary and his staff saying, "What are you doing in your department to protect consumer interests?" And in some instances we have found that Cabinet officers or their departments weren't doing enough and were doing a lousy job. Virginia has my full support to make sure that departments perform.

I think that is the way to do it rather than to establish a separate agency that, in my judgment, is unnecessary and is costly. And I prefer the approach that I outlined, because I think it can work and it is better and it will do the job without the establishment of another bureaucracy, another layer. It is not that we don't



support protecting consumer interests, but we think there is a better way to do it rather than a new bureaucracy.

#### REGULATORY REFORM

[13.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Bob Polachek, and I am here representing the Washington Bankers Association. In his remarks, Mr. Seidman, I believe, mentioned that the executive branch would be taking a hard look at the effectiveness of all the regulations, particularly those that have been laid on business and industry in recent years, as to their real public benefits versus cost. We see more rather than less regulation in the immediate future. What is actually being done at the executive level to address this problem realistically?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't deny that the trend has been for more regulation rather than less. We have initiated efforts to work with regulatory agencies to get them to knock out some of the regulations that have been in effect that are no longer necessary, that are obsolete or obsolescent. This is going to be, unfortunately, a slow process.

One thing that is forgotten—and I will bet that 99 percent of the regulations that are in effect are mandated by Congressional action and are included in statutory law. I just know that is true. So, one of the problems we have is to get Congress to modify existing law or to rescind present law.

I am not saying that we can't make any improvement. I think we can. But we are hamstrung unless we get Congressional support.

Now, in order to get this action going, I had a meeting with all of the pertinent committee heads and their minority counterparts about a month or two ago. They are as interested as we are. And I believe the White House, working with the Congressional committee leadership, can get some laws amended or laws rescinded, and then we can really start knocking out some of these unnecessary, obsolete, obsolescent regulations. We are going to try, I can tell you that.

#### OCEANOGRAPHIC PROGRAMS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, I am John Murray. I am president of the Washington Newspaper Publishers Association. Incidentally, I am number 13 on the program. If anybody thinks this was a put-up job, I have had to change my question three times. [*Laughter*] I also serve as chairman of the Oceanographic Commission of the State of Washington.

My question—which I just wrote, so I know you don't know it—does the Administration have any specific plan to aid or promote oceanographic pro-

grams such as fish farming, ocean mining, and other new economic uses of oceanographic resources?

THE PRESIDENT. I know in general we do have such a program. It is under the control and jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce. Rog Morton can give you the specifics, but we have a program. It probably ought to be expanded, because the potential in the seas is really unbelievable.

Many people think there is a greater potential for society on a global basis in the sea than there is in the atmosphere. So, I suspect there will be pressure, increasing pressure to expand that particular program.

SECRETARY MORTON. There will be.

THE PRESIDENT. Rog just says because I said that he is going to recommend more. [*Laughter*]

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. I would like to particularly point out that Puget Sound is a great place to start. [*Laughter*]

#### CLEAN AIR ACT

[15.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Bruce McPhaden. I am the regional vice president of Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation, located in Spokane, Washington, in the beautiful, warm, sunny, eastern part of this great State of ours.

THE PRESIDENT. You couldn't do any better than you had today right in Seattle. [*Laughter*]

Q. Come to Spokane.

My company operates three major plants in the state of Washington, with total employment of approximately 3,500 people. Our company is one of seven major aluminum companies located in the Northwest representing approximately one-third of the domestic aluminum industry. Today, I am representing the Association of Washington Business, of which I am a director.

Like you, Mr. President, and your distinguished Administration, business and industry in the Northwest has been concerned about three fundamental problems: One, getting our economy moving again and people back to work, but doing so without further inflation; two, solving our serious energy problem so that we can continue to have reliable and low-cost power essential to the health of our economy and financial system; and three, making the best use of our limited capital to improve productivity to better compete and produce jobs.

We have been pleased to note that your Administration has recognized the

necessity for greater flexibility in the use of our limited capital to achieve these objectives.

For example, when there is only so much money available for improving productivity, saving energy through conversion to alternate sources, of instituting major conservation programs, and improving our environmental control systems, you have recognized their needs to be flexible in the law and administration of the law to permit the best and most productive use of these limited capital resources.

In this connection, your Administration has indicated a need to provide some flexibility and relief in the Clean Air Act. The goal of protecting human health and improving our environment is a mutual goal of your Administration, industry, and the general public. But to move too fast is counterproductive in attaining our environmental as well as our economic goals. As your Administration has recognized, we must have some flexibility through amendments in the Clean Air Act.

Yet, on August 8, the Muskie subcommittee of the Senate Public Works Committee published a 98-page document of subcommittee recommendations and staff proposals for the Clean Air Act amendments which moves 180 degrees in the opposite direction. It inserts several new layers of regulation, it establishes new deadlines, it allows for almost all-pervasive regulation by the EPA, it increases penalties. The tone is punitive. It tightens and makes more rigid rather than relaxes or makes more flexible.

Mr. President, if I may be excused a personal reference: Our company has alone spent approximately \$110 million since 1973 just to meet increasingly stringent environmental control standards. During the first half of this year, we have spent as much money on environmental and OSHA programs as we made in profits in our aluminum business.

Mr. President, my question to you is this. [*Laughter*] What is your Administration's position on the Clean Air Act amendments, and will you continue to urge Congress to provide relaxation of schedules and standards to provide for the flexibility needed to properly address this problem in context with all the other economic and energy problems we face? And will you continue to explain to the public the economic and financial constraints we face and the need for accepting more realistic and attainable environmental goals and programs?

THE PRESIDENT. In the energy bill that I submitted to the Congress in January, going along or coinciding with my State of the Union Message, I proposed certain Clean Air Act amendments which would have accelerated conversion and had other beneficial impacts.

Now, that was about a 200-page document. I regret to say not one page of that has been enacted by the Congress from January 14 to this date. But nevertheless, we submitted, I think, a good balance.

As a matter of fact, Russ Train and Frank Zarb, head of FEA—they have somewhat conflicting responsibilities—both agreed on the approach that was included in the package that I submitted.

If the Congress would approve that approach, then I think many of the fears you would have, many of the apprehensions that environmentalists would have, wouldn't exist.

The report that you refer to—I am told by Russ Train—is not a committee action, but it is a staff report of a Senate subcommittee. So, it is only the promotion of a staff—and I must admit from some experience that they promote a lot of things—[*laughter*—not all good, incidentally—but nevertheless they have produced this subcommittee staff report, and if I were you or those associated in business such as yourself, which would be scared to get, from the way you describe their recommendations, I know how you ought to go out and fight to oppose them and support the Ford Administration's recommendations in the energy bill in January. [*Laughter*]

WILLIAM J. BARODY, JR. [Assistant to the President for Public Liaison]. We have time, unfortunately, for only one more.

THE PRESIDENT. We will have one wild card. [*Laughter*]

#### NATURAL GAS

[16] Mr. President, Kay Fanning, publisher of the Anchorage Daily News, Anchorage, Alaska. The Alaska delegation here today are interested in your feelings about a possible Alaska pipeline. Could you perhaps comment on the fact that there is a projected natural gas shortage in the lower 48 States this coming year? Do you see putting the weight of your office behind an expedition of a choice between a Canadian and an Alaska pipeline, and the second part, if it is to be a Canadian pipeline, do you believe a treaty can be negotiated with Canada that would make it a completely safe proposition?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first, there is a serious and growing more serious natural gas shortage. And this winter, at least 10 States—assuming the usual winter—will have serious economic repercussions—North Carolina, New Jersey probably being the most vulnerable, but eight others—and I understand the State of Washington has some serious problems here also. Now, it just makes me sick that if the Congress 3 years ago had deregulated natural gas in interstate commerce, we wouldn't face the problem that we face now.

But unfortunately, Congress decided that we would keep low prices and end up with no natural gas. That is not a very sensible solution, but that is what is going to happen. Isn't it better to pay a higher price and have adequate gas, particularly if you want jobs and industry? But nevertheless, we have a real crisis coming up this winter.

Now, there are some things that are being done by the Federal Power Commission, and hopefully by the Congress, to meet a short-term emergency.

Now, to get to your problem, there are two proposals, one, the trans-Alaskan natural gas pipeline and the other, the so-called McKenzie trans-Canada pipeline for natural gas.

The application of El Paso—which is the Alaskan or trans-Alaskan pipeline—is before the Federal Power Commission now. And I understand that some of the others are intervening to object to it. So, it is before the Federal Power Commission. I do not think, under the circumstances, that I should interject myself or our Administration in that proceeding.

We want them to act, but I don't think we—since they are an independent regulatory agency—I don't think we should be a participant in the proceeding.

Now, I did meet with a Canadian energy boss—or whatever his title is—[laughter]—Mr. Macdonald up at the dedication of the Libby Dam in Montana, which is a joint project between Canada and the United States. I talked to him about it, because the trans-Canadian project is under the jurisdiction of his Government and he has some authority.

But they have a similar situation. As I understand it, there is a study now going on before their comparable Federal Power Commission as to whether the trans-Canadian line is the better procedure. His Government won't interfere with that proceeding.

Just what the outcome will be in light of the hearings and action or potential action before the two independent agencies, I think we can't make any judgment.

I am familiar with the problem. There may have to be some legislative action taken such as we did in the case of the Alaskan pipeline. I am not saying for sure that is needed, but we aren't going to let it languish and linger and get no answer.

I am not prejudging which is the right answer, but we are not going to let it sit there and have no action. We have to have a decision, whether it is in the Federal Power Commission or in the Congress.

I do think I have to go. Will you excuse me?

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:33 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Olympic Hotel.

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**Exchange With Reporters on Arrival at Portland, Oregon.**  
*September 4, 1975*

REPORTER. Mr. President, when will you veto this bill which would extend the Federal oil price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. It depends on whether or not the Democratic leadership can produce a compromise which we had agreed to. I understand that they have not been able to get a sufficient number of Democrats to agree with them on a compromise proposal. Sometime within the time limit—I will have no alternative since I have gone more than halfway and they can't produce, under the circumstances, so, sometime within the 10-day period I will have to veto it.

Q. What is your view right now about the proposition of sending American technicians to aid in maintaining peace in the Mideast?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the sending of American civilians on a volunteer basis in a zone that is covered by the United Nations is the best insurance for peace. It is the best insurance against any oil embargo. The limited number, no more than 200, is a good investment in peace as far as the United States is concerned.

Q. What is your position on the agricultural shipments? Secretary Butz had some statements today.

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that if the crop report of September 11 is reasonably favorable, that it is in the best interest of the United States to make additional sales of grain to overseas customers. We will have to wait and see how the grain report in wheat, corn, and other feed grains shows. But if it is encouraging, I think it is in the best interest of the United States to use this great commodity for many, many beneficial purposes as far as the United States is concerned.

Thank you very much, everybody.

NOTE: The exchange began at 5:30 p.m. at Portland International Airport.

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**Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in Portland.  
September 4, 1975**

*Dave, Bob Packwood, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am sure it is very, very obvious that it is a great privilege and pleasure for me to be here tonight in Portland for this tremendous gathering of many, many Republicans—and, I add, a few that I know of, very special friends—and your most warm welcome is greatly appreciated. Your enthusiasm and commitment is most encouraging.

I added in the previous sentence some very close and very dear friends of mine who are here. I was delighted to see one of my former colleagues. She was on the other side of the aisle. We had a few differences, but we had infinitely more agreements. And, Edith Green, I thank you for coming, and I am most grateful for your presence.

In Edith Green's area of outstanding expertise—education—I don't think there was a Member of the House or Senate, Democrat or Republican, who was more knowledgeable and more articulate than she with ideas and, I think, thoughts, programs that would have been so important for education. And I thank you again for being here, Edith.

I do want to make a donation, if it is proper. Last year when I was here and had a very full day, I participated in an auction for the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry. I donated a pair of cufflinks, and I am told they went for a reasonably high price—obviously, for a good cause. But unfortunately, I will not be able to be here for that occasion when the meeting is held in 1975. But if I might, I would like to give to Dave Green for transmittal to Don Ellis a pair of cufflinks, and I wish you well and hope you do as well in 1975. [*Laughter*]

I appreciated Jack Faust's comments about our golden retriever, Liberty. [*Laughter*] I had a confidential talk with Liberty when she returned from Oregon. I can only say we are anticipating on or about September 14–16 a wholesome litter of golden retriever puppies. I feel somewhat obligated to let the Republican Party of Oregon suggest a name for the one out of the litter that we keep. So, it is up to you to make some determination in that regard. [*Laughter*]

I was pleased that Dave Green mentioned something that I wanted to speak about, which is the historic meeting of the Northwest Compact, which, as I have perceived it from Washington, has effectively coordinated the work and enhanced the influence of Republicans of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. I

think this is a concept that can be immeasurably helpful in pulling together geographical areas where you have a high identity of interests and a community of spirit. And I commend the Republicans in this State for putting together this 2-year plan for the party's activity and its strategy.

One thing that I have noticed in some of the travels that I have made most recently—last Saturday I was fortunate to attend in the State of Maine a Republican gathering where we saw the visible evidence of a revitalization of the Republican Party in that great State. And later in the day I participated in somewhat comparable activities in the State of Rhode Island on behalf of the Republican Party.

In both cases we had new, young, vigorous chairmen. In both cases we had a unification of ideologies where we could honestly say that the party, its people were going to be pulling together for what is in the best interest primarily of their State and the country but also in the best interests of the ideologies which we believe in. And it is my feeling, as I have had the opportunity of being in the State of Washington earlier today and here in Oregon tonight, that your party organization, your leadership is doing precisely the same thing. I compliment you and congratulate you for this effort.

This dinner tonight, I think, exemplifies what can be done as we face some very crucial issues and tremendous challenges between now and November of 1976.

The thing that I have noticed in the last 12, 14 hours, that in the West there is still that tremendous pioneering spirit, a spirit of independence that is invigorating and tremendously refreshing. Two men certainly reflect this tradition of independence, and I refer specifically to Mark Hatfield, who is not here now but who has been with me a good share of the day, and Bob Packwood. Both are a tremendous credit to this great State which they represent so exceedingly well in the United States Senate.

Over the last few years I have had the privilege and pleasure of getting to know both of them quite well. If I have learned anything in the 25 years in the House of Representatives, it is the capability of analyzing people who have quality, dedication, integrity, forthrightness. And those characteristics which I think are invaluable in serving your State—both Bob and Mark have that to the overflowing. And I thank Bob, and I will thank Mark later for their contribution, not only to your State but to what, I believe, is in the best interest of our country. Thank you very much, Bob.

I am a firm believer that party organization, party leadership is highly important, particularly in a national election year. I made a commitment about a



year ago—I spoke to the Midwest Republican Party organization in the State of Illinois. They had all of the people from my part of the country there for one of these get-togethers over a weekend, and I made a commitment then that in 1976 I thought the Presidential candidate ought to work with and not be separated from the national Republican organization and the respective State organizations.

And I felt that such a commitment was not only right on a chart but it was right if we were going to get and have available the kind of leadership that is necessary in every State. I happen to think in Dave Green you have that kind of leadership here in your great State, and therefore, I can assure you that I and those that work with me will work with you in the State organizations, in the national organization, in a Republican victory in 1976.

One of the characteristics that I have noticed about Dave is that he has a feeling that we ought to, as a party, appeal to the independent voter. It is my impression that this has paid off and will produce greater dividends in the months ahead.

As a matter of fact, in your State you have sort of a tradition of independence. If I might, I would like to make a specific appeal to them. I think it is important.

The independent voters, as I look at them and listen to them—they want a sound and very prosperous national economy without recession or inflation and so do we as Republicans.

The independent voters want jobs for those who can work and help for those who cannot. We as Republicans believe precisely the same way.

The independent voter wants his country to achieve energy independence and an environment of high quality. We as Republicans have that same thrust and that same belief.

The independent voter wants a good education, good housing, good health care, and good food for his family at prices that he can afford. We as Republicans have an identical view.

The independent voter—and there are many of them, some in more States than others—but in most States they are really the margin between victory and defeat.

The independent voter wants the scales of justice to balance the rights of the criminal defendant with the rights of a law-abiding society and so do we.

Our friends the independent voter wants America's national defense second to none. They recognize, as we do, that this is the best way to ensure peace.

If I might say parenthetically at this point, within the last 24 or 48 hours, a giant step, in my opinion, has been taken for peace with the successful negotia-

tions between Israel and Egypt. This negotiation, which has literally gone on for months but culminated in the last several weeks, was successful because of the patience, the direction, and the leadership of the Secretary of State of the United States, Henry Kissinger.

I know some questions have been raised—and questions should be raised in a situation like this—but when you analyze what the alternative was to a settlement, the alternative was almost inevitable war in 6 to 8 months.

By taking some risks that I think are manageable, we have gambled for peace in the most volatile, most difficult, complex, controversial area in the globe. I believe that the Congress of the United States, after they have looked at the alternatives which, in my judgment, were an invitation to conflict and see what has been done with our leadership, the Congress will support a gamble for peace.

It is in our best interests in every way that I can see it. I believe that most Americans—Republicans, Independents, or Democrats—will support our leadership, our forthright efforts to bring two nations together that have literally been apart, fighting, disagreeing. And this is the kind of leadership that I think is important, not only in this case but in others, to lead us down a firm, constructive road of peace, not only in that area of the world but elsewhere.

Now, the independent voter wants relief from higher and higher taxes, from more and more Federal programs, and from bigger and bigger budget deficits. This has been the record of the Republican Party for all of my lifetime, and I think it will be our program and policies in the months ahead.

Every time I think of more and more Federal programs, bigger and bigger Federal budgets with the inevitable deficits that they place, I am reminded of several incidents on the floor of the House of Representatives where there were those in the House of Representatives who thought every time we had a problem the answer was another program with more Federal spending. That was the inevitable conclusion that many people came to.

One day I was sitting there talking to one of my associates or colleagues in the House of Representatives. And after we had gone through this sort of inevitable schedule that seems to come up all the time when there is a problem and we have to have solutions, I thought to myself—and the person who was debating and speaking and proposing this program was a fine person; I am not disagreeing with his motives—but I thought to myself, don't those he represents understand that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have?

Even more importantly, the independent voter wants America to get moving

on the myriad problems facing it, moving confidently toward the future, and so do we.

There is one thing that my 25 years of public service have taught me, and it is this: A successful blend of personal initiative, private enterprise, and public service will come closer to solving our problems and realizing our country's great potential than will reliance on the massive, musclebound bureaucracy of government by itself.

For far, far too long, too many Americans have relied too much on the Federal Government in our great Capital to meet their needs, grant their wishes, and solve their problems. We have already lost too much of the enterprise and the initiative and self-reliance which made America the hardiest of people in this the greatest of nations. As Abraham Lincoln so well put it, "The role of the national Government is to help people who cannot help themselves."

I think it is time we began to look elsewhere for the solution to too many of our problems—to our State capitals and our county seats and our town councils, to our offices, our shops, our factories, and our farms, to our homes, to our schools, and to our churches of America, and then—I put with emphasis—to ourselves.

That is where the real power and the real potential of America resides. That is where to find the creative genius, the knack for problemsolving, the pioneering spirit, the Yankee ingenuity for which this country is so well known.

I firmly believe that if each of us shoulder more of life's responsibilities, taking a very personal interest to match the personal stake we have in the life and the success of this Nation, we can truly make it a fresh start on America's problems and develop some new solutions even as we celebrate our 200th birthday.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:47 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Sheraton-Portland Motor Inn. In his remarks, he referred to Dave Green, Oregon State Republican chairman, Don A. Ellis, chairman of the

Oregon Museum of Science and Industry board of trustees, and Jack Faust, master of ceremonies for the dinner.

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## Remarks at the Portland Youth Bicentennial Rally in Portland. *September 4, 1975*

WOW, what an experience! I know we have an energy shortage, but I sure don't see any sign of it tonight. Thank you.

I just finished telling a banquet audience that I came to Oregon just to visit, not

to stay. Well, after an ovation like that, it won't take much convincing to get me to change my mind.

Now I know why the Portland Timbers<sup>1</sup> are doing so well. [*Laughter*] You sure know how to make a fellow feel like a champion. Thank you very much.

Let me express my appreciation to Dirk [Edwards] and your fellow emcees, Governor Bob Straub, Senator Mark Hatfield, and all of you great, young Americans and, I say with confidence, the future leaders of this great country.

Obviously, I am delighted and pleased to join with so many energetic, enthusiastic young Americans in this birthday celebration. I understand that this rally is one of numerous Bicentennial activities in this area of our country, and I commend your plans to remember the past but, just as importantly, to look at the future. That is the right note for our Bicentennial celebrations through the length and the breadth of America.

The youth organizations represented here tonight have contributed so much in a constructive way to this great country. America owes very special thanks to the thousands and thousands of men and women who donate their talents and time to work with this tremendous reservoir of youth talent and capability.

The tradition of service of the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, 4-H, Salvation Army, Red Cross, YMCA, YWCA, and the Boys Club is a very solid part of our fine American system and tradition.

Tonight, I want to thank those organizations and the men and women behind them for what they have done, are doing for America. We are deeply indebted to each and every one of you, 214 million Americans who are very grateful.

I know firsthand from a good many years in the Boy Scouts how meaningful and important organizations of this kind are to youngsters growing up. I challenge all of you in this audience and all young people nationwide to continue this fine tradition of service and the betterment of society.

As we celebrate America's 200th year, its 200th birthday, let's remember that this Bicentennial isn't solely about patriots who made a successful revolution. It is about all our Americans who took the dream of a new land, a new land of freedom, and made it a reality over the years since 1776. Millions of men and women whose names we will never know and whose heroism went unsung made that dream live.

To be sure, we honor the wise and articulate men who wrote what I consider two of the greatest documents ever devised by man—the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution.

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<sup>1</sup> A team in the North American Soccer League.

But the Revolution and its aftermath could have been a temporary footnote in the chronicle of its day without the unsung, unnamed Americans who made it permanent and imprinted its achievements indelibly in history.

Before the Revolution, the first English settlers dreamed of a better life and more freedom. They matched that glorious dream with a willingness to cross an ocean and civilize a wilderness.

This beautiful Pacific Northwest was settled by this same brand of courageous pioneers who carried the concept of self-government and faith in individual freedom into each new settlement and each new State.

Although today we are the world's oldest republic, we are still a very young country. Our past truly is close to us. And although we may not recognize the names of ancestors who made this Nation possible, we can see their deeds and their legacy everywhere, a firmly established free system of government and the most productive nation in the history of the world.

In 1876, at the Centennial exposition in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America celebrated the wonders of an age just dawning, the shiftover from a rural to an industrial society.

The first bicycle was on display at the 1876 exposition. We can wonder today which of our modern inventions will prove historical. In the years before the end of the 19th century, there was an explosion of ideas and inventions: the automobile, the electric light, and the telephone.

Just as the American Revolution required followers and believers, so did our Industrial Revolution. Without the people who invested in the inventions and put them into use, we would all have arrived here tonight in a horse-drawn buggy.

The Wright brothers made history at Kitty Hawk, but the first passengers to ride in a plane made history, too. The believers—the believers who were not afraid of the new and untried made the age of flight just as surely as did the men who built those first rickety flying machines.

You are growing up, I say to all of you, with a depth of conviction. You are growing up in an age of space travel and worldwide communications. And the world in which your children will live may be as wondrously strange as the world is to your grandparents today.

As I look over this wonderful audience, at you who will lead America in the 21st century, I urge you to look to the past for inspiration, but within yourselves individually for courage, and to the future for challenge.

Many, many years ago, a Sunday school teacher taught me that the beauty

of Joseph's coat is its many colors. The beauty of America is its many, many individuals, each a little different from the other.

For America's third century of independence, I commend to each of you this great objective—freedom for everyone who respects the freedom of others.

You, all of us are inheritors of a great trust. We must honor the past by working for the future. A nation born of a dream and carried forward by action requires from each and every one of us, all of us, a commitment of faith to advance individual liberty and to make America strong, to make America secure for this third century.

Thank you very, very much.

#### QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. President, Ronald Reagan said that his running against you would strengthen the Republican Party and the Nation. What are your thoughts on this?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have always believed that competition in the political arena is healthy. I have always had political competition whenever I ran for political office in the past.

I emphasize, however, that in my own campaigns, instead of discussing the views of others or being critical of others, my view is that a person seeking public office ought to have his own platform, his own program, and sell that and concentrate on an affirmative program and an affirmative basis.

So, if and when there is competition for the nomination of my political party, I will run it in that way, affirmatively aimed at discussing the issues and not indulging into personalities. Competition is good in politics like anything else.

Q. Mr. President, the large corporations all around the Nation seem to be making the Bicentennial celebrations too commercialized. Many Americans, young people included, believe the Bicentennial could be more relevant by realization of the revolutionary democratic principles our ancestors fought for. What is the White House commission doing to promote the revolutionary spirit for our 1976 Bicentennial?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it has been my privilege to participate in several Bicentennial celebrations, and none of them were commercial. None of them had any aspects that would, in my opinion, undercut the thrust and the emphasis that I think is important, which is recognition of the tremendous commitment, dedication, sacrifice that was made by so many some 200 years ago.

Let me illustrate. I am sure you have read—I am certain you know the story of Paul Revere and the Old North Church in the city of Boston. I participated

in a celebration in the Old North Church, which is a historic facility that was there when Paul Revere actually saw the lantern and undertook his famous ride. Nothing commercial about that. I had the opportunity of visiting Lexington and Concord, where some heroic people made a great stand. Nothing commercial about that.

So, I think overall—overwhelmingly, really—the emphasis that has been given to the Bicentennial by the White House commission has been at the proper level, really telling all of us of the historic events that took place some 200 or more years ago.

A few will commercialize the Bicentennial. You can't prevent that, but if you follow the step-by-step activities, I am sure you will be convinced that the thrust of the White House commission, of Mr. John Warner, the head of the Bicentennial office, and everybody else is trying to establish the right atmosphere, the right direction for the Bicentennial celebration. I think it is good.

Q. Where are you going to go next after this?

THE PRESIDENT. Where am I going after Portland? Well, I am leaving, following this wonderful evening with all of you, and going to Sacramento, California, for a 7 o'clock breakfast. And then I am going to speak at a joint session of the California State Legislature, and then I am going to spend some time with the Governor of California, who has invited me to talk with him about some problems. Then I have got several other meetings in Sacramento. Then I am going back to Washington.

Q. Mr. President, I would like to know what I could do as a 10-year-old girl to help my country?

THE PRESIDENT. Rhonda, simply by asking the question and indicating your interest in helping your country, you have already made a great contribution.

Q. Mr. President, is it true that Mrs. Ford was once a Campfire Girl in Grand Rapids, Michigan?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I didn't know her then. [*Laughter*] I didn't start courting her until she had outgrown her Campfire relationship or activities.

I can tell you this, however, we had three boys and a girl. She was a den mother for a good many years bringing up three boys, so I guess she learned to be a den mother by being a good Campfire Girl.

Q. Mr. President, I would like to ask you what your greatest moment in scouting was.

THE PRESIDENT. My greatest moment of scouting. Well, I suspect the greatest moment I had as a Boy Scout was when I was selected by Governor Green of the State of Michigan along with seven other Eagle Scouts to be the first group of

Boy Scouts as guides on Mackinaw Island in Northern Michigan to tell the people who come to Fort Mackinaw about the history of that fortress. I spent a whole summer there with seven other Eagle Scouts. That was probably the greatest recognition and probably the greatest thrill that I had among my many years as a Boy Scout, a Boy Scout leader, and assistant scoutmaster, and I guess everything else.

Q. Mr. President, don't you feel that the opponents of détente are gathering more support and eventually will jeopardize the improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say with sincerity and strong belief that if the opponents of détente are able to destroy this relationship, there must be a recognition by them that they are potentially destroying a means of communication, a means of relaxing tensions between the two super powers.

Détente has not been an answer to every conflict and confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, but détente has given the opportunity for the relaxing of tensions and the easing of confrontations, and détente has avoided some very potentially explosive head-to-head confrontations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

So, if the opponents of détente, those who want to be a cold warrior in peacetime, destroy this means of communication, this capability of avoiding confrontation, then they have to assume a serious responsibility.

I would rather use détente for peace than to destroy détente and increase the possibilities of war. So, I am in favor of détente, because it gives us a tool to avoid war. And I will strongly not only defend it but use it so that we can achieve peace, maintain peace, and at the same time avoid a holocaust, whether it is in the Middle East or elsewhere.

Q. Mr. President, what are you doing—like what is the toughest thing that you are doing in Washington?

THE PRESIDENT. What is the toughest thing I am doing in Washington? Well, there are a number of very difficult problems, Brian. One is to get the Congress to pass an energy program—either my program or one of their own. Unfortunately, they haven't done either. But there are some other very important matters.

I can assure you that Secretary Kissinger and myself spent literally thousands of hours working on how to help in the negotiations between Israel and Egypt, and that was a tough problem. We were very helpful, we were fortunately successful in keeping the momentum for peace going. That was a tough problem.

Of course, the decisions that had to be made at the time of the *Mayaguez*



incident were very difficult. But there are many others. There are just a lot of them. It's kind of hard to pick out the ones that are the toughest, but it is a challenge and I think it is a great opportunity for me to have that opportunity to face up to those problems.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel Congress will approve Secretary of State Kissinger's Mideast peace program? And if they don't, what course of action do you plan to insure peace in the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT. I am very confident that the Congress will approve the role and responsibility that I have recommended we—the United States—undertake in relationship to that agreement between Israel and Egypt. I am confident the Congress will do it, and I will be surprised if it is not an overwhelming support. Because I believe the Congress will act affirmatively, I don't think it will be necessary for me to, as President, to face up to what I will do if they reject it.

I only will add this, that if the Congress does not affirmatively approve our responsibilities in relationship to this agreement, then the Congress has to face up to the alternative, which is a very great, a far greater possibility of war in the Middle East. So, I think the Congress will opt for helping to maintain peace rather than risking the dangers of a war in the Middle East.

Q. Mr. President, how come you don't have telethons for people who have sickle cell?

THE PRESIDENT. Would you repeat that, please, I couldn't hear it.

Q. How come you don't have telethons for people who have sickle cell?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Tyler, as I understand the question, it is why don't we have telethons for people who have sickle cell anemia, is that right?

Q. Yeah.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the telethons, Tyler, that are held are usually generated by individuals or organizations. Now, I know a little bit about sickle cell anemia, because in my hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan, there was a great deal of research done in a hospital. A very outstanding scientist and doctor was one of the leaders in working on the problem not only in Grand Rapids but in Detroit. It is a serious disease and there is an increasing emphasis in the Federal Government and also in various parts of the country in trying to find an answer to it.

It is my opinion that as more cases are discovered and there is more publicity to the tragedy of it, you will find a broadening organization, and once you get such an organization you will have a telethon develop. And I hope there will be one.

Q. Mr. Ford, were you ever a Cub Scout?

THE PRESIDENT. The question is, was I ever a Cub Scout. I was not. I joined the Boy Scouts, as I recall, the day that I was 12 years old, and that was the day that you could join in those days. I don't think there was a Cub Scout organization that far back. [*Laughter*] I am told that that was supposed to be the last question, but I will take one more.

Q. Mr. President, what is going to happen to all the Vietnamese in Camp Pendleton?

THE PRESIDENT. Could you repeat that again, please?

Q. What is going to happen to all the Vietnamese that are stationed at Camp Pendleton right now?

THE PRESIDENT. The question is, what is going to happen to all the South Vietnamese, Cambodians, who are either stationed at Camp Pendleton, Fort Chaffee, Eglin Air Force Base, and there is the one in Pennsylvania.

There are now approximately 40,000 Vietnamese, Cambodian refugees who have not been sponsored. There were 140,000 in total. So, we have, in effect, gotten sponsors for roughly 100,000. I think that is a lot of progress. And I believe that at the rate of about 650 a day and about 4,000 a week, we will be able to get all of the remaining 40,000 sponsored and living in the United States by the middle of December or certainly by the end of this year.

May I thank you all, Governor Straub and the others, as well as the young people here, the audience, the participants. It has really been a great experience. I love this kind of an exchange between those of us who are older and those of you who are going to be the leaders in America.

I am proud of you. We all love you. And we know you will do a good job.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m. at the Portland Memorial Coliseum Arena.

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### Remarks at the Annual Sacramento Host Breakfast in Sacramento, California. *September 5, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Mr. Reed. Governor Brown, Lieutenant Governor Dymally, Stuart Davis, members of the Host Committee, ladies and gentlemen:*

This has been a week that I will long remember with great satisfaction, a week that found Dr. Kissinger returning to Washington with some important answers to a very critical situation in the Middle East.

I believe, and believe very, very strongly, that all Americans can take pride in his—and our Nation's—continued and now successful efforts to bring peace to an area of the world that has known so little of it in the last quarter century.

But Dr. Kissinger's ability to come up with good answers comes as no surprise to me. In July, when we were in Europe, I visited one of our military bases in Germany. And during the tour of this military installation, I picked up a copy of *Stars and Stripes*, the service newspaper that some of you may have read while you were in the service or touring in any of our installations on a worldwide basis.

Well, the next morning, I was looking through it as I was having breakfast and saw a column about contestants in the Miss Universe contest. On a questionnaire, they were asked, these beautiful gals, to name the greatest person in the world today, and 50 percent of the Miss Universe contestants who answered said Henry Kissinger. [*Laughter*]

Then I looked very carefully through the rest of the story and couldn't see my name mentioned at all. [*Laughter*]

So, I circled the story and asked a staff member to take it down the hall where we were staying to Secretary Kissinger and to ask Henry—one of my most astute advisers—why 50 percent of the most beautiful women in the world had voted for him and I didn't get a slight mention.

Well, the aide walked down the hall, showed the story to Henry, who was eating breakfast, and repeated my question. For a long while Henry didn't say anything. He just sort of kept looking at the story and smiling somewhat self-contented to himself. [*Laughter*]

So, my aide, who had been waiting for Dr. Kissinger's answer, cleared his throat and said, "What should I tell the President?" Henry said, "Tell him to just eat his heart out." [*Laughter*]

This morning, I have come to California to raise some questions that are facing this Nation, and I hope you will find some of the answers I will give a bit more responsive.

An organization such as your own that meets once a year has the tremendous advantage of perspective. You tend to focus on the long-range sweep, the sweep of events that are, I believe, fortunate—the long-range sweep rather than the blur of the moment. Your crystal ball, therefore, is likely to be less clouded.

For example, I recently scanned an issue of the *Sacramento Union*, dated September 6, 1974, and it was concerned with last year's Host Breakfast. The mood was an uncertain one. Feelings about the economy ran all the way from cautious optimism to alarmed pessimism.

It was said that California and the West seemed to be doing better than the rest of the Nation, but for how long no one was sure. Interest rates were rising. So was the rate of inflation and, even worse, the rate of unemployment. The American economy was about to take a roller coaster dip into the future.

Since that meeting, America and, to a large extent, the rest of the world, has made that economic dip. Most of the industrial nations of the world have mutually experienced an unnerving drop in gross national product and in levels of prosperity. The descent was sudden and at times almost frightening. But our vehicle, the American free enterprise system, has once again proven sound. A year later finds our economy on the straightaway and beginning to climb.

I was particularly interested in a comment made by Mr. Davis—the disappointing results of productivity in America. The statistics just released a day or two ago indicate that we have made for the first time in some months a rather significant improvement and increase in productivity in America, and I wholeheartedly agree with him that this is an area where we must maintain an uphill climb in the increase of productivity.

Today, 85 million Americans are at work in jobs that offer more pay, more fringe benefits, greater security, more generous pension plans, and safer working conditions than ever before.

From March through July of this year alone, more than 1,200,000 Americans have found jobs and are gainfully employed. And the figures for August, released this morning in Washington, add another 275,000 jobs to this total. So, we are making progress.

This is an increase in jobs that would have strained an economist's imagination just a few decades ago. We have problems, but a true sense of perspective allows us to see our accomplishments as well. But the problems must be met and solutions must be found.

There is a phrase in the jargon of economics that has always irritated me. The phrase is, and I quote, "an acceptable rate of unemployment." I know of no acceptable rate of unemployment as long as there is any American who wants a job and cannot find one.

There is nothing theoretical about unemployment. The graphs, the charts, the percentages often tend to obscure the human tragedy of involuntary unemployment.

How can cold statistics ever adequately portray the trauma of lost jobs, lost savings, and lost pride? America's greatest national resource is her people, and I intend to see that that resource is not endangered.

One of the prime goals of my Administration is to get America out of neutral

and moving ahead in a pattern of sustained growth. A working American is a buying American, an investing American, a saving American. Unemployment checks are to maintain life. Paychecks are to enrich life. No American can successfully engage in the pursuit of happiness until the needs of adequate food, clothing, shelter, education, and employment are met.

If we are to meet the employment requirements of our expanding population, by the year 1980 we must create over 11 million new jobs—11 million new jobs to build the houses, harvest the fields, manufacture the products, and earn the salaries that pay for it all; 11 million new jobs to show the rest of the world that the American dream functions best when we are wide awake. How can we do it? Well, first let me tell you how it can't be done.

In recent years a disproportionate percentage of new jobs has come from the public sector rather than the private. The result has been the creation of a bureaucracy that contributes very little to America's prosperity and productivity. It simply shares it.

Therefore, if the United States is to grow in a substantial, meaningful way, the impetus has to come from the private sector. Jobs are the symbol of a healthy free enterprise system. Jobs, particularly in the private sector, are the fuel that makes our economy run.

Obviously, to achieve the full economic potential of America and Americans, we must make it possible for our industry to maintain its competitive edge in world as well as domestic trade.

We emerged from World War II with an industrial capacity and productivity that was without challenge. Today that lead has narrowed very significantly. Friend and former foe alike have used the last three decades to rebuild their war-ravaged economies. Their industrial plants embodying the newest and most sophisticated techniques and technologies now compete with American products often produced by older, less efficient methods. We are still number one, but throughout the world we have a lot of number twos who are trying much, much harder.

We have no choice but to compete and, I say with emphasis, to excel. Personally, I have no doubt that we can do it if the private sector is given the opportunity to modernize, expand, and to secure the tools and the technologies that a first-class economic machine requires. It won't be easy. Some estimates have placed America's total investment requirement in the coming years at the astonishing figure of \$4 trillion. Even the figure is imposing. It is four—followed by 12 zeroes!

I consider this a \$4 trillion vote of confidence in the future of the United States industry, business, and agriculture. Economists call it "capital formation," but I prefer a much more basic term. To me this means "job creation." It is the

wherewithal that creates the plants, the factories, and the machinery that in turn requires the skill and the efforts of an American labor force second to none. It is what we need, as I see it, to get all America back to work again.

The reforms this Administration has already proposed to the Congress will establish the taxing policies which will help to bring about this capital formation and job creation. They will give United States business and industry some of the incentives of our economic expansion which is required. They will give jobseekers a paycheck instead of a raincheck.

The time has come. Because of the recession, our plants, our factories are underutilized. But the signs are clear for all to see that America's economy is picking up speed. The wheels are beginning to turn. The order books are beginning to open. The muscles of our Nation's industries are beginning to flex, and we must make certain that they will be able to do their job.

Now is the time to eliminate the production bottlenecks and potential shortages that will surely occur unless we plan for the future before it is here. Four trillion dollars by any standard is a lot of money. It won't be raised by the board of directors skipping lunches.

But capital formation and job creation are only two aspects of the multifaceted problem. There are other important ways to improve our Nation's business climate. We can help by getting government out of the way of business when all that the government contributes is added cost, contradiction, and confusion.

And confusion there is. The Consumer Product Safety Commission recently bought 80,000 lapel buttons with a message promoting toy safety. But it developed that a lead paint had been used on the buttons. There was the danger of lead poisoning if they were licked by children. So, the Consumer Product Safety Commission had to ban its own buttons. [*Laughter*]

It is stories like that that are enough to make you lose your buttons. [*Laughter*]

Competition and the desire and the economic necessity to build a better mousetrap is what made our country the envy of the world. If you doubt it, the next time you travel to parts of the world where the free enterprise system does not exist, go into one of their department stores. Look at the variety of goods, the quality of the workmanship, the imagination of design and packaging. But above all, look at the price. Then consider this price in terms of what an average worker in that country earns. Such a visit will only take a very few minutes, but it will be the best lesson in instant economics and the productive genius of the American industry that you could ever sign up for.

The free marketplace and the free enterprise system is the American con-

sumer's best insurance that what he or she buys will work, will last, and will be at the best competitive price—with the possible exception of when big government tries to help.

The Federal Government has only been in the regulatory business about 90 years, but it has more than made up for this relatively late start. [*Laughter*]

Starting from point zero about a century ago, the Federal Government now employs over 100,000 people whose sole responsibility is writing, reviewing, and enforcing some type of regulation—100,000 people whose principal job is telling you how to do your job. It's a bureaucrat's dream of heaven, but it's a nightmare for those who have to bear the heavy burden.

Just to list all of the rules and regulations established last year required 45,000 pages of very small type in the Federal Register. I mourn for the trees that were felled in America's forests to make this exercise in governmental nagging possible.

Federal regulation began with the loftiest motives, but the nature of regulatory bodies is to regulate even when prudence and changing circumstances would indicate that their job is over.

In many industries—transportation, energy, communication—Federal regulatory commissions have virtually ruled out competition. What was begun as a protection for consumers now guarantees that in many, many cases they will pay higher prices than a free market would call for.

Even worse, the Mulligan stew of Government rules and regulations—often one conflicting with another—has created a nightmare of redtape, paper shuffling, and new heights of counterproductivity. I am determined that our Nation's consumers and businessmen be relieved of this gratuitous burden.

But remember, these regulations and the regulatory bodies are the creation of the Congress over a long period of time. They are mandated by law. As President, I can propose, I can urge, I can even needle a bit, but it is only the Congress in the final analysis that can act.

The regulatory reform legislation I propose will seek to eliminate the obsolete, the unnecessary, the impractical, and yes, the impossible. Let's retain what is truly helpful and required in Federal regulations—it is a minimum amount. Let's get rid of the rest, and the sooner the better.

If I had to capsuleize my views on government, it would simply be this: Bigger is not necessarily better. Indeed, bigger is often the reason it isn't better.

In my 26 years in Washington, I have seen firsthand the astonishing growth of the Federal Government's involvement in our lives in America. I have seen experimental programs started for a few million dollars that are now institu-

tionalized and whose existence is unquestioned as their budgets climb into the billions. Yes, I have seen many, many Federal programs and agencies and departments begin. I have seen very few ended.

There is a spirit here in California that has its roots in the character of the pioneers who first settled here. It is a spirit of fierce independence and self-reliance. It is a zest for innovation and imagination. It is essentially the spirit of America—the spirit of 1776, 1876, 1976, and the years beyond.

Americans who have overcome the towering obstacles of the past need fear no problems, no problems in the future if we are free to utilize our potential. We can get the American economy off the roller coaster of boom and bust cycles and into a sustained and substantial pattern of growth.

We can create jobs for all who want them and incomes for all who need them. We can live the future of our forefathers as they dreamed it.

Help me, help your Representatives in the Congress, help your Governor, help your State legislature, help us all to free the free American enterprise system. Give America the means and the Americans will find the way.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:50 a.m. at the Community Convention Center. The annual breakfast was sponsored by the Host Committee, in conjunction with the California Chamber of Commerce, for leaders in California government, business, finance,

education, agriculture, and labor.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to Carlyle Reed, chairman of the Sacramento Host Committee, and Stuart Davis, president of the California Chamber of Commerce.

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### Address Before a Joint Session of the California State Legislature. *September 5, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, Governor Brown. Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, members of the State legislature, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is indeed an honor to come before the California Legislature. You represent more Americans than any other legislative body except the Congress of the United States, with which I have had some acquaintance over a good many years.

Almost half of California's delegation in the current Congress are alumni of this legislature. I cannot take time to salute all of them by name, but from veterans like the able majority whip, John McFall, to respected newcomers like Bob Lagomarsino, they are really an outstanding group.



In 25 years that I served in the Congress, I made many friendships with former State senators and assemblymen from Sacramento whose constituents have consistently sent them back to Washington. Although they represent a wide spectrum of political persuasions and interests, they were, almost without exception, able, hard-working legislators who quickly reached positions of great importance and great influence in the House of Representatives, where they could make California's voice heard. And believe me, they did.

As a delegation that is now the largest in the Congress, Californians were often able to temporarily put partisanship aside on matters of great concern to your State as well as to our Nation. This, after all, is the way our two-party system works at its very best. I long ago came to admire California legislators from afar. And I thank you very, very sincerely for this opportunity to meet in this historic chamber.

Since California is almost a model of the whole United States—in its diversity of industry and agriculture, its urban and rural interests, its internal and international trade and commerce, its steady growth and the attendant challenges in transportation, education, employment, and human needs—almost any national problem would be an appropriate one to discuss in California context. Any subject that is of major importance to Californians is also of deep concern to all Americans.

In the 13 months that I have served as President of all of the people, my priority goals have been set by the circumstances which confronted our Nation and still do: to work steadily and prudently toward peace and the reduction of conflicts which threaten peace, globally or regionally, without weakening either our defense or our resolve; to reverse the current recession and to revive our free economic system without reigniting the inflationary forces and through such Federal stimulants and incentives as will create productivity and permanent, private jobs and genuine economic growth; to develop a comprehensive short- and long-term program to end our growing dependence on foreign sources of energy and provide the abundant and sure energy supply that is essential both for jobs and to competitive production for the future; and finally, but certainly not least, to encourage among all Americans a greater spirit of conciliation, cooperation, and confidence in the future of this great country and the institutions of self-government which for 200 years have served to create a more perfect Union.

Today, I could devote my time to any one of these goals, because all are of concern in Sacramento as well as in Washington.

California has a very vital stake in peace and the important breakthrough we

have just made in defusing the timebomb that has been ticking away ominously in the Middle East.

California is blessed above many, many States when it comes to energy resources. But by the same token, Californians are exceptionally aware of the importance of power to make things move, to make things grow.

I have decided, however, to discuss with you today another subject high on my agenda, one that affects every American and every Californian, one in which the role and the responsibility of State officials is even greater than that of the Federal Establishment; that is, the truly alarming increase in violent crime throughout this country.

Crime is a threat so dangerous and so stubborn that I am convinced it can be brought under control only by the best concerted efforts of all levels of government—Federal, State, and local—by the closest cooperation among executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and by the abandonment of partisanship on a scale comparable to closing the ranks in wartime against an external enemy.

I come to California not only to plead for this kind of Federal, State, and local citizen coalition against crime but to praise the progress you have already begun in California.

California has long been a leader in both law enforcement and criminal justice. The rate of increase in violent crimes here remains less than the national average. For the first quarter of this year, serious crime rose 18 percent for the Nation as a whole. It rose only 13 percent in California.

But both figures, I am sure we agree, are far, far too high. The rate for forcible rape was down, but murder was up 22 percent in California and robbery up 23 percent. What is more distressing, my good friend Evelle Younger<sup>1</sup> tells me that nearly 4 out of every 10 persons convicted of using firearms to kill someone or to rob someone were given probation. Approximately 2,300 persons convicted of violent crimes involving firearms are returned to the streets of California each year without serving a prison sentence.

Clearly, the billions of dollars spent at all levels of government since 1960 have not done the job of stemming the rise in crime. The reported crime rate has doubled, and unreported crimes have probably multiplied even more.

As a former lawmaker among active lawmakers, let me put before you three simple propositions about crime.

First, a primary duty of government is to protect the law-abiding citizen in his peaceful pursuits of life, liberty, and happiness. The Preamble to our Constitu-

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<sup>1</sup> California State attorney general.

tion at the Federal level puts the obligation to ensure domestic tranquillity in the same category as providing for the common defense against foreign foes.

The American Revolution was unique in its devotion to the rule of law. We overthrew our rulers but cherished their rules. The Founding Fathers were dedicated to John Locke's dictum that "Where there is no law, there is no freedom." One of them, James Madison, added his own corollary, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary."

While it is true that not all men—nor all women—are angels, it is also true that the vast majority of Americans are law-abiding. In one study of 10,000 males born in 1945, it was shown that only 6 percent of them perpetrated two-thirds of all crimes committed by the entire sample.

As for serious crimes, most are committed by repeaters. Another study in a major metropolitan area showed that within a single year, more than 200 burglaries, 60 rapes, and 14 murders were the work of only 10 individual criminals.

This brings me to my second proposition: If a primary duty of government is to ensure the domestic tranquillity of the law-abiding majority, should we not put as much emphasis on the rights of the innocent victims as we do on the rights of the accused violators?

I am not suggesting that due process should be ignored or the legal rights of defendants be reduced. I am not urging a vindictive attitude toward convicted offenders. I am saying that, as a matter of public policy, the time has come to give equal weight on the scale of justice to the rights of the innocent victims of crimes of terror and violence.

Victims are my primary concern, and I am sure that is your primary concern. They should be the concern of all of us who have a role in making or executing or enforcing or interpreting the criminal law—Federal, State, or local. The vast majority of victims of violent crime in this country are the poor, the old, the very young, the disadvantaged minorities, the people who crowd our urban centers, the most defenseless of our fellow citizens.

Government should deal equally with all citizens. But if it must tilt a little to protect any element more than any other, surely it should be those who cannot afford to be robbed of a day's food money, those who lack the strength to resist, those who even fear the consequences of complaining.

My third proposition is this: If most serious crimes are committed by repeaters, most violent crimes by criminals carrying guns, if the tiny minority of habitual lawbreakers can be identified by modern datakeeping methods, then

is it not mandatory that such offenders, duly tried and convicted, be removed from society for a definite period of time rather than returning to the streets to continue to prey on the innocent and the law-abiding majority?

Although only a very limited number of violent crimes fall under Federal jurisdiction, I have urged the Congress to set an example by providing for mandatory prison terms for convicted offenders in such extraordinarily serious crimes as aircraft hijacking, kidnaping, and trafficking in hard drugs. I also advocate mandatory sentences for persons found guilty of crimes involving use of dangerous weapons and for repeat offenders, with or without a weapon, whose crimes show a potential or actual cause of physical injury. There will, of course, be sensible exceptions, but they must be minimal.

I hope all 50 States will follow suit. Far too many violent and repetitive criminals never spend a day in prison after conviction. Mandatory sentences need not be severe. It is the certainty of confinement that is presently lacking. We will never deter crime nor reduce its growth if potential lawbreakers feel they have favorable odds of escaping punishment. The more experienced in crime they get, the better their odds of not suffering the consequences. That is wrong, and it must be reversed, and the quicker, the better.

The temptation to politicians—and I trust we are all politicians here and proud of it—I am—is to call for a massive crackdown on crime and to advocate throwing every convicted felon in jail and throwing the key away.

We have heard such cries for years, and crime continues to gain on us. The problem is infinitely more complex than any updated vigilante mentality can cope with. We have to confess, you and I, that we do not know all of the answers. But as with other stubborn national problems, my philosophy is that we must take one sure step at a time. It is simply intolerable to stand still or slip backwards. It is simply impossible to devise a swift cure-all or a quick fix.

In a talk to my alma mater and to yours, Mr. Governor, the Yale Law School, last April, and again in a detailed message to the Congress in June, I outlined the first steps which I believe must be taken to get a handle on the rising crime rates. I will not rehash these points today, except to thank the California Legislature for moving somewhat faster than Congress has on some of my recommendations, such as mandatory prison sentences for crimes involving firearms and hard drug pushing.

I told the Congress, not as a cop-out, but as a constitutional fact of life, that the Federal effort in the fight against crime really depends on the massive support

from the States, which quite properly have sole jurisdiction in the exercise of most police powers.

I said the Federal Government could, however, set an example through reform of the Federal Criminal Code, which is progressing, and through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and other programs, including general revenue sharing.

I want to give it to you straight about these programs. They were pushed by the minority in the Congress during the Johnson administration. And I am somewhat proud of my association with these innovative Federal measures and the proof that if an idea is good enough, it can prevail even if the minority espouses it.

I have asked the Congress to extend general revenue sharing, which expires at the end of next year. Under it, California has received about 10 percent of the total Federal funds turned back to the States and to the subdivisions. California's share now adds up to more than \$2 billion and will be closer to \$3 billion by the expiration date. This is money that you in California are relatively free to use where you think California needs it most.

Frankly, the Congress isn't too happy about such liberty on your part and would rather tell you how they want it spent. I leave it to your good judgment to help us continue this program for another 5 years. I have recommended that it be extended for a 5-year period and with added money on an annual basis.

I should say and, in fact, warn you, there are many enemies in the Congress who don't want it extended, and the consequence is there is an unfortunate delay. And I detect that there is a feeling of complacency on the part of Governors, State legislators, mayors, and county officials. I warn you, all of those who have received these funds and used them effectively—and I think you have—get moving, because the enemies are working and I don't detect the proponents are pushing. Don't get caught napping when that expiration date comes up much more quickly than you suspect it might.

As for LEAA, I must say candidly that it hasn't done as much to help curb the rising crime statistics as we had hoped. But it has encouraged experimentation and pilot projects in law enforcement and criminal justice which, if they work, can be adopted by other States. Some of the outstanding ones have been funded for California's own department of justice dealing with organized crime and criminal intelligence and to Sacramento and San Diego Counties for programs on juvenile delinquency, white-collar crime, fraud, drugs, and career criminals.

The drug problem in America could make several speeches by itself. Here

again we have a very small number of deliberate criminals who destroy the domestic tranquillity of millions and millions of decent citizens. What is particularly outrageous is the tragedy they bring to young people who should be learning to face life, not run from it.

Here in California, according to the latest figures I have seen, less than one out of every five convicted hard drug pushers ever served time in prison. One way to keep a convicted murderer from killing anybody else, and one way to keep a hard drug pusher from ruining any more lives is to lock them up for a reasonable but certain term of imprisonment.

Loss of liberty is both a deterrent to crime and a prevention of repeated crime, at least while the offender is behind bars. Prisoners should be treated humanely, and we cannot expect judges, Mr. Chief Justice,<sup>2</sup> and juries to convict and sentence the guilty to places of confinement that are cruel and degrading.

But I consider it essential that we reduce delay in bringing arrested persons to trial, sharply limit the prevailing practice of plea bargaining caused by congested prosecutor and court calendars, and significantly increase the proportion of those convicted of violent crimes and repeated crimes who actually serve time in prison.

I commend the State of California for its ongoing efforts in these areas as well as for your program, or programs to prevent juvenile crime and to rehabilitate youthful first-time offenders.

One of the worst aspects of the current rise in crime rates has been that almost half of all arrests are persons under 18 years of age. While imprisonment is clearly the way to put hardened criminals out of business for a period of time, it is obviously not the best way to deal with the very young. Yet, simply sending them home has not proved a very satisfactory solution, either.

We do not have all the answers, but we must spare no effort to find them quickly. The Federal Department of Justice has embarked on an urgent pilot program to divert first offenders and, in appropriate cases, prevent them acquiring the lifelong stigma of a criminal record.

Another aspect of the crime program that I have submitted—I asked the Congress to write into the revised Federal Criminal Code the stronger provisions to allow Federal action against organized crime wherever it rears its ugly head. The leaders of organized crime do not recognize State or, for that matter, national boundaries. It will take all of our law enforcement resources to fight this giant conspiracy against domestic tranquillity and prevent its spread.

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<sup>2</sup> Donald R. Wright, chief justice of the California State Supreme Court.

Like other vexing problems facing California and the Nation, we will not conquer crime with a single rollcall or a stroke of the Governor's or President's pen. But we must do what we can, and we must work together here and now for the sake of our children and our grandchildren.

It was really for this reason that I wanted to discuss crime today and the common front that we must create against it. Peace in our neighborhoods and places of business is almost as important as peace in the world.

Keeping the peace is as heroic and essential on the part of those policemen and policewomen who work the night shift as it is on the part of our military personnel and civilian technicians standing watch around the world. The courage and devotion of some, for the safety and survival of all, has brought us through 200 years as a nation, and it will carry us forward to an even brighter future.

Nowhere is the community of interest and the necessity of close collaboration between the Federal Government and the States of the Union more obvious than in the field of crime control. There is no more universal longing among our people than to be free of fear and safe in their homes and in their livelihoods.

There is no issue—even in a spirited campaign year already beginning—in which we who seek to serve the people can work harder without partisanship or without demagoguery to bring about visible progress.

I have not brought along any patent medicine that cures all human ills to peddle here in California. I have come simply to pledge to you my unrelenting efforts to reduce crime in cooperation and consultation with you and with all who have America at heart.

In moving against crime, with compassion for the victims and evenhanded justice for the violator, California can be the pacesetter for the Nation, as you have been in so many other challenges.

The genius of California has enriched all America beyond the wildest expectation of our goal-seeking ancestors. But I am not here to sing, "I love you, California," either. I will save that for future visits, and I hope there will be many, because I love your people. For today, it is enough to ask your help on this complex but fundamental problem that confronts us all.

If we fail to ensure domestic tranquillity, any other successes we may have as public officials will be forgotten. Peace on 10th Street in Sacramento is as important to the people who walk and work there as peace in the Sinai Desert. One man or woman or child becomes just as dead from a switchblade slash as from a nuclear missile blast. We must prevent both.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:33 a.m. in the Assembly Chamber at the State Capitol. In his opening remarks, he referred to James R. Mills, speaker

of the State Assembly, and Leo T. McCarthy, president pro tempore of the State Senate.

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### Remarks to Reporters Following Assassination Attempt in Sacramento. *September 5, 1975*

LET ME say very emphatically that I think the Secret Service and the other law enforcement agencies that were on the job were doing a superb job, and I want to thank them for everything they did in this unfortunate incident.

I also wish to express to the people of California my gratitude for the very, very warm welcome that they have given me in the State of California. I would not, under any circumstances, feel that one individual in any way represented the attitude on the part of the people of California. I just thank the Californians for being so friendly and so hospitable.

Let me add, with great emphasis: This incident under no circumstances will prevent me or preclude me from contacting the American people as I travel from one State to another and from one community to another.

In my judgment, it is vitally important for a President to see the American people, and I am going to continue to have that personal contact and relationship with the American people. I think it is vital, and I intend to carry it out.

REPORTER. Mr. President, can you give us any idea what you saw or felt personally at the time?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not sure that I ought to describe what I saw beyond the fact that I saw a hand coming up behind several others in the front row, and obviously, there was a gun in that hand. I then saw almost instantaneously very quick and very effective action by the Secret Service in taking care of the matter.

Q. Your own thoughts, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I was very thankful. I was very thankful to the Secret Service for doing a superb job. But once I saw that they had done it, I thought I'd better get on with the rest of the day's schedule.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:46 p.m. at the Senator Hotel.

Earlier, as the President was walking from his suite at the hotel to the State Capitol, he passed through a crowd of onlookers, one of whom pointed

a .45-caliber pistol at him. Lynette Alice Fromme was taken into custody by Secret Service agents. On November 26, 1975, in the United States District Court in Sacramento, she was found guilty of attempting to assassinate the President.



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**Remarks on Returning From the West Coast.****September 5, 1975**

IT IS nice to be home and especially real good to see Betty and Steve and Jack and to see all of you.

We had a great trip—just a fraction of a second or two that disturbed things, but everything else was superb, and I am most grateful that you all came out here. I don't know why all the bother. [*Laughter*]

It was a very successful visit in Washington, Oregon, California, and Sacramento. Particularly the people were wonderful, and just a single incident I don't think we should feel was a distraction in the overall things that were done in a very affirmative way.

I want to thank, especially, the Secret Service and the other law enforcement people.

I particularly was impressed with the wonderful reception we got in California and in Sacramento, especially. I wouldn't under any circumstances let one individual's efforts undercut the warmth that we felt from the people of California.

Let me say with emphasis: We are going to be among the people in all of our States, because I think it is highly important that a President has an opportunity to meet people from all parts of our country and to let them have an opportunity to express to me their views, whether I agree or disagree. This is one of the great assets, I think, in a country such as our own.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House.

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**Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.****September 8, 1975**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Enclosed is the Annual Report of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation for the calendar year ending December 31, 1974. This is trans-

mitted in accordance with the provisions of section 10 of the St. Lawrence Seaway Act (act of May 13, 1954).

It is interesting to note that, although traffic levels declined during the 1974 season, the Seaway Corporation nevertheless was able to continue its program and retire a portion of its outstanding debt.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
September 8, 1975.

NOTE: The 24-page report is entitled "Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation—Annual Report 1974."

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**Remarks at a Reception for Members of the Republican National Committee. September 8, 1975**

*Thank you very, very much, Mary Louise. Ted Stevens, Bob Dole, Guy Vander Jagt, members of the National Committee, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is just nice for Betty and myself to have an opportunity of seeing you all and having you in the White House. And I hope and trust that in the months ahead, when you meet here, that we can do this often, because this is a place where I think we can get better and better acquainted, even more so than when I travel or we travel to your respective States.

Let me say with great emphasis I believe that in the next election, 1976, it is vitally important that we have a strong national Republican committee and that we have equally strong State committees in every single one of the 50 States.

I can assure you that in the months ahead, a major part of my effort in travel will be to work with you in your respective States for the strengthening of the party. We must build from strength in each of the respective States. Now, that includes not only party organization but it includes the financial aspects of the party in each of the States.

Mary Louise has been more than kind in pointing out that I have tried to go from one State to another—been to quite a few. We were a week ago in Maine and Rhode Island, and last weekend in Seattle and in Oregon. We are going to go to a good many other States.

It is my strong belief that if we can help or I can be helpful in this regard, it is beneficial to the party in 1976.

I would hope that every Republican State organization could enter 1976 with

a balanced budget and some money in the bank so we can go out and work together for the party and the principles for which we stand.

Now, let's talk about some of the things that I believe are important, organizationally speaking.

I have looked at some statistics that indicate that although we have a relatively low registration, Republicans vis-a-vis the opposition, there is a vast area of potential for the Republican Party. I am told that there are roughly 50 million unregistered voters in this country. I am told that there are some 25 million registered voters who apparently don't undertake the effort to actually vote.

I believe very strongly that that 75 million can be and should be what we as Republicans can appeal to. As I look at the issues that we face, the problems that we have both at home and abroad, the Republican principles today should appeal to this group of 50 million on the one hand and 25 million on the other.

What do we actually believe in? I have said it a few times in traveling in the States where I have been more recently, but I think it is good for us to reiterate it: We believe very strongly in Federal fiscal responsibility.

We have believed—we do believe—in a vigorous free enterprise system. It is our policy, our principle, that the way to make America better and better for more people is to embrace and work for the expansion of the free enterprise system.

Number three, we believe, as Republicans, that a strong national defense program is the best way to ensure peace throughout the world. This Administration is going to propose and fight for in the Congress adequate funding for the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines so that they can be on the frontline for peace to prevent war.

Fourthly, we as Republicans believe that local control over local problems is the best way to get good government, and we are going to fight for more and more local control and less national domination by the Federal Government.

Lastly, and probably as important as any, we believe in the freedom of the individual. I have made a few speeches in the last month or two pointing out what our Bicentennial theme should be for the third century of America's history.

The first century was to establish a government—a government that was strong and viable. The second century was to develop our country as an industrial country that was strong and capable of meeting the challenge from other industrial countries around the globe. But the third century, I believe, ought to be our dedication for freedom for the individual.

We should get away from the concept that the individual should be mass educated, that he should be controlled by a big government. The individual

ought to have the right of expression on his own. And I can assure you that as far as this Administration is concerned, we are going to promote the right of the individual to be free from big government, big education, big labor, big business, and the like.

Now, 1976, with our principles and with the organizational effort that can be generated by a strong national committee and strong State central committees, I think 1976 can be and will be the year for the Republican Party and its candidates. When I speak of candidates, I mean Republican candidates from the local to the State and the national level.

We have to find good candidates for local office, for State office, and for national office, the Congress particularly.

Let me assure you that in the months ahead I will help in any way I can to get good candidates locally or statewide or for the Congress. And once you have selected them in whatever way you do in your respective States, I will be proud to campaign with them.

This is the way we build a party, but more importantly, it is the best way I know to spread a philosophy locally, statewide, and nationally.

Now, as we enter the last 14 months before this campaign, which ends in November of 1976, I think it is important for us to welcome as many, many people—Independents, particularly—who want to join our party.

I think the door of the party should be wide open for those that want to join us and believe in our philosophy. I don't believe we should open that door just a crack for a limited few. We have to have a wide spectrum of people who are believers in our philosophy and who want to join us in, literally, a crusade. And let's work for a common victory at all levels of government rather than working against one another for a sure and certain defeat.

We can win. I believe we will win. But if we join arms and work together, that is the best insurance I know for a happy day after Election Day 1976.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:59 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

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**Remarks on Vetoing a Bill To Extend Domestic Oil  
Price Controls. *September 9, 1975***

I HAVE today vetoed S. 1849, which would have extended for 6 months price controls on domestic oil. So there is no question in the minds of the American people and the Congress, let me tell you why I have taken this action:

- first, to save American jobs;
- second, to protect our future economic stability and our national security;
- third, to assure that this Nation, after months and months of delay, achieves a comprehensive national energy program for future independence from foreign suppliers.

Since Federal price controls were placed on domestic oil 4 years ago, America's bill for imported oil has continued to rise from just over \$3 billion annually to more than \$25 billion today, an increase of 700 percent. I am talking about American dollars, your dollars, to pay for foreign oil and for foreign jobs. This \$25 billion could provide more than 1 million jobs for Americans here at home.

Put another way, the average American family today is paying out \$350 a year to foreign oil-producing nations which could and should be spent in this country to put Americans to work.

If I signed this bill continuing controls, America's start on the road to energy independence could be delayed indefinitely. I am well aware of the reluctance of Members of the Congress to face up to such a very difficult problem just as an election campaign is getting underway.

For more than 8 months, I have tried to get the Members of this Congress moving on a solution to this urgent problem of national energy independence. My latest effort at a compromise with the Congress has resulted in nothing more than this proposed 6-month extension of the existing law, which is no answer at all to a program of energy independence for the United States.

During the 4 years that Federal control programs have been in operation, controls which Members of Congress now want to extend, the cost of energy to American consumers has soared, and our dependence on foreign oil has doubled. Still Congress refuses to enact a national energy program.

If this veto is sustained, I would accept a 45-day extension of controls to provide time to work with the leaders of the Congress who have again assured me they will seek an acceptable compromise during this period. If all efforts at

compromise fail, I will act to ensure an orderly transition from government controls to the free market.

Resolution of the oil price controls issue is an essential first step toward a total energy independence program. We must have a national energy program before we have a national energy emergency.

Our time to act instead of react grows shorter with each day. I urge Members of the Senate and the House to sustain this veto and get on with the job of meeting this problem head-on.

The continued failure of Members of Congress to enact a national energy program puts us increasingly at the mercy of foreign oil producers and will certainly result in Americans paying substantially higher prices for their fuel.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:58 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The remarks were recorded for later use on radio and television.

538

## Veto of a Bill To Extend Domestic Oil Price Controls.

*September 9, 1975*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I am today vetoing S. 1849, which would extend price controls on domestic oil another six months. I am taking this action because:

1. An extension of price controls would increase our dangerous and growing dependence on imported oil.
2. It would increase the export of jobs and dollars from our economy.
3. It would jeopardize our future economic stability and national security.
4. It would retard conservation of energy.
5. It would postpone the badly needed development and production of new domestic energy.
6. It would negate the possibility of long-range compromise on this problem because of expected Congressional reluctance to tackle the issue of higher oil prices in an election year.

Since 1971, America's bill for imported oil has climbed from just over \$3 billion annually to \$25 billion today—a 700% increase. This \$25 billion could provide more than one million jobs for Americans here at home. We cannot delay longer.

Last January in my State of the Union Message, I proposed to the Congress a comprehensive energy program to make the United States independent of foreign oil by 1985.

The need for such a program grows with each passing day. Right now, the United States is dependent on foreign oil for almost 40 percent of its current needs. If we do not act quickly to reverse this trend, within 10 years, we will import more than half of the oil we need at whatever price is demanded by foreign producers who can cut off our supply any time they want to.

The more foreign oil we import, the more dollars and the more jobs we lose from our economy. And as American jobs and dollars flow out of the country, so does our economic and national security.

The 1973 embargo cost us more than \$15 billion in Gross National Product and threw hundreds of thousands of persons out of work. It dramatically showed our vulnerability. Another disruption would be even more costly in dollars and jobs—and could throw us into a new recession.

The detailed legislative program I sent to the Congress last winter involved tough measures to put us immediately on the road to energy independence. It would have conserved the energy we now have and accelerated development and production of more energy here at home.

Because this program would have increased energy prices somewhat until new domestic supplies were developed, I also proposed tax legislation to prevent undue profit-taking by oil companies and to return energy tax dollars to American consumers to offset the slightly higher prices they would pay.

Since I could not gamble with our Nation's security while waiting for the Congress to act on my comprehensive program, I raised the import fees on each barrel of foreign crude oil in February as an interim measure to reduce imports.

The Congress still has not acted. Throughout these months, I have compromised again and again and again to accommodate Congressional requests.

I delayed putting the second dollar fee on imported oil for 90 days, finally imposing it June 1. I delayed the third dollar indefinitely. Still, the country has seen no Congressional action.

In my State of the Union Message last January, I announced a decision to remove the ceiling on price-controlled domestic oil April 1, permitting it to rise from \$5.25 per barrel to the free market price. This action would have immediately stimulated production and development of needed additional energy supplies and also encouraged conservation. At the request of Congressional leaders, I postponed such action to give them time to work out a different solution.

After nearly six months without Congressional passage of a decontrol bill or any other positive legislation, I proposed in early July a compromise 30-month phased oil decontrol plan. This program represented an effort to meet the concerns raised by many members of Congress and showed the Administration's willingness to compromise. The House of Representatives rejected this plan.

I made another effort to reach a solution before the August Congressional recess by submitting another decontrol plan, which would have gradually phased out price controls over a 39-month period and put a price ceiling on all domestic oil.

I believe this decontrol plan went more than halfway to meet concerns raised by the Congress. Although it would achieve energy objectives more slowly than warranted, I offered it in the spirit of compromise, because action was desperately needed.

Instead, the House also rejected this compromise attempt and Congress passed this bill which would simply extend the pricing and allocation authorities for another six months. This proposed action would only ensure the continued growth of our dependence on foreign oil.

I cannot approve six more months of delay—delay which would cost needed jobs and dollars and compound our energy and economic problems.

From my experience in the Congress, I am well aware that it will be easier to pass the tough legislation needed to begin solving the energy problem this year rather than during the 1976 election year. The six-month price controls extension contained in the bill I am vetoing would postpone possible action until at least the spring of 1976 and in all likelihood would mean an indefinite delay in our efforts to begin solving this problem.

Despite last minute attempts made in good faith by the Democratic and Republican leadership, their effort to achieve a compromise in the Congress has failed. It is clear that too many Members of the Congress have not come to grips with the decontrol issue—much less the overall energy problem.

We must have a national energy program before we have a national energy emergency. Our time to act instead of react grows shorter with each day and with each delay.

Without price controls on domestic oil, we can reduce dependence upon imported oil by reducing domestic consumption by more than 700,000 barrels per day within two years. We can reduce dependence in the long run by increasing domestic production by nearly one and one-half million barrels per day by 1985. By continuing controls, imports will increase because of a lack of



incentives to spur domestic production and the energy problem will get worse and worse.

If my veto is sustained, I still will accept a 45-day extension of price controls to provide time to work with the Congressional leaders who have assured me that they will seek an acceptable compromise during this period. If this further compromise fails, however, I will take the following actions to ensure an orderly transition from government controls to the free market:

—I will remove the previously imposed \$2 per barrel import fees on crude oil and a 60 cents fee on petroleum products.

—I will again press the Congress to enact a windfall profits tax with plow back provisions and to return the money collected to the American consumer.

—I will propose legislation to provide a gradual transition from price controls for small and independent refiners.

—I will propose legislation to provide authority to allocate liquified petroleum gases, such as propane, to supply these important fuels at reasonable prices to farmers, rural households and curtailed natural gas users.

—I will seek authority to provide retail service station dealers legal remedies to protect their interests against unwarranted actions by the major oil companies.

Since January, I have gone more than halfway in order to reach a responsible compromise. Obviously, we have talked and delayed long enough. We must act now to protect not only ourselves, but future generations of Americans. I urge Members of the Senate and the House to sustain my veto and get on with the job of meeting this problem head-on.

The continued failure of Members of the Congress to enact a National Energy Program puts us increasingly at the mercy of foreign oil producers and will certainly result in Americans paying substantially higher prices for their fuel.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
September 9, 1975.

NOTE: The Senate sustained the President's veto on September 10, 1975.

For the President's statement on the Senate action, see Item 542.

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**Statement on United States Grain Sales to the Soviet Union.**  
*September 9, 1975*

THE PURCHASE by the Soviet Union of wheat and feed grains in the United States has been highly erratic over the years. The following table shows these purchases for recent years, including purchases to date for the 1975-76 season:

[In millions of metric tons]

Years	Feed grains	Wheat	Total
1971-72.....	2.8	0.0	2.8
1972-73.....	4.2	9.5	13.7
1973-74.....	3.4	2.7	6.1
1974-75.....	.8	1.0	1.8
1975-76 (to date).....	5.8	4.4	10.2

The considerable variation in large bulk purchases by a single state trading company contrasts with the more steady purchases of these grains by such customers as commercial enterprises in Japan and Western Europe. Because these purchases are highly variable and uncertain, American farmers have not been able to count on this market in their planting intentions to the extent they have on other foreign purchasers. Moreover, highly volatile and unpredictable purchases emerging after the crop planting tend to contribute to price instability.

It would contribute materially to the interests of the American farmer, workers in the transportation industries, and American consumers, as well as be in the interests of our customers abroad, if we could develop a longer-term and more certain purchase understanding with the Soviet Union, providing among other features for certain minimum purchases.

It will take some time to explore the possibilities of a long-term agreement. The country must have a new procedure for the sale of feed grains and wheat to such a large state purchaser as the Soviet Union. I am sending representatives to the Soviet Union at once. I am also establishing a Food Committee of the Economic Policy Board/National Security Council in my office to monitor these developments.

We have already sold a volume of wheat and feed grains which will take 4 to 6 months to ship at maximum rates of transportation operations. Accordingly,

there is no immediate necessity to decide about further future sales at this time, and I am extending the present moratorium on sales to the Soviet Union until mid-October when additional information on world supplies and demands is available. This extended period should provide the opportunity to negotiate for a long-term agreement with the Soviet Union.

Under these circumstances, I am requesting the longshoremen to resume voluntarily the shipping of American grain while these discussions go forward, and the matter can be reassessed in the middle of October.

It will be necessary to complete the negotiations over shipping rates in order to make it possible for American ships to carry wheat and to assure that at least one-third of the tonnage is carried in American ships, as provided by the agreement with the Soviet Union which expires on December 31, 1975, which is also under renegotiation.

NOTE: On the same day, the President met at the White House with AFL-CIO President George Meany and a group of labor leaders to discuss grain sales to the Soviet Union.

540

## Remarks on Greeting Officials of the United States Jaycees. *September 10, 1975*

DICK, it is a great privilege and pleasure to not only talk with you but have the opportunity of saying a few words to your various State presidents and your executive group. First, let me congratulate a Michigander who has done pretty well this last year. We are proud of Dick.

Because of my long association with the Jaycees, going back to about 1941 or '42 and continuing after the war when I returned and became again active in the Grand Rapids organization, I am proud of the fact that I had that exposure. I am very proud of the record of the Jaycees over a long period of time.

What are you, the 56th national president? I think that is a real fine track record—that for 56 years the Jaycees have made a great contribution to local communities, to the various States, and also to the national.

I know you have got some excellent projects this year—Project Mainstream, which I think is one that will be very helpful in trying to do things at the local level in a meaningful way. And the project of getting involved with the U.S. I fully support and hope that it will not only get all of you involved but each of the 7,000 chapters or thereabouts that you have throughout the United States.

I can see out in this group here that we have a number of future political leaders. I hope you have excellent judgment on which political party you join.

[*Laughter*] But I will leave that up to your own individual decision. The last thing I would want to do is seek to influence it. [*Laughter*]

I recall very vividly the many opportunities I had to speak to the Jaycees in my home area, the opportunities from time to time that I had to get together with the Jaycees at the State level, and of course, probably the greatest experience I had was the opportunity to attend your meeting in San Diego in 1974. That was a tremendous convention, and I thank you all for the very warm welcome that I had on that occasion.

I think you can see from the words that I have said that I have great affection and admiration for the Jaycees, and I have had it, I have it now, and I wish you well in the future.

And if you would like, we have got a few extra minutes this morning. If you would like to come through the Oval Office, we would be very honored if you would do so, and perhaps we can take individual pictures at that time.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:07 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House to a group of Jaycee State presidents and executive committee

chairmen. In his opening remarks, he referred to Richard L. Robinson, of Lake Orion, Mich., national president of the United States Jaycees.

541

## Special Message to the Congress Reporting on Budget Deferrals. *September 10, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report three new deferrals totalling \$50.3 million in 1976 budget authority. In addition, I am transmitting two supplementary reports revising information provided in earlier deferrals. Only one of these supplementary reports reflects an increase—\$19.2 million—to the amount of outlays previously deferred. The five reports involve the Departments of Agriculture, Treasury, and Health, Education, and Welfare.

All of the items contained in this message are routine in nature and do not significantly affect program levels. The details of each deferral are contained in the attached reports.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
September 10, 1975.

NOTE: The attachments detailing the deferrals are printed in the Federal Register of September 15, 1975 (40 FR 42696).

542

**Statement on Senate Action Sustaining Veto of a Bill  
To Extend Domestic Oil Price Controls. September 10, 1975**

I COMMEND the Members of the Senate who sustained my veto of S. 1849 which would have extended price controls on domestic oil for another 6 months.

Today's vote was not an Administration victory. In the long run, it could well be a victory for homeowners who use heating oil, for drivers who buy gasoline, for factories and utilities which consume fuel to power their machinery, for farmers who use fuel to run their equipment and dry their crops—for all Americans who depend on energy for their jobs and comfort and prosperity.

In sustaining this veto, the Senate took its first step toward curbing never-ending fuel price increases and our growing dependence on foreign oil producers. It is an important step toward producing more domestic fuel.

The American people should be gratified—and the foreign oil producers should be aware—that America is starting on the road to energy independence. I am confident that the people of the country are ready to walk that road.

I hope and trust that after these many months the Members of the Congress are ready to move ahead on a program for national energy independence.

If the Congress wishes to achieve decontrol more gradually, I will work with the Members to achieve that objective. If not, the legislation which I have submitted today will ensure an orderly and fair transition away from price controls.

There is a lot of work to do to make America energy independent. Let's get on with it—together.

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**Remarks at a Fundraising Reception for the National  
Republican Club of Capitol Hill. September 10, 1975**

*Nelson and Happy, Harold and Chuck, and of course Betty:*

Let me say at the outset that I am delighted to be here and I am most grateful and deeply appreciative of how many of you have come from many, many States—I certainly can't count them on both hands.

I have met so many downstairs and up here who have come a long distance—north, south, east, and west—and for your efforts let me assure you I can't express deeply enough my gratitude and appreciation.

As you know, I am a firm believer in decontrol, and just let me thank you for the way you have decontrolled your pocketbooks tonight. [*Laughter*]

I also wish to thank you for the Capitol Hill Club. I thank you from the bottom of my heart, and the Capitol Hill Club thanks you from the bottom of its treasury. [*Laughter*] But anyhow, your generosity—and I say this with sincerity—has kept the Capitol Hill Club from becoming an over-the-hill club.

Now, there are a lot of people who are participants in making this affair possible, and the one that I can speak most forthrightly about is the Vice President. Harold Collier has been working hard, and Chuck Marck has, along with many others. But the Vice President undertook a responsibility at my request to see how it might be done to get everything organized and straightened out. And Nelson, in this case, as in every other that I have asked you to do, you have done a superb job, and for that I am deeply grateful.

I never like to make a speech in the Capitol Hill Club because the atmosphere just isn't right. [*Laughter*] And obviously, the atmosphere isn't right here tonight to make a speech. Betty and I would both prefer to simply mill around and shake hands, to get acquainted with those we don't know and to renew acquaintances with those that we have known for so many years, both in Washington and elsewhere.

We, on occasions like this, like the informality and the opportunity to just be friends. And so my remarks tonight will be very short; in fact, they are almost over. [*Laughter*] Is that short enough?

But the future of the Capitol Hill Club is much brighter tonight because of your participation. And for those of you who don't know the history—and I won't recount it except in summary—it began up here where the new library annex is, the Madison Library, and then it went over to the hotel and finally it came here.

In the process, some great people participated in making it feasible. Jim Auchincloss was probably the father of the idea, but after him a great many other people likewise were strong and helpful.

I got involved a few years ago. And I believe the future existence of this club is extremely important to our Republican family, and I mean a Republican family that encompasses everybody in the Republican Party.

So when I, after talking with Harold Collier and Chuck, found that we needed a real boost from some stalwart people, I asked Nelson to take the leadership. He did. But I thank you for coming, and I thank especially you for giving.

CLUB MEMBER. Westchester County is here tonight.

THE PRESIDENT. I know it's here tonight, but I see a lot of people from Texas,

from Nebraska, from Mississippi—well, from all over the country—and isn't that what we really want? We want Republicans in this building and in this country from all 50 States.

So, thank you very much for being here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:44 p.m. at the club. In his remarks, he referred to Harold R. Collier, Representative from Illinois 1957–75 and president

of the club, Charles T. Marck, member of the club's executive committee, and James C. Auchincloss, Representative from New Jersey 1943–65.

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## Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity.

*September 11, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I herewith transmit the Eighth Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity.

The report provides a perspective and recommendations which are, of course, limited to the particular area of interest of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity. Thus, the report does not reflect the Administration's policies which must be formed in the context of a comprehensive review of the total Federal role and capability to assist the poor in light of other competing priorities.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
September 11, 1975.

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity—Eighth Annual Report" (Government Printing Office, 132 pp.).

545

## Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Administration of the Cooley's Anemia Programs.

*September 11, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to send to the Congress the Third Annual Report on the Administration of the Cooley's Anemia Programs in accordance with the requirements of Section 1115 of the Public Health Service Act, as amended.

The Report describes the activities of the National Institutes of Health (NIH), the Health Services Administration (HSA), and the Center for Disease Control (CDC). Research and development are underway at NIH in the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of Cooley's anemia. High priority is being given to the development and evaluation of effective, nontoxic iron chelating agents to reduce iron buildup which occurs in the bodies of patients treated for Cooley's anemia with periodic blood transfusions.

High priority also is being given to pilot programs in screening, education, and counseling in coordination with NIH and HSA. In addition, HSA is evaluating the information gained from the extensive screening, treatment, and counseling studies in sickle cell anemia (which is also a genetic blood disease) as a means to plan more effectively the Cooley's anemia screening programs. CDC is involved in a number of activities concerned with the laboratory detection of Cooley's anemia, including screening techniques and educational programs.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
September 11, 1975.

NOTE: The 15-page report is entitled "Third Annual Report on the Administration of the Cooley's Anemia Programs."

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**Proclamation 4390, National Saint Elizabeth Seton Day.**  
*September 11, 1975*

*By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation*

Among the most important elements of America's Bicentennial observance—and of everyday American life for nearly 200 years—is the religious heritage of our Nation, rich in its diversity and its quality.

The singular devotion, faith and courage of such servants of God as Elizabeth Ann Seton give life to that heritage and inspiration to us all.

On Sunday, September 14, 1975, His Holiness Pope Paul VI will confer upon "Mother Seton," as she is known to millions of Roman Catholics, the rites of canonization. From that day, Mother Seton will be Saint Elizabeth Seton, the first American-born saint of the Roman Catholic Church.

Born in New York more than 200 years ago, Mother Seton was content in her early years to live the common life of the 18th century woman. But tragedy



entered her life, leaving her a widow at a young age and with five children. Moving to Emmitsburg, Maryland, she turned to the work of her church, took the vows of a nun and later founded the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph, an order of nuns devoted to teaching.

Mother Seton established the first parochial school in America, the foundation for an educational system that has brought the priceless gift of knowledge to millions of Americans, including a multitude of newly arrived immigrants whom Mother Seton and her followers instructed in the language and the ways of their new homeland.

For her devout faith and diligent service in the Kingdom of God, her church is bestowing its highest honor on Mother Seton on September 14, 1975.

For her service to her country, we, as a Nation, and believers in many faiths, also have just cause to honor the memory of Mother Seton on that special day.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, in accordance with Senate Joint Resolution 125, do hereby designate Sunday, September 14, 1975, as National Saint Elizabeth Seton Day, and call for such memorials and other observances as are appropriate to the occasion.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two-hundredth.

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: The full text of this proclamation is included as an example of the proclamations the President

issued. All the proclamations issued by the President in 1975 are listed in Appendix B.

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## Remarks in Keene, New Hampshire.

*September 11, 1975*

*Louis Wyman, Mayor Jim Maisello, my many, many good friends here in New Hampshire:*

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this wonderful turnout of young and old, the people of this great State of New Hampshire and the city of Keene. It is a great, great experience, and I thank you very, very much.

The truth is that I, over a long period of time, have known many, many people from the State of New Hampshire. I used to come up skiing here a good many years ago. I came here in the summertime, and as a result, I learned that

the people of New Hampshire are strong and independent people, and I respect both strength and independence.

I also have learned that it is important in our political system if we have a strong two-party system—whether it is in New Hampshire or any one of the other 49 States. Obviously, you do have a strong two-party system in this great State of New Hampshire, and I strongly urge that you maintain that two-party system so that all of you have an opportunity to make a choice.

I also have learned over the years that the people of New Hampshire believe in competition, whether it is in the political arena or whether it is in anything else. You had a little competition last November, and the net result is that you now have an opportunity in a few days to have the same kind of competition.

The people of New Hampshire, after fighting hard to get the opportunity to make their choice rather than have the politicians make that choice, your election comes, and I strongly urge that everybody who is eligible turn out to participate in this very important decision.

It was my pleasure to be here last April to meet the Governor and to speak to the State legislature. At that time, I urged two things: one, that the people of New Hampshire, rather than the politicians in Washington, ought to decide who should be your United States Senator.

Finally, after a great deal of pressure from all of you and from many others—the politicians decided that the people of New Hampshire have that right to make a choice, and with that opportunity goes the responsibility on your part to participate. So, make it a big election.

One of the important ingredients of a two-party system is that the two parties present good candidates and present a united front.

I am delighted to be in New Hampshire today and to be a part of a unity movement in my party, the Republican Party. I am delighted that Governor Reagan was here in New Hampshire last night.

I am here because I want to show a common front, a united party. I am delighted that my dear friend of many years in the Congress, Norris Cotton, Jim Cleveland, who I served with in the House of Representatives, that all other elements of the party at the national level and your Governor, Governor Thomson, are joining with us together to show that our party is unified, that we can have diversity, but we can have unity, which I think is important for the strengthening of the party and beneficial to the people who want a choice.

Now, let me indicate what I believe in and what Louis Wyman believes in, what our party stands for. We stand, first, for fiscal responsibility in the management of the public trust as far as your taxes are concerned and will fight hard

and effectively, I hope, that your money that you pay into the treasury, whether it is in New Hampshire or in Washington, will be spent wisely and economically.

We believe, also, that the free enterprise system is the best way to have a healthy nation. We believe that it is better to put young people, old people, working people not on the public payroll, but on the private payroll. We think it is more important that people work in a free enterprise system rather than working for the government as such.

We also believe that the United States must be second to none in national security. We believe that our Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines must be strong. That is the best way to achieve the peace and to preserve the peace.

We believe that the control of your local community is better when it is in the hands of locally elected officials. We think the people of Keene and the other many fine communities in New Hampshire can run their affairs better than having somebody in Washington tell them how to do it.

We believe that the freedom of the individual is important, that each of you should not be overcrowded by the Federal Government of certain rights, whether they are in education, in industry, in your community. The right of each of you as an individual is a sacred trust to us.

Let me conclude with this observation about my very close and old friend, Louis Wyman: I had the privilege of serving with Louis in the House of Representatives for better than 10 years. I know he is an experienced and able and effective legislator.

He started with a great Senator from your State, Styles Bridges. He served you more ably as attorney general. His record of public service is outstanding. And I can say from personal observation that he is a person who will do a good job for you in the United States Senate.

We have a lot of problems that have to be solved in this country. Louis Wyman understands some of those problems better than anybody that I know in Washington, as his record of attorney general speaks for itself. We have too much crime in America. Louis Wyman knows, as attorney general and as a Member of the Congress, how to effectively meet the challenge of crime in America.

Louis Wyman knows that you need jobs in New Hampshire, and Louis Wyman, while he was a Member of the House of Representatives, worked hard and, I think, effectively in trying to help the job situation in the State of New Hampshire.

Louis Wyman will do across the board the kind of a job that you will be proud of. And I can assure you that my long and personal, close relationship

with Louis—that I will be proud to have him down there working for you, representing you, and working with us for a better America.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:09 a.m. in the town square. Keene was the first stop during the President's motorcade through southern New Hampshire, which included stops in the following

towns: Marlborough, Dublin, Peterborough, Milford, Amherst, Nashua, Hudson, Salem, Hampstead, Kingston, Exeter, and Portsmouth.

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### **Radio Interview in Peterborough, New Hampshire. *September 11, 1975***

DAVE GOBLASKAS. Mr. President, with the veto of the oil price control bill and reports that that sustained veto could really increase the financial burdens on America, do you have any encouraging news on the oil situation for the people of New Hampshire and the Northeast?

THE PRESIDENT. Dave, let me say most emphatically that I proposed to the Congress a phased decontrol program that would, over a period of 39 months, alleviate any sharp increase. And as a matter of fact, in the first 12 months in my 39-month phased decontrol program, oil prices would be less, not more.

We are trying to work with the Democratic leadership in the House as well as the Senate to actually enact or approve the 39-month decontrol program that I have proposed. If it is enacted into law, actually, fuel prices will go down the first year, and we will be able to absorb in the months ahead the increases that will come over the succeeding 2 years and 3 months.

MR. GOBLASKAS. Mr. President, there have been several proposals that America should trade its surplus wheat to certain other countries in return for their oil. How do you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, the Congress as well as the President urged the farmers of America last year to go to all-out production, and they did. The net result is we are going to have a record corn crop, a record wheat crop, a record soybean crop.

We can sell that wheat abroad to Japan, to the Soviet Union, and others in place of storing it as we did for a good many years at a cost of \$1 million a day in storage fees. So, I think it is better to sell it rather than to store it.

I know my good friend, Norris Cotton, used to fight against the storage fees of \$1 million a day. Can you imagine that?

We want to sell it, and we can trade it. And we have a group of negotiators

in the Soviet Union right now trying to make a long-term sales agreement that will mean that they will buy from us, not in sporadic, erratic ways, but consistently, this great natural resource which we can use for humanitarian as well as diplomatic purposes.

So, I think it is a good deal not only to sell it—but it is conceivable, it is possible that we can use wheat in a negotiation for oil. And I would not rule out the possibility that that might materialize.

MR. GOBLASKAS. Mr. President, with the primaries approaching, do you see this campaign for Mr. Wyman as a possible test of your strength among the voters of New Hampshire?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I came, Dave, on this beautiful day in New Hampshire to do what I could to help my friend, Louis Wyman. And on the other hand, it is delightful to start in Keene and end up in Portsmouth to get reacquainted with some people I knew a good many years ago and, at the same time, to make some new friends.

I intend to be up here next March. I like the people of New Hampshire, and I will probably ask you for your support then. But today I want you to help Louis Wyman, and I hope you will.

NOTE: The interview began at 11:39 a.m. at the studios of WSCV and WSLE-FM.

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## Remarks in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

*September 11, 1975*

*Louis, Governor Thomson, distinguished guests:*

At the very beginning, let me apologize for being late. We have had just unbelievable crowds beginning in Keene and running all the way across the State, west to east.

I just appreciate, beyond any words that I can express, my gratitude for your patience, your understanding, and your warm and hospitable reaction to our coming in at this time.

This trip to New Hampshire has been a great lift, and it has been a lift because I am convinced that the people of New Hampshire are interested in having their election decided by them and not by the politicians in Washington, D.C.

It was my privilege to come to your State Capitol in April and to urge at that time that the right answer was by the people and the wrong answer was by the politicians in the Nation's Capital. You have that opportunity now. You

have probably the greatest opportunity to make a decisive decision next Tuesday.

I am proud to be here on behalf of a friend of mine, Louis Wyman, but I am equally proud to be in the great State of New Hampshire because I am here representing, along with others, a unified party, a party that is working together on behalf of Louis Wyman's election. Governor Thomson, last night Governor Reagan, earlier today—and he may be here now—Senator Norris Cotton, Congressman Jim Cleveland was with us—all I am trying to say is we have presented a unified front because we think it is a crucial election.

I am delighted to see [State Representative] Ruth Griffin here who so ably represents your area, and she, like all of us, is standing steadfast on behalf of Louis Wyman.

Let me ask you or tell you, if I might, why we stand together. Why are we interested in the election of Louis Wyman? Louis Wyman believes in a strong national defense with the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marines first and not second best, and that is important to the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

Secondly, related to that, you have got a great naval installation here in Portsmouth—one that is very significant from the national security point of view, one that is a very vital part of the economy of this part of New Hampshire. Let me speak very strongly that Louis Wyman in 1964 and again in 1972 almost singlehandedly kept the Portsmouth Navy Yard open so we could have that facility here defending or helping to defend the peace throughout the world.

Let me add, you elect Louis and he will have an opportunity to continue that strong support for this great navy installation which is such an integral part of our national security forces.

I don't have to tell all of you in New Hampshire that Louis, by actions, by words, is working hard to keep control of government at the local level. He knows and I know that we cannot run the city of Portsmouth nearly as well from Washington as your elected officials can do it right here in Portsmouth.

So, if you want local control with locally elected officials and the backup given to Lou that is necessary, then you ought to elect Louis Wyman on next Tuesday.

I would like to conclude a wonderful day, and it started early and it is ending late, but it has been an inspiration to me to meet so many old friends, to make so many new acquaintances.

Fortunately, a long time ago I used to come to New Hampshire then to vacation and ski, and I met some wonderful people who have been my friends over the years, and the characteristics of those people I have found in my

opportunity to see others in New Hampshire today are independence, dedicated, with great conviction.

You have the kind of characteristics which I think are reflected in Louis Wyman. If you want an independent guy, a man of dedication with deep convictions, I urge you to make that extra step to get to the polls on Tuesday.

One final word: All of you have close friends who you would stand up for, who you would urge to be appointed or elected. Louis Wyman is that kind of a friend of mine. I am here spending this wonderful day because I want to go the last mile supporting a person who I respected as a legislator, who I admire as a person, who I know will do the job best for the State of New Hampshire, and I know will help me the most as we face the critical, crucial problems of energy, the economy, jobs, inflation, and all the other things.

Louis, I want to urge you to make the maximum effort, and I want your literal thousands of friends here in New Hampshire to join in supporting me in supporting you. Good luck.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:15 p.m. in the town square.

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### Remarks on Greeting Service Award Recipients in the Foster Grandparent Program. *September 12, 1975*

A VERY popular song tells us what the world needs is love, sweet love. Off-hand, I can't think of any other Federal program—and we have quite a few of them, as you all know—that meets this any better than the Foster Grandparents program. And I congratulate all of you for being a very vital part of it.

It is one program that I am familiar with that everybody is for and, as far as I know, no one is against. Again, I think that is a rarity, and I congratulate all of you for being a very vital part of it.

It is my understanding that this month is an anniversary month of the Foster Grandparents program. In its first year, 21 projects were started. By 1966, some 33 projects were operating in 27 States with 782 people totally dedicated, like yourselves, caring for their grandchildren.

Today, I am proud to say that the records indicate that some 13,600 people are actively participating. And I join with all of the others in our society who feel this has been a superb record.

You are a family, you are a friend, and more importantly, a champion for the

children that you have adopted. Their lives are richer for it, and needless to say, so are all of yours.

I wish to personally congratulate the 20 of you who are here. You are among the 178 persons to have served the full 10 years since the Foster Grandparents program began. I know how you react to being senior in a program of foster grandparents, but if you were, I would be very, very proud.

You are demonstrating and have demonstrated that you older Americans are a great, great natural resource. Your love, your patience, your wisdom are desperately needed by the children who have become a very vital part of your own lives.

And who else could fill that role as well? I don't think there is anybody. After all, you have two things to give which few other Americans have today—time and yourselves. That is what all children need and some lack tragically these days.

It is a very special treat for me to join all of you here and to tell you why. A good part of my job is trying to bring people together, trying to get them to agree, trying to reconcile differences in the interests of the Nation.

Here I don't have to bring anybody together, for you are together, and I congratulate you for it. You are united in one thing—concern for the children that you serve.

It is my very special pleasure and privilege to present each of you with a 10-year pin and a special award in the form of a plaque. It is one very small way that we can reward you for your wonderful effort, your total dedication, and the spirit in which you have participated.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

551

## Exchange With Reporters on Arrival at St. Louis, Missouri. *September 12, 1975*

[*A reporter asked the President if he was wearing a bulletproof vest. The President responded as follows:*]

THE PRESIDENT. The security precautions that are taken, it seems to me that that is something that should not be disclosed.

REPORTER. Do you have any reflections a week after that incident in Sacramento? Did you think about it?



THE PRESIDENT. First, I am very grateful for the fine action taken by the Secret Service, that I was not—I really have not had time to think about it.

Q. Those House documents<sup>1</sup>—how serious a matter is that?

THE PRESIDENT. Which ones are you referring to?

Q. The ones that you have asked the House to obtain, the House committee.

THE PRESIDENT. What we did there was to give these documents to a House committee on the basis that they would abide by an agreement as to what would be released and what would not. Unfortunately, the committee took action that did not coincide with the agreement that we had with the committee. And as long as we feel that we had a good faith agreement and it was breached, then I think that we have proper action in requesting a return.

Q. Will Governor Reagan be acceptable as a running mate?

THE PRESIDENT. We are all in the Republican Party, and that will be a decision made by the convention.

Q. One question, Mr. President. Your policy on decontrol of oil prices has caused much concern among area service station dealers, and in fact, they are afraid big oil is going to run them out of business and are going to picket today.

THE PRESIDENT. Not under my plan would that happen. We have requested the Congress that if there was decontrol, that the Congress pass legislation which protects the independent dealer as we have requested legislation to protect the small independent refiner.

The Congress has an obligation to pass such legislation, and in the meantime, we are working with the various majors to have them in good faith continue their working relationship that they have with small dealers, and I think they will.

REPORTER. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. at Lambert Field.

## 552

### Interview With Reporters in St. Louis.

*September 12, 1975*

JULIUS HUNTER [KMOX-TV]. Welcome to "Newsmakers." I am Julius Hunter.

My guest today is the most consistent and most recognized newsmaker in

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<sup>1</sup> The Select Committee on Intelligence, chaired by Representative Otis G. Pike of New York, had released a report entitled "The Performance of the Intelligence Community Before the Arab-Israeli War of October 1973" which quoted documents supplied by the White House.

the world. President Gerald Ford is in St. Louis to attend a White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs. The conference is billed as a town meeting, a chance for the President and the members of his Administration to exchange views with the citizens of St. Louis.

Joining me in the questioning of Mr. Ford today are Richard Dudman, chief Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Jack Flach, political editor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, and Bob Hardy, director of special events for KMOX Radio.

Mr. President, welcome to St. Louis, and thank you for making this your first stop.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S SAFETY

[1.] Q. Our first question concerns a matter of major concern to the vast majority of Americans; that is, your personal safety. It is a frightening fact that a President of the United States would have to wear a bulletproof vest, and we wonder whether this is going to become standard hardware, standard issue from the White House for future American Presidents and yourself? We also wonder whether or not you feel that in the interest of national security, world security, you should modify your campaign style?

THE PRESIDENT. Julius, let me say at the outset I don't think I should discuss whether I wear or don't wear—or whether I do something or don't do something that involves the security.

The Secret Service makes recommendations. I feel an obligation to follow their recommendations. But to identify, Julius, what I am doing or why I am doing it, involving security, I think makes security that much more difficult.

As to my desire to meet people when I come to either St. Louis or in New Hampshire, where I was yesterday, I feel it is important for the American people to have an opportunity to see firsthand, close-up, their President.

In any job, you know, there is a risk of some kind. I feel that you have to balance or weigh the risks as to my own personal security against what is a very important aspect of our political life in America.

It is helpful for me to meet with the people, shake hands with them, get their questions, and it is just as important for them to have me say hello or to answer their questions.

So, as I put the alternatives or the contending arguments on the scales, it seems to me that what is good for the country overbalances anything else.

Q. We can see that your vest today, that we can see, matches your suit and is quite attractive.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

## THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

[2.] Q. Mr. President, you seem to be doing more than just meeting the American people, though. You are actually campaigning at a breakneck speed, with the election still 14 months away. You seem to be campaigning as if it is going to happen next week. Why are you doing that? Are you afraid of Ronald Reagan as a possible rival? I'd like to ask you, also, if you think this is a wise use of your time when there are so many problems of government bearing on you?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer the last question first. I work a minimum of 12 hours a day, and usually it is 14, and the odd times that I take out to come to St. Louis, to New Hampshire, do not in any way whatsoever interfere with the conducting of White House business by me as President.

I have an excellent staff. They prepare the options for me to make decisions. I have ample time to read and to study. So, when I come to St. Louis, or Kansas City, where I am going, or New Hampshire yesterday, it in no way whatsoever interferes with the responsibilities I have, which are the highest, of being President of the United States.

Now, I don't consider coming to St. Louis a campaign effort. I didn't go to New Hampshire yesterday for myself. I went there for the purpose of trying to elect a Republican candidate for the United States Senate.

Governor Reagan had been there the night before. That was not for me, but for him or for our party's candidate. So, any personal campaigning has been minimal. The aim and objective of coming here is to appear on this program, to attend a White House Conference, to help the Republican Party in Missouri and Kansas City. I don't consider it a personal campaign effort.

## RONALD REAGAN

[3.] Q. Mr. Dudman also asked you another question, and that is regarding Mr. Reagan and your possible fear of his candidacy.

THE PRESIDENT. Julius, I like competition in the political arena. Governor Reagan has not announced as a candidate yet. He has indicated either personally or through one of his representatives that he may sometime in November.

Governor Reagan was a fine Governor of the State of California. Until he announces his candidacy, I am assuming that I am the only Republican candidate, and I will welcome any competition. I love it.

## AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

[4.] Q. Mr. President, with the seeming inability of government to solve the Nation's critical problems—oil, energy, the economy, growing Federal

spending—and the seeming preoccupation with intelligence probes and pay raises and recesses, what can be done to restore confidence, believability, and credibility in government?

THE PRESIDENT. There are a number of things that I think can be helpful. There isn't any one thing that will answer the perplexing problem that you have posed.

I happen to believe that a President traveling around the country, meeting people, is one way. The alternative for a President is to sit in seclusion in the Oval Office. I don't think that adds to the credibility or improves or enhances the public impression of Washington.

On the other hand, I think the Congress, which is an integral part of our Government, one of the three major branches, has an opportunity to also project itself and to improve its credibility by the work that it does, the answers that it gives, and its efforts to meet firsthand the American people.

There are some substantive matters that have to be solved that would enhance the credibility of the Government as such. We are making slow progress but, I think, constructive progress, out of the recession. Employment has gone up by about 1.5 million in the last 5 months, even though the unemployment statistic is still too high.

We are making headway in meeting the challenge of inflation. It is half now what it was a year ago. It is not good enough. We are going to have to do better. But as we move forward in meeting the challenge of our economy, that will enhance our Government's credibility with 214 million people.

Also, energy must be solved, and this is probably the most frustrating domestic problem that I have faced. Having submitted a plan, a comprehensive program to make the United States invulnerable against foreign oil cartels in January, I hate to admit it, but the Congress has done nothing affirmative either on their plan—if they have one—or on my plan, which I submitted.

I think the American people are frustrated in this area, and our credibility as a government is harmed. I still think we can do something here, but we have to achieve this improved credibility two ways—by people in Government appearing to be human and by having the Government do things affirmatively.

Q. Mr. Flach.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the latest poll shows that Nelson Rockefeller is not doing too well in the form of popularity. I wonder if you'd give us some thoughts on the polls and how much faith you have in him and whether

Rockefeller continues to go this way that he won't be your running mate the next time around?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, you recognize the final decision as for myself as the Republican candidate and the Vice-Presidential candidate will be made by the delegates to the Republican Convention.

I am, of course, interested in the polls, both personally as well as concerning any other individual for President or Vice President, but I don't think that should be the sole criteria.

I believe that a candidate for President or Vice President must be either approved or disapproved on the job that is done. If a President does a good job, even though the immediate public opinion polls may not be favorable, I think the delegates ought to approve him, and the same for Vice President.

Now, in the case of Nelson Rockefeller, I picked him because he had done a fine job in New York State. He has done far better as Vice President than I could possibly have expected. He is a hard worker. He is a good team player. He has got a vast amount of experience. I think those attributes will be watched, and the delegates will respond to them at the Republican Convention. So, based on performance and expectations, I would assume that the delegates would probably nominate him.

Q. If I may interpret, as we so-called political experts do, that sounds sort of like an endorsement for the Vice President.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I certainly have to endorse the job he has done, no question about it.

#### BLACK AMERICANS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, in your speech to the National Baptist Convention,<sup>1</sup> you promise that economic and social equality will become a reality for black Americans. That is a rather easy surface promise to make to a group that represents some 5.5 million potential votes. How do you plan to make that a reality, your promise?

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, we are going to get the economy as a whole out of the recession, and we are on our way now to, I think, a substantially improved economic picture. In the process of that, the black American will also benefit, as all other Americans will.

If we look back on the last 5 years, Julius, we find that more blacks have gone to college, more blacks are entering better paying jobs. We are doing our utmost to improve living conditions for all disadvantaged people, including blacks.

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 553.

We are seeking to enforce very vigorously the equal employment opportunity legislation. I appointed a friend of mine from Michigan, Lowell Perry, who you may or may not know, as the new Chairman of that very important [Equal Employment Opportunity] Commission, and they are going to do a good job.

So, through a combination of circumstances, the general improvement plus specific actions, I believe that blacks as a whole, particularly those in the lower end of the spectrum economically, will be the beneficiaries.

#### EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT

[7.] Q. Mr. President, I'd like to ask you a question about the Middle East. The United States, for the first time, is becoming directly involved there, and quite deeply, with the prospect of stationing technicians. Don't you owe it to the American people in these circumstances to make public every American commitment that is being made and every detail of the deal that the United States has helped bring about between Israel and Egypt?

THE PRESIDENT. We have submitted all of the official documents to the two committees in the Congress—the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on International Relations—and Secretary Kissinger has testified to those two committees and the two Armed Services Committees.

We are working out arrangements to give the documents that I mentioned plus the content of any other communications between me and the heads of state of Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other.

Now, we have committed to give the content of those documents and those communications, but I do not think—it has never been done in the past—that a direct communication between a President and another head of state should be made public. As long as the content is there, the commitment is there. I think that is adequate assurance to the American people.

I would add, the commitment that we have made at the request of Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other—they made them to us—authorizing up to 200 U.S. technicians, nonmilitary, in a U.N. buffer zone—all of the details concerning that part of the agreement will be made public.

Q. The exact words, though, won't be available. The sense of it will be filtered through selected Congressmen and Senators. Is that not right?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the exact words of our commitment of up to but not more than 200 American technicians will be made public, no question about that.

Q. I understand that, but things like the level of aid that is to be given to Israel and—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, no, no, I must correct the record there. There is a negotiation going on now between the United States and Israel as to the amount of the first year's aid, economic and military.

When I submit the budget request for the total foreign aid program on a worldwide basis, I will submit the details of the request of economic and military aid for Israel just as I will do it in the case of Egypt. But that will all come as a part of the package for the total worldwide foreign aid program.

#### GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, it has been suggested that we use our grain for Soviet oil or for somebody's oil. You currently have someone working on that in the Soviet Union now, we are told. What kind of a deal do you see, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a high level group of negotiators under Assistant (Under) Secretary of State Robinson in Moscow now negotiating for a long-term purchase agreement by the Soviet Union up to, say, 5 years for American grain and other agricultural products. We feel that a long-term agreement with minimums and maximums is in the best interests of the farmer and the country, as well as our relations with the Soviet Union.

Now, there are some very preliminary discussions going on concerning grain and oil, but they have not gone beyond very preliminary discussions.

Q. Have you reached some level of amounts when you talk in terms of oil? Have you set a figure or a number of barrel amount?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no specifics, because these are preliminary discussions. The Soviet Union, we understand, does have a surplus of oil. We have a surplus of grain. So, at least we ought, in a very preliminary way, just discuss any alternatives, but we have not gone beyond that.

Q. Has any kind of barter arrangement—if the Soviet Union cannot supply the oil in exchange for grain, are you hoping that they will exert their influence over the Arabs who listen to them?

THE PRESIDENT. I think there is a better way to exercise our influence with the Arab nations, and that is through the International Energy Agency, which was set up or promoted primarily by the United States about a year ago, where the basic industrial consuming nations have joined together to meet with the producing nations, OPEC, for example.

We are negotiating directly with them. I think that has more potential than relying on the Soviet Union to help us with the Arab nations.

Our relations with the Arab nations are good. I don't think we have to go

through the Soviet Union in this case or any other case, as far as dealing with Arab nations.

THE UNITED NATIONS

[9.] Q. Mr. President, if Israel is expelled from the United Nations, would the United States withdraw, and can you foresee any circumstances that might prompt the U.S. to withdraw from the U.N.?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't expect the United Nations to kick Israel out, and of course, the United States would vigorously protest and vote against any such effort on the part of any nation or nations. We believe that the prospects for that happening have subsided considerably, particularly since the agreement between Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other.

If we can continue to have momentum in the Middle East—which I think will continue—the prospects of Arab nations and other nonaligned nations trying to kick Israel out becomes less and less.

In other words, the position of Israel in the United Nations becomes stronger as we keep momentum going for a solution, a long-term solution, to the problems in the Middle East.

To answer your last question, I foresee no circumstances where the United States would leave the United Nations. I think it would be a mistake. It is good for us to be a part of that forum, to have an influence—

Q. You know we have had problems there in the past.

THE PRESIDENT. We have problems in other forums as well. I have always found the best way to win a game is to play it, not to sit on the sidelines. And the United States ought to be in the game in the United Nations to protect our interests. It is a lot better inside than sitting out doing nothing.

Q. Would it be in the interests of the United States to try to arrive at a formula sometime so that North and South Vietnam could enter the United Nations? They were vetoed this time because of the connection with Korea. But isn't it true that the United States continues to have a great interest in that part of the world, and isn't there a danger that relations with North and South Vietnam can get into a deep freeze the way China and Cuba did for so many years, to nobody's advantage?

THE PRESIDENT. We believe in the universality of the United Nations. We feel that it is in the interest of the world as a whole to have all nations that want to become a part of the United Nations be members, but the effort of North and South Vietnam to get in was predicated on their coming in alone.

We felt if North and South Vietnam were to be a part of the United Nations,



South Korea, that has had its application in to be a member for a good many years, also ought to be included. You can't be selective on who or what nation should be a part of the United Nations.

I presume, based on our overall interest in matters involving Southeast Asia, that it is conceivable under certain circumstances that our relations with North and South Vietnam will improve, but a lot has to happen.

For example, North Vietnam continues to refuse to give us information concerning the MIA's, and they try to bribe us by saying, "We will give you information about MIA's if you will let us in the United Nations."

Well, North Vietnam agreed in January of 1973 to give us information, to give us access to North Vietnam to find the MIA's, and they have not lived up to it. So, how can we trust them? They have got a lot of things to do before we are going to be very receptive to their participation.

#### SCHOOL BUSING

[10.] Q. Mr. President, busing is a subject and a practice that is distasteful to a large segment of the American population, both black and white. If it is such a distasteful and wasteful process, why bus? And is there any alternative that you see?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we have to decide in the first place what we are really trying to do by busing before you discuss whether it is good or bad. All of us—white, black, every American, in my opinion—wants quality education.

Now, the Court decided in 1954 that separate but equal schools were unconstitutional, and the courts have decided that busing is one way to try and desegregate on the one hand and perhaps improve education on the other.

Many of those decisions have raised great problems in many, many localities—Louisville and Boston being the most prominent at the present time.

Discussing those two communities, let me very strongly emphasize the Court has decided something. That is the law of the land. As far as my Administration is concerned, the law of the land will be upheld, and we are upholding it.

But then I think I have the right to give what I think is a better answer to the achievement of quality education, which is what we all seek. And there is always more than one answer. I think that quality education can be enhanced by better school facilities, lower pupil-teacher ratios, the improvement of the neighborhood, as such. Those are better answers, in my judgment, than busing under a court order.

Quality education can be achieved by more than one method. I was reading in the Washington Post this morning a column by one of the outstanding black

columnists, Mr. Raspberry. And Mr. Raspberry has come to the conclusion that court-ordered forced busing is not the way to achieve quality education for blacks or whites in a major metropolitan area. That is a very significant decision by Mr. Raspberry, who I think Mr. Dudman, for example, highly respects.

Q. I certainly do. In Boston and Louisville, where the court has ordered busing, how well do you think the people of those two cities have conducted themselves in bringing about court-ordered exchanges of black and white students?

THE PRESIDENT. There has been some disorders there over the last year or more.

Q. I am thinking about this fall. There have been Federal agents there, of course, to try to maintain order. Are you reasonably well satisfied with the way things have happened or not?

THE PRESIDENT. So far there has been a minimum of local disorder. I hope that that attitude can prevail in the months ahead as the police involvement and the Federal marshal involvement becomes less and less. I am always an optimist, even though I disagree with the method by which they are trying to achieve quality education.

Q. Well, are you counseling the people of those two cities to cooperate with the courts, or are you encouraging them to maintain their strong feelings in some cases that this is an improper solution?

THE PRESIDENT. Last year I did a televised tape urging the people of Boston to cooperate with the court and to maintain law and order.<sup>2</sup> I did that then, and I have counseled everybody that I talked with in Boston to encourage their fellow Bostonians to obey the law and follow the court's action.

Q. We have time for one short question and one short answer.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[11.] Q. Mr. President, assuming your nomination, will you agree to broadcast debates with the nominee of the other party?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that gets into some problems involving the current law. I am not sure that a public debate on television is the best way for the public to analyze a candidate. I don't rule it out, but I won't make any firm commitment at this time.

Q. What about a public debate on radio?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it is a possibility, but I would not want to make a firm commitment at this time.

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<sup>2</sup> See 1974 volume, Item 142.

MRS. FORD

[12.] Q. Mr. President, a cartoon in the newspaper recently mentioned that your wife's comments on the CBS program "Face the Nation" ["60 Minutes"] would only hurt your campaign if she ran against you. [*Laughter*] How do you feel about that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am very proud of her, and we have had a wonderful marriage. We have in our family the right of Betty, as well as the children, to speak their minds. I think she was misunderstood to some extent, but I repeat, I am proud of her and we have had a very happy marriage.

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for being with us today in St. Louis. Welcome, again.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 1:04 p.m. in the studios of KMOX-TV at the Gateway Tower Building. It was taped for broadcast that evening.

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### Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Baptist Convention in St. Louis. *September 12, 1975*

*Thank you, Dr. Jackson. Dr. Burson, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

At the outset, let me congratulate Dr. Jackson on his birthday yesterday and the fact that he was reelected president for the 22d time. I have got a long way to go, Doctor. [*Laughter*]

It is a very great privilege and pleasure for me to be here today before one of the strongest and most important institutions in our society—the church.

As you know, it was freedom—religious freedom—that inspired many of our early settlers to come to these faraway shores to found our Nation. All of us can be very proud, despite the imperfections of our country, that we have never reversed the goals of our Founding Fathers. Dr. Martin Luther King was able to stand before this Nation and this world, despite our country's travail, and still say, "I have a dream."

The dream of blacks in America actually began long before our Declaration of Independence. History tells us that blacks were American pilgrims as well as pioneers. As many as 20 blacks came ashore at Jamestown in 1619, just 12 years after the first settlers arrived.

In Boston today, the Crispus Attucks monument stands proudly as a tribute

to a black man who died leading a protest against the British 6 years before our Declaration of Independence.

As early as 1770, your Baptist faith began to take a foothold in America. At that time blacks were organizing Baptist state conventions in our various colonies.

Through the years, religion has always been a very important force in American life. It has been one of the pillars of black communities, as witness to your faith in God and all that is right.

As we look back on some of the shortcomings of America, slavery leaves a sad and sorry chapter in our history. But a powerful belief in God enabled many blacks to endure those dark and dreary and sad days.

As we begin to celebrate the Bicentennial of our Nation, we have another historic triumph to celebrate—our victory over tragic injustice—where all of God's people walk free in a land of a new day.

Equality, in the true spirit of our Founding Fathers, is not yet a full reality for all Americans. I am sorry to say that. Minorities and women still do not participate equally in employment. They do not share many economic, social, and other resources of our Nation. Yet the struggle goes on. And it must continue until the vision of our Founding Fathers and the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Jackson, and others have become a reality.

Who will ever forget Dr. George Washington Carver and his experiments with the peanut and sweet potato, which were the basis for more than 400 different products? Or Lewis Latimer, the son of a runaway slave, who invented the first incandescent electric light bulb with a carbon filament and who also helped Alexander Graham Bell develop the telephone? Or Dr. Charles Drew, who developed the apparatus for preserving blood plasma?

In the field of politics, progress has been slow, but today there are more than 3,500 black elected officials in the United States, including 135 mayors. And those numbers are increasing every year. There will be more and more and more. And of course, there will be solid, splendid national leaders like Senator Ed Brooke and others in the Congress, providing the dedicated leadership that our country needs now and in the future.

History has not recorded accurately the countless contributions made by blacks to America. Yet times are changing as we begin our Bicentennial celebration. As President, I wish to help bring about this change by recalling some vitally important black contributions to our history.

The right to vote is the cornerstone of our democracy. I was proud to have been in the forefront of the battle to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and to

extend and broaden that landmark legislation by signing the new measure only last month. It represents my faith in the desire of blacks and other minority citizens to strengthen our political system for the good of all Americans.

The contributions of blacks cross all walks of American life, including the tragedy of war. In our historic battles around the world, the blood of the black soldier, sailor, airman, or marine has run just as freely as that of other Americans defending our beloved country. It would be difficult to imagine American music, art, culture, science, and medicine—almost anything that is considered American—without acknowledging the great contribution of blacks in our society.

Many of us remember these names, but it is still well to pay them formal tribute here as we speak of our Nation's history and the American Bicentennial: Phillis Wheatley, one of America's first great black writers; Lemuel Haynes, a minister who served at Lexington; Peter Salem and Salem Poor, who were singled out for gallantry at the Battle of Bunker Hill; Booker T. Washington, the distinguished scholar; Frederick Douglass, the magnetic orator; Harriet Tubman, the underground railroad conductor; Daniel Hale Williams for his pioneering work in open heart surgery; A. Philip Randolph and his efforts for the worker; Walter White and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP; Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League; poet Paul Laurence Dunbar; the Reverend Leon Sullivan in job training; and General Chappie James in the United States Air Force; in music, contralto Marian Anderson, Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, and many, many others; in sports, Jesse Owens, Joe Louis, Muhammad Ali, Jackie Robinson, Henry Aaron, and of course, the incredible Lou Brock and Bob Gibson; and I should add a personal friend of mine, Sammy Davis, Jr.

These men and women gave, and still give, pride and dignity to our people and honor to our Nation. Many of their names have virtually become institutions in our country. It is evident that the church has been a major influence in black accomplishments.

When we think of freedom, including freedom of religion, the National Baptist Convention stands as a monument and a testament to the strength of spiritual conviction and commitment. With more than 6 million members, the National Baptist Convention gives testimony to the individual integrity and dignity of the black American.

I would be negligent if I did not pay tribute in the very highest sense to the untiring, unselfish work of Dr. Jackson, your spiritual leader for more than two decades.

Many of the traditional black colleges were founded by the church. The first black Senator, Hiram Revels, was a minister. Prince Hall Masons, one of the

oldest black fraternal groups, traces its origin back to 1787. As many of you know, Prince Hall was a minister.

In our own times, Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Jackson, and other clergymen led the civil rights movement inspired by the teachings of the Prince of Peace.

The black church saw the need to concentrate early on education. Let me add that the issue in 1837, when Cheyney State College was founded in Pennsylvania as the first black institution of higher learning, was quality education. The need today is still quality education. I assure you here today that I stand for quality education for every American. Not one single child in this country is excluded. With reason, with calm, with sincerity and some prayers from all of us, we will master these trials and tribulations and become a greater nation because of them.

The need for strong church leadership is just as great today as it was 200 years ago or a century ago. As a matter of fact, I firmly believe there should be more church leadership in this country. We see enough of material power.

What the American people need to know and feel more often is the spiritual power of the church, school, and family in our lives. As I look out at all of you at this great convention, I see a giant family. All of us are brothers and sisters. This is a magnificent concept, because the family is the world's basic social, economic, and political unit. I believe we determine the course of our lives, for the most part, in the family home. It is the home which teaches basic principles—the imperishable qualities of truth, integrity, unselfishness, and most importantly, love.

Society has undergone vast changes in the past generation, and new ideas are constantly influencing our lives. New materialism, the pressures of modern life, new attitudes, social values, crime in our inner cities—all of these greatly affect the everyday life of the family. All of us have the responsibility to stand and support the standards we believe in. As religious people, stand up for your faith. I stand with you. We believe in the same God.

Wherever I go, people are kind and say to me: "We are praying for you. You are in our prayers." This has been a tremendous source of inner strength and peace for me. It inspires me to pray harder when I get on my own knees for God's guidance, and it reminds me that I do not act alone, but for and with you and all our fellow citizens.

For life to be constructive, to build a greater, finer nation, we must appeal to higher motives than fear, higher beliefs than a passing fancy or fad, higher aspirations than the law. We must appeal to the highest motive and aspiration

of all—the concept of our spiritual destiny. The world's and this Nation's greatest problems can be solved only by sincere changes of the will and human heart.

The future of America is not so much based on how much energy and steel we can produce—although these are, of course, vital to our existence—but the future of America is based on the rights and responsibilities that we as individual citizens are willing to commit to others and accept ourselves.

We speak of the common man and woman in America. This is a great and noble thought, for it conveys the dignity of the individual citizen. But I offer you here today a greater and nobler goal for which to strive: the communion of Americans, the coming together to face a common destiny as one people, one nation dedicated not only to the preservation but to the extension of that unity.

The American experience has been that competition in all walks of our national life strengthens our country. As a people, we believe in competition. Today, as never before, blacks are competing in our society, and America is better for it. This is the American dream fulfilled.

Many of our problems of modern living cannot be dealt with through legislation, through government money. They can only be solved within the home, within the community, and within the private enterprise system where competition is so important. That is where each of you comes in, for you represent the vast majority of blacks in this country who support your family, educate your children, pay your taxes, cast your votes, and support your church.

Those of you here are teaching all of us in America a very great lesson; that is, the problems of human rights are not so much burdens to carry as they are avenues to achievement. The end of the journey is not so important as the fact that we are on the right road.

Every citizen has a right to the means necessary for the development of his material and spiritual life. That same citizen—every citizen—has the responsibility to promote the good of society as a member of it. All Americans—I repeat, all Americans—must be free, and those who enjoy freedom must give freedom to others.

No declaration of human rights has ever surpassed the Golden Rule. It is our job, yours and mine, to live the Golden Rule and thus fortify the declaration of human rights.

The world has many roads to accomplishment. Most of them are neither high nor low. They are middle roads. I believe the middle road, avoiding the extremes, is America's surest path to continued achievement.

Let us, therefore, go forward together to build a new and better America. Let us not look back, because we cannot change the old. Instead, let us look to

the future and change the new for the better. It is in our hearts to forgive wrong. It is in our hands to reshape those wrongs into right. Let us together accept the spiritual, moral, social, and economic challenges of America's third century.

Together, we will fulfill the heritage of those who came before us. Together, we will open up new horizons for millions of Americans not yet born. Together, we will serve one another, our country, and our fellow men and women. Together, we will fulfill our common national future.

God bless you and thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:55 p.m. at the Henry W. Kiel Auditorium. In his opening remarks, he referred to Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, president, and

Dr. O. B. J. Burson, director, both of the National Baptist Convention.

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### Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in St. Louis. *September 12, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Kit. Lieutenant Governor Phelps, Congressman Taylor, members of the Cabinet, the Administration, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is really a great privilege and pleasure to be here in St. Louis, the "Cross-roads of America," and this very attractive Riverfront Towers. I have been in St. Louis a good many times in the past, and it really is a change. I can recall rather vividly when big events in St. Louis were held at the Spanish Pavilion. [Laughter]

I do want to thank Secretary Mathews and his alma mater.<sup>1</sup> I expected to come to Missouri and have to give some odds to Kit on the forthcoming game between Michigan and Missouri. I think the situation is reversed. [Laughter] And we will have some negotiating to do later on, but my bargaining position is infinitely better.

Let me thank you all for being here. I had some prepared remarks which I have thrown away. I just want to get to the questions and the answers.

#### ENERGY AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

[1.] These White House Conferences which have been held in a number of major communities throughout the United States are aimed at the fine people

<sup>1</sup> On the previous weekend, the University of Alabama won a football game against the University of Missouri. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare David Mathews was an alumnus and former president of the University of Alabama.



that are leaders in the Administration talking to you, but more importantly, listening and learning from you. We think this is the best way to establish communication between people throughout the United States and the people who have some decisionmaking responsibilities in the Federal Government.

I have been President now about 13 months, and we have had our share of problems. We have made headway in most of them; we admittedly haven't solved all.

Some of the most difficult problems involve the economy and energy. In the area of the economy, it is my judgment that we have moved out of the bottom and are starting upward. There are some very encouraging signs. In the last 4 or 5 months, about 1,500,000 more people are gainfully employed, even though the unemployment rate is far too high.

In the area of retail sales, industrial production, and other significant signs in the area of the economy, there is encouragement, but we are not going to rest in this area until everybody who wants a job and seeks a job gets a job. That is our definition of how we should handle the unemployment problem.

Number two, in the area of energy, we will not be satisfied until the Congress enacts either my program, which I think is the best solution, or their program, which I haven't seen yet—[*laughter*]*—*and until some program is enacted that gets the United States free of the vulnerability of actions against our interests by foreign oil cartels.

So, with those basic observations and comments, I will be glad to turn to the questioning, and as I understand it, the first is Mr. Barksdale.

## QUESTIONS

### FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SALES

[2.] Q. Yes, sir, Mr. President, I am Clarence Barksdale, and I am president of the St. Louis Regional Growth Association. St. Louis, as you know, is in the heart of the breadbasket of the world, and consequently, we are concerned with the international commerce as far as agricultural products are concerned. Accordingly, is there any consideration being given by your Administration about using our agricultural production and pricing as a leverage in the international marketplace, such as has been done by us, by the OPEC cartels?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me emphasize that I consider the sale of our agricultural products overseas vitally important. Last year we sold \$23 billion worth, as I recollect. We bought about \$10 billion worth of foreign agricultural products

so that the net gain to the United States in foreign trade was roughly \$12 to \$13 billion. That was significant, vital in our trade relationships around the world.

I believe that we can use food in a variety of ways: one, for humanitarian purposes, for those less well off than ourselves, but in addition, for a wide variety of other reasons, including foreign policy objectives.

At the present time, we have a top negotiating team in Moscow, for example, negotiating for a long-term sales contract with the Soviet Union so that if and when they buy, they buy under the terms of an agreement, not on sudden stopping and starting, as they have in the past, with 1972 buying a lot and several other years buying very little.

We think it is in the best interest of agriculture for us to have long-term contracts or agreements with the Soviet Union, as we do with Japan, as we do with other countries. We think this great resource produced by less than 6 percent of the American people, those that live on the farm, can be used in a wide variety of ways. And we are going to do it for the benefit of all the 214 million Americans.

Thank you.

Mr. Douthit.

#### EDUCATION

[3.] Q. Yes, Mr. President. I am Bill Douthit, the executive director of the Urban League of St. Louis. Mr. President, your posture in the public press has appeared to be that of being opposed to busing. Now, some well-intentioned whites are opposed to busing, as well as some blacks, but, Mr. President, my question is, how do we achieve quality education without isolating large segments of our population from each other?

THE PRESIDENT. I am glad that you put the emphasis where I think it belongs—namely, quality education. Quality education under the method utilized by the courts is aimed at forced school busing. That, of course, came out of the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

I firmly say without any hesitation or qualification that if the court says something has to be done, it will be done, as far as this Administration is concerned. No question about that. On the other hand, it is my judgment that there is a better way of achieving quality education for all schoolchildren than by the court method.

It is most interesting. A very able black newspaper columnist by the name of William Raspberry, in the Washington Post this morning, said that court-ordered, forced busing was not achieving quality education. I wholeheartedly agree with him.

Now, what can be a better way to do it? I believe that you can improve the facilities in many of the disadvantaged areas. Too often school boards have neglected some of the plant and equipment in those areas. We should increase the pupil-teacher ratio. I think that would be helpful in upgrading the educational opportunities of young people so they can achieve a quality education.

I believe that the emergency school aid program which Congress approved roughly 5 or 6 years ago—it is about a billion and a half a year; no, it is not quite that much but it is a sizable amount—can be focused in on places like Boston, as Secretary Mathews has done, or in Louisville, where we are having our current problems, to try and get better faculty, better facilities, better equipment. In my honest opinion, that is a preferable way to achieve the objective of quality education without tearing apart some of the social fabric in some of these communities.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION

[4.] Q. Frank Gamelin of the Higher Education Council in St. Louis. Mr. President, those of us who profited from the GI bill after World War II and are grateful to America for what it made possible for us have long hoped, I think, that it would be possible for every man and woman to obtain from their fellow citizens, through government, the support necessary to supplement family help to the extent that they could attend the postsecondary school of their choice in the program for which they are eligible. Do you see any possibility of further implementation of this principle in planning for future spending in higher education?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a number of higher education programs. The GI bill that was originated after World War II is in full operation now and is continuing even though those who are in the military today are not in combat. And that was the general basis upon which the GI bill was initially passed at the time of World War II and at the time of Korea. We spend roughly \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion a year on that program at the present time.

In addition, we have a number of educational programs that are aimed at helping young people who want to go to college and do not have the financial means to do so. We have a loan guarantee program with any loaning institution. We have Basic Educational Opportunities—it's BEOG, or whatever the combination is. And there is another one—I can't recall the name—but the total amount available in these several programs is about a billion dollars a year. So, there is really no reason today why no young person who wants to go to college can't get Federal financial assistance of a substantial amount. It won't cover the whole thing, but it will cover a very substantial amount.

And if I could add a P.S. to that, I believe in those programs—and we recommended a very sizable budget figure for all of them, roughly a billion dollars. I am very disturbed at the default rate in those programs where young people borrow from their Government and then fail to repay when they get through and get a job. That is an obligation to their Government, and it is about a 20-percent default rate at the present time, and it amounts to \$200 million a year, as I recall. I don't think that is playing fair with the people who loaned them the money in the first instance.

I am for the program. But young people have as much an obligation to repay their Government as they do to repay any, and I just think we have got to instill that spirit in them. If we are going to loan, if the Government is going to loan, then they ought to undertake a comparable obligation to repay.

#### CRIME

[5.] Q. Mr. President, I am Ann Slaughter and this is Del McClellan. We are cochairmen of the Women's Crusade Against Crime, which for 5 years has been marshaling citizens to seek improvements in the criminal justice system. Unhappily, our country has witnessed an increase, rather than a decrease, in crime. Citizens are increasingly frightened by the horrendous acts of criminals. The time has come to return prime consideration to the victims of crime. This means swifter justice in the courts through outlawing of unjust delays. This means effective correctional facilities for those convicted. However, our impoverished citizens do not have adequate funds for maintenance of deteriorating neighborhoods which breed crime. We need more Federal funds to be made available for our cities. My cochairman, Del McClellan, will ask our question.

Q. Mr. President, improvements in the system are very important, but they will be useless without good men and women. Paramount is the need for a return to individual honesty, to respect for personal and property rights.

In this, our Bicentennial year, we ask that you follow the directive of Benjamin Franklin, who in 1780 asked that a moral science be developed to carry personal morality forward with the amazing scientific and engineering feats he so accurately predicted.

Fighting crime without the full commitment of the American people to a return to the moral values which made our Nation great is an expensive and completely hopeless enterprise. As Mr. Seidman<sup>2</sup> told us at lunch—and I

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<sup>2</sup> L. William Seidman, Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs.

think I quote him properly—he is looking for new directions to go back to old truths.

I am asking if you could not convene a working task force to develop guidelines toward a revival of spiritual values as inscribed on our coins—"In God We Trust"—appoint men and women of wisdom from churches and schools and homes, and then could you please use your good offices to spread these principles of right conduct through the printed word, the news media, and television, which should again lift the spirit of our people and encourage the return of heroes to our land?

THE PRESIDENT. I made a speech this morning, or this afternoon, where I made some comments that I think would fit in very neatly with the observations made by both of you.

I think that we have got to seek the strengthening of the family in the first place and the strengthening of our individual ties to the church in the second.

I believe that all of the money we have spent—and we have spent a great deal of money at the Federal level, about \$800 million a year in the last 3 or 4 years—for what we call Law Enforcement Assistance Act programs, Federal money to States and local units of government, and unfortunately despite that vast expenditure of money, the crime rate continues to go up.

So, money itself will not meet the problem. The basic one is how we can strengthen the family, the church, our moral and spiritual values.

I will take under consideration the establishment of a national commission or committee, but I think it is more basic than that. I think the leadership has to come from the clergy, from civic leaders, from others in the local area.

I will certainly consider it, but I think we ought to take a look at other alternatives aside from money, and money at the Federal level really hasn't solved the problem.

#### COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Jerry Sugarman. I represent the Ozark chapter of the Sierra Club. We have a great many problems in the St. Louis region, stemming from the Corps of Engineers' relentless promotional activities on the Mississippi River and on our agricultural flood plains and on our scenic Ozark streams.

The Council on Environmental Quality has recently conducted a special review of the Merrimack Basin dam project in eastern Missouri, but has been blocked by the General Counsel from publishing their findings. Meanwhile, citizens would like very much to debate the issues knowing the facts that CEQ

has developed. Mr. President, will you ask the CEQ to make their findings known to the public on this and other similar projects?

THE PRESIDENT. I am generally familiar with that project. I will find out the details from Governor Peterson and his associates at CEQ. I would certainly consult with him as to whether or not those findings by him should be made public.

I don't think it is appropriate for me to make a commitment at this time. Their procedures, I would assume, would call for such documentation being made public, but I think it is the better judgment for me to consult with him and his associates before making any categorical commitment.

I can assure you that whether they are made public or not, they will be made available to the proper authorities within the Government, and they will be considered by all of those who have a responsibility in making the final decision.

I think we have to incorporate in any decisionmaking process whatever EPA or CEQ or the Corps of Engineers, the Department of Interior, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Forest Service, and others ought to have an input, but at some point somebody has to make a decision.

As long as the flow of information is free and those who have that responsibility analyze it all, there has to be a cutoff point, and once that process has been concluded—and I think in this case it will—then we either proceed or don't proceed, dependent upon what a responsible official decides.

#### DOMESTIC INTERNATIONAL SALES CORPORATION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, I am Roger Guyot, president of the World Trade Club of St. Louis. We are concerned regarding the trend towards reduction and elimination of assistance to Midwest business firms engaged in international trade. Specifically, we believe the case for the Domestic International Sales Corporation, otherwise known as DISC—this as an incentive is as important now as it was in 1971. U.S. companies need a tax stimulus to compete on equal terms with the foreign governments who subsidize their producers and their industries. Would you comment, please?

THE PRESIDENT. I was in the Congress in 1971 and voted for the legislation that incorporated DISC. I believe DISC is just as important today as it was then. It helped to expand our trade at that time. I think it can be beneficial in expanding trade at the present time, giving incentives for the expansion of our trade. I would hope the Congress in its deliberations would not rescind the legislation. This Administration will not recommend the abolition of the DISC program.

## VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, I am Randy Parent, president of Vocational Industrial Clubs of America. Just how much monetary support is being given to the vocational education in the future, and what is being done to promote the growth of the vocational education?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my best recollection that in the traditional vocational education program there has been a gradual increase. If my memory is accurate, it is about \$300 million a year. Is that roughly right? Well, I can tell you that it has been on an increasing scale, and I think that figure is roughly right.

Now, in addition to the traditional vocational education programs, we have what is called CETA—Comprehensive Educational Training Act, CETA—and it has been funded this year at a figure of \$3,200 million. Included in that program was \$450 million for the summer job training program for young people, which was very helpful. It had some aspects of vocational education.

The remainder of the CETA program is aimed at vocational training primarily for those people who are out of work of one occupation and seeking employment in another occupation. So, roughly \$2½ billion is available in that aspect of the program plus the traditional high school and vocational education program.

Now, that is a lot of money—I think it has generally done a good job. But what has bothered me about some of the vocational educational programs and some of the CETA training programs is that we have a training program that doesn't necessarily relate to an occupational area where there are job opportunities.

I know from my old experience in the Congress that we used to establish—not we, but the department—job training programs, and then all of a sudden when the program ended there were no job opportunities in that particular employment field. I think there has to be a better coordination in finding out where the job opportunities are, the shortages exist, and then train people for those shortages rather than just train them for an occupation where there are no job opportunities. I think we can do a better job spending that much money in this aspect of vocational education.

## PROGRAMS FOR THE POOR

[9.] Q. Mr. President, I am Geraldine Berry, board member for the St. Louis OIC [Opportunities Industrialization Center]. My question was just asked, but I have another. Many of the social and training programs which have aided the poor, the minorities, and the disadvantaged were begun under other

administrations. Your Administration has continued some of these programs, either through transferring them to other departments and then to the creation of the Legal Services Corporation.

Mr. President, my question is, are there any other social programs that you might have in the planning stage that might alleviate some of the many ills of our community? If not, what can the poor and the disadvantaged expect from your Administration, particularly in terms of full employment and hope for the future?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the best opportunity for those that are disadvantaged is to have a healthy economy, and let me tell you the burden of not having one.

This past year we have spent between \$18 billion and \$20 billion in unemployment compensation by the Federal Government itself. In addition, we have had a tax loss. So, the net result of not having a healthy economy has been very substantial.

What we have to do is stimulate the economy so we have less unemployed and a bigger tax base or a tax base with a greater depth. Now, if we can get the economy going, we won't have to have as many of these so-called aid programs as we have at the present time. We could cut back and should cut back in a responsible way in the food stamp program, the welfare program, if people are working.

Now, the Vice President is undertaking, beginning in about 10 days or 2 weeks, a series of meetings with the Domestic Council in 9 or 10 cities throughout the United States, where there will be opportunities for individuals or groups to testify in the area of welfare, food stamps, training programs, a whole range in this area, and it will be a wide-open opportunity for groups and individuals to testify whether they want more of them or they want less of them. It won't be a stacked house, I can assure you.

So, we will get some ideas from the people in this operation under the Domestic Council headed by the Vice President. At the moment, it is my honest opinion we have got enough programs; we just have to make them work better. We have some that are top-heavy with administration. We have some where the benefits are paid through error, and that is unforgivable in this kind of a society. We have some where the instances of illegality are far too high.

It is a very strong belief on my part that we can make the programs we have run better and then we won't have to worry about new programs, because we have got them to the extent of about a thousand categorical grant programs in the Federal Government. And if that isn't enough, then I am really mystified.



A thousand categorical grant programs ought to be sufficient to handle the problems we have at the present time. We just ought to make them work better, and I think we can.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

[10.] Q. Mr. President, I am Bill Vorbeck, president of the St. Louis Police Officers Association. It is our opinion, the St. Louis Police Officers Association, that one of the most productive ways for federally funded agencies and commissions to operate at the local level, such agencies as LEAA, is to have input from the grassroots.

Therefore, my question is: Does the Government have any plans that would permit local police associations to nominate one or two of their members to federally funded local boards so that the police officer on the street can have some input into the agency's programs?

THE PRESIDENT. Under the LEAA, Law Enforcement Assistance Act, that was passed about 1967 or 1968, the money goes to the State and then is filtered down to the local communities. The basic law provides that there shall be a commission at the State level, and I think each State has a different title, but it is a board or a commission that operates at the State level for the distribution or the recommendation for the distribution of the money that goes to the State for funneling to the local units of government.

I think it would be helpful in each State to have that kind of representation. On the other hand, not knowing how each State sets up its board—some States may have 20, some may have 5 on that board—I am just not familiar with that detail—but there ought to be some representation, let me put it in that context. How much, I am not qualified to say. There should be a point of view on that board from people who are on the firing line, so to speak.

Q. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. I hope I didn't get the Governor in trouble—[*laughter*]*—or I didn't get in trouble with the Governor, let me put it that way. [Laughter]*

#### PUBLIC EMPLOYEES STRIKES

[11.] Q. Mr. President, I am Joe Snyder of Gallatin, Missouri, the Missouri Press Association which represents the small city and small town newspapers of our State. Many people are becoming quite concerned about the strikes that are directly affecting various levels of government. We have seen law enforcement officers, firemen, teachers, garbage collectors, and postal workers—and I didn't mean to tie those two together—[*laughter*]*—strike or threaten strikes*

against the government, and I am told that the Armed Forces are themselves not immune to overtures from those who would like to organize them.

Now my question is, how far can these movements go without jeopardizing the historic role of public service jobs, and when does this type of pressure and coercion by those working for government and paid from tax money begin to approach the degree of rebellion or insurrection?

THE PRESIDENT. At the Federal level, there is no authority for Federal employees to strike. In fact, if I am correct, I think it is prohibited. It is particularly so in the Postal Service. There is in the Postal Service legislation that was enacted in 1969 or 1970 a procedure by which if the new management of the Postal Service and the labor unions can't agree, there is an arbitration procedure set up whereby any irreconcilable differences can be mediated and decided by this arbitration board, and it is binding.

That is the only instance that I am familiar with in the Federal Government where this procedure is used. It has never gone that far. There have been negotiations on two or three occasions that were difficult, but there was never any need to utilize that procedure.

I feel that in the area of non-Federal Government employees—and I am now getting into an area where I have no authority and jurisdiction, so I am only expressing opinion—that in the area of health and safety and security, there ought to be in that area—like we have in the Postal Service, which involves for the Federal Government a great responsibility—there ought to be some arbitration that ends in a decision if the two parties can't negotiate.

It seems to me that the population as a whole, our citizens as a whole, need some protection, as we have in the Federal Government, for the Postal Service in State and local units of government, and in some States that has been the case.

There is a procedure that I think has merit that has been tried in some areas of labor-management differences where you have an arbitration board, and if they can't agree, then each party—labor on the one hand, management on the other—submits its best offer for settlement and then the arbitration board has to pick one or the other. They can't divide them in two.

What does this do? It gets both management on the one hand and labor on the other hand to make the best possible offer in hopes that their view will be accepted, and it does not give to the arbitrator the right to cut it down the middle, which I don't think in most cases is very good. And in this case where it has been used, it has been very successful, and I would urge that as an alternative to the usual arbitration procedure.

## INFLATION

[12.] Q. Mr. President, Florence McGiffin, president of the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs. Some of our members have just returned from their spring buying of wearing apparel. Most of the merchandise is higher by 20 to 25 percent. What can be done about the rising prices?

THE PRESIDENT. The best way to battle inflation, or one of the best ways, in my humble opinion, is to get the Congress to stop spending a lot of the money that they are trying to throw away. And let me be specific, instead of perhaps being facetious.

Last November and December I spent a good share of my time trying to put together the budget that by law the President has to submit to the Congress in January for action by them prior to July 1 of that year.

When we sat down and literally spent hours, lo and behold, we found that despite our efforts to turn the squeeze to cut back employment roughly 40,000, everything we could do, we ended up with a deficit of \$52 billion—\$52 billion.

I was dumbfounded. Then we submitted that to the Congress. And under the new budget act that Congress passed a year ago, they now have a responsibility to analyze the budget, set their spending limits, and come up with their deficit.

Well, after I submitted the budget in January or February of this year, there were screams and hollers that I was a spendthrift. But you know what happened when they had to sit down and do the same job? They came up with a budget deficit figure of \$68 billion. And now, despite that cutoff point that they set, they have now gone above it about \$4½ billion, so it is \$70 billion or more.

Somewhere along the line, we have to start controlling some of the programs that haven't gotten out of hand. I think we can, but if we don't, these deficits, which will range between \$60 and \$75 billion this fiscal year and probably one of \$30 to \$50 billion next year, inflation will be very difficult to control, to get a handle on.

Now, there are other things that can be done, but this is the one where the President and the Congress have a responsibility. And I can promise you to the extent and authority I have, we are going to keep vetoing spending bills that go beyond the budget I submitted, and that was high enough as far as the deficit was concerned.

Take the education bill that I vetoed. This last week the Congress overrode it 300-and-something to 30 or 40 in the House, and in the Senate it was 70-something to 12. That single education bill will add \$350 million to spending in this

year and \$800 million next year over and above what I recommended, and I recommended more for this year than was made available last year.

So, we didn't cut anything back. But as long as they keep sending appropriation and spending bills above a reasonable figure, I am going to veto them. And I hope the Congress will finally awaken and find that they are the principal contributors to inflation in this country.

#### ADVERTISING BY UTILITIES

[13.] Q. Mr. President, I am Bob Kelly, the president of the Advertising Club of Greater St. Louis. And we applaud and support in principle the Government guidelines which set forth certain things to be followed concerning taste and truth and accuracy in advertising. However, before the Congress today there is a bill which would prohibit the utilities of the Nation from continuing to advertise their services to the public. We feel this is a very clear and serious infringement on their right of free speech to communicate with their customers and potential customers. If a bill of this sort did reach your desk, what would your position be?

THE PRESIDENT. I am often asked that question by Members of Congress as they go down the line in the legislative process. And I don't think I should treat you any differently from them. [*Laughter*]

My answer to them is, I will give you an answer to that legislation when it is placed on my desk, because there is a long, hard row between the introduction of a bill and its consideration by a committee, its consideration on the floor of the House and Senate, et cetera.

Oftentimes, about all that is left in a bill is its original number. [*Laughter*] So, I learned a long time ago never to endorse or say you will vote against or veto a bill just by number. I got caught on that the first year or two I was in Congress.

What I am saying is, basically, I don't think there should be any prohibition against people or organizations exercising their right of free speech, and that is a very fundamental issue in this country, and it ought to be true of individuals or cooperatives or partnerships or any other organization, but I don't think I ought to say to you I am going to veto that bill, not having read it, including the fine print, which is often most important.

Q. I understand. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Bill just reminded me, one, I am taking too long to answer the questions, and therefore, we ought to cut it off, but as far as I am concerned, we will finish, so go ahead.

## AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

[14.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Arthur Stoup. I am the president of the Missouri Bar. The Bar has noted with growing distress the incursion of the Federal bureaucracy and, at times, the Congress into matters of property rights and individual freedoms which by constitutional intent or by custom the States have in the past determined for their citizens.

Mr. President, could not this Administration use its considerable influence in directing Federal agencies and requesting the Congress to recede from a policy of expanding the Federal role in these matters and permit the States and local communities to decide what is best and what is needed for their citizens?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly think we should, and we are trying to do that. One of the pieces of legislation which was enacted 3½ years ago fits into that precise philosophy you are talking about very properly. It is called general revenue sharing, where roughly \$6 billion a year goes from the Federal Treasury, a third to the States, and two-thirds to the cities and counties, et cetera, without any strings. And that program carries out precisely what you are talking about.

The money goes from the Federal Treasury, having been taken in the first instance from the taxpayers of this country, but going back to States and local units of government without any strings attached for the exercise of local control in the expenditure of that money.

We are trying to incorporate in many of the programs what we call block grants. Jim Lynn a year ago, when he was Secretary of HUD, got the Congress to consolidate six or seven, eight categorical grant programs into one and giving to the local community much more authority without Federal bureaucracy analyzing every individual project.

So, we are aiming in that direction. We are trying to do it, and I think we are making some headway. But with a thousand categorical grant programs, that is a tough job, and every one of them has their own little constituency. They want everybody else's program changed, but theirs is different. So, it is a hard process, but we are working at it.

Q. Mr. President, my name is Robert Cohn, and I am chairman of the Regional Forum of the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council. I have used up my time with just the title. We are charged with the responsibility as a group of private citizens—21 of us—to go over in some detail these 1,000 categorical grant programs that operate in the St. Louis area, and we are just a group of private citizens. And we find that in more cases than not, we serve as a mere rubberstamp for some bureaucratic requirement or deadline.

Now, in addition to this very welcome White House Conference to provide meaningful citizen input, are there any other plans or programs as part of your program of cutting redtape and opening up these activities to the people, to reduce this and to provide for meaningful and realistic citizen input on federal funded programs?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't give you any added ones beyond this kind of approach plus what the Vice President is undertaking with his meetings in 9 or 10 communities around the country, but it has been my observation with all of this talent from the Cabinet and top places in the executive branch, and most of them have been to—three-quarters of them—that they get the message. The problem is to have them give the message down below and then have it carried out, but we are trying to do it, and let me give you an illustration.

I made a speech, oh, several month ago, and I said there were 5,200 forms that people, in toto, in the United States had to fill out—5,200. And it sounded terrible, and I said we were going to get rid of them or some of them, and Jim Lynn is in charge of that responsibility. A year from that speech I am going to ask him how many forms we now have and it darn well better be under 5,000. [*Laughter*]

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Jim Cope. I am from the Missouri State Medical Association. The children born during World War II baby boom will go on social security in about 2000 to 2025. Children from our present near-zero population growth will hit the labor force at about the same time. It has been estimated that there will be three or four people going on to the social security rolls for each one entering the labor force. Please, sir, could we have your comments, and what are the long-term plans for meeting this situation?

THE PRESIDENT. There have been several recent studies on the adequacy of the trust fund, the payment schedule to meet the obligations under social security. The picture is not encouraging, to be frank with you. There are a number of suggested ways to make certain, to make positive that the beneficiaries down the road are guaranteed enough or are guaranteed what they were led to believe they would get.

Some alternatives are just to take any deficiency out of the general fund. Others recommend that the present withholding of both the employer and the employee be increased. What is it now—about 11 percent for both employer and employee. One proposal is to increase both contributions. Others say don't worry about it, it is not as bad as the actuaries or the experts tell you, and don't do it for political reasons one way or another.

I think maybe we can get by a year or two, but in a relatively short period of time, more is going out than coming in of the trust fund and we have roughly a year's funding available. Unfortunately, they are all in Government bonds, so the Government will have to cash in those bonds to pay these people and then go out and borrow more money to finance the Federal Government.

But it is a problem, and we have got to face up to it. The best estimate I have seen is that by the year 2000 if we don't do something we will be in a serious deficit with no reserve and not enough to pay the beneficiaries. So, we have either got to get it out of the general fund, increase the wage limit, or we have got to increase the taxes, or we have got to put a cap on the benefits. The benefits today are escalated on a cost-of-living basis, and they are putting the sanctity of that trust fund in some jeopardy down the road not too far away.

As long as we are talking about caps, I recommended that we put a cap this year of 5 percent on Federal Government pay, on Federal retirement, social security, the whole range of things in order to get away from the budget deficit I described a few minutes ago. The present law says that every September I am supposed to recommend a cost-of-living increase for Federal pay. Well, the cost-of-living increase by this commission was 8.66 percent and by a new law passed just a month ago, Congress and judges and people in the executive branch were included.

I had the temerity to recommend that that 8.66 percent be 5 percent rather than the higher figure. I am led to believe that my efforts to keep that difference which amounts to \$1,600 million—just \$1,600 million—will be overridden by either the House or the Senate. I hope you write your Congressmen and your Senators and tell them to stand firm and tough. This is just indicative of the kind of problems we are in—in a financial bind, at the present time.

#### COMMON SITUS PICKETING

[16.] Q. Mr. President, I am Earl Dille, president of Associated Industries of Missouri, and I would like your position on the issue of the legalization of common situs picketing at construction projects.

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that the legislation originally introduced should be vetoed. I believe that there are amendments that have been added, that will be added, if they are added to force local union responsibility, then the legislation ought to be approved. I know the arguments that the building trades have gotten wage hikes of too high or too great an amount, and people say, "Don't change the law."

My answer to that is they have gotten them under the present law. If they are inflationary, they came under the present circumstances. What we are trying to do with the amendments that we have advocated is to get some responsibility at the local level, and if they don't achieve local responsibility the international unions have the right to veto it. I think that is a better way to achieve wage stability in the construction field, and if those amendments are approved, I will support it; if they are not approved, I will veto it.

#### THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

[17.] Q. Mr. President, I am Bill Parrish, chairman of the Missouri American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. One of the hopes of the Bicentennial is to revivify the positive aspects of American life so that the celebration becomes a catalyst to a rededication of the American people to work together to build a better future. We are finding a great enthusiasm for this throughout Missouri.

You talked just briefly about this in relation to the crime situation, but I wonder if you could give us a little more elaboration on how you think we can better focus in on this problem through the Bicentennial to get a better grip on moving forward with America.

THE PRESIDENT. I believe our theme for the Bicentennial should be the rights of the individual operating within the law. I think the individual in the third century of our country should be free of mass education, mass industry, mass government. I think the right of the individual operating within the law without the heavy hand of government or any of the other massive organizations running him, if we can achieve that, I think it will accomplish what you are seeking to accomplish.

#### FEDERAL SUPPORT OF THE ARTS

[18.] Q. Mr. President, I am Homer Sayad of the Arts and Educational Council of St. Louis. St. Louis has one of the most successful arts councils in the country. In 13 years it has raised over \$14 million in private funds for the benefit of our cultural organizations. The National Endowment for the Arts, under its very able Chairman Nancy Hanks, has done much to stimulate the support for the arts from the private sector. The arts are not a luxury, as some people may think. They are a softening and humanizing factor and a very essential quality to our life.

Is your Administration committed to the continued growth and development of Federal support of the arts through the National Endowment, and will you oppose tax measures which would tend to discourage and inhibit private contributions for the arts?



**THE PRESIDENT.** It is my recollection that in the budget I submitted in January, the arts and humanities program was one of the very few that got an increase. The particular one you refer to, the arts, I recommended approximately \$85 million, about a 10-percent increase over the previous fiscal year.

The arts for the public—it is my recollection our deductions are appropriate under our Internal Revenue Code at the present time. I think that is accurate. So I am not going to recommend it be deleted.

Then let me say there has been some criticism that we didn't have in the White House now an input in the arts and humanities. Well, I have got a pretty good one in our family, and she is a lot more influential on me in this area than any appointed person. I am married to her, and she does pretty well by it. *[Laughter]*

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at Stouffer's Riverfront Towers. He was introduced by Gov. Christopher S. (Kit) Bond of Missouri.

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## Exchange With Reporters on Arrival at Kansas City, Missouri. *September 12, 1975*

IT IS delightful to be in this part of the country. We love it, and we are coming back next August, and we are looking forward to a very successful convention. We are just delighted to have the opportunity to be here in the Middle West.

**REPORTER.** Mr. President, can I ask you why you dropped the reference about holding America hostage in the last part of your speech in St. Louis?

**THE PRESIDENT.** I don't recall any—you mean in the comments to the White House Conference? I decided that I had followed the script sufficiently in various speeches, and I thought I would incorporate some shortened version, give the people more opportunity to ask questions. And so I just condensed it.

**Q.** Do you still feel that way, sir?

**THE PRESIDENT.** I feel that what I said was the thing I wanted to say, and I felt it was better that more people had an opportunity to ask questions than for me to make a speech.

It is really nice to see you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:22 p.m. at Kansas City Municipal Airport. The advance text of the President's remarks to the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs held Sep-

tember 12 in St. Louis contained the following paragraphs:

"You cannot begin to gain a sense of what is on people's minds by sitting in the safety of the Oval

Office and looking at opinion polls. Only by going around the country to meetings like this, by meeting people face to face and listening to what they have to say, can you really learn how people feel and what they think.

"Doing this is an important part of my job. I have no intention of abdicating that responsibility. I have no intention of allowing the Government of the people to be held hostage at the point of a gun."

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**Remarks to Members of the Capitol Club in Overland Park, Kansas. September 12, 1975**

*Thank you very much, Jack. Governor Bob Bennett and Mrs. Bennett, Jim Pearson, Larry Winn, Garner Shriver—I think I have covered all the Congressional delegation. If I haven't I will hear about it, although the others, Keith and Joe and Bob Dole, they are very close and dear friends of mine:*

I do appreciate very much all of you being here.

First, let me congratulate the Republican Parties of Kansas and Missouri for your success in working together to bring the Republican Convention to Kansas City next August. I never let my feelings be involved in that, but I will say to you I couldn't have been happier. Betty and I and, I think, most of our family will be here, and we look forward very greatly to the convention in 1976.

Since Governor Bennett and I have worked very closely together in the past on a number of matters, tonight I am going to make him an offer which I honestly don't think Bob can resist. Bob, I will give you a bedspread for the Governor's mansion if you get me a room for the convention in 1976. [*Laughter*]

As I said, the opportunity for us as a party to come out to Kansas in 1976 is wonderful for our party. And it is, I hope, going to be a shot in the arm for the Middle West, and Kansas, particularly.

I was told that yesterday on the floor of the House, the Democratic majority leader of the House, Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts, got up and said in one of his tirades about how unwise it was for the Republicans to go to Kansas City, because the last time that they had a convention here, Herbert Hoover was nominated. [*Laughter*]

Well, John Rhodes, who is a good Kansan, the Republican minority leader of the House of Representatives, then got up and said he thought it was much wiser for us to go to Kansas City than for the Democrats to go to "Debt City"—New York City. [*Laughter*]

I happen to agree that we have made a good choice, and I am looking forward to it, as well as Betty.

You in Kansas have a great heritage and a tradition of fine people, a wonder-

ful economy. And you also have the tradition of superior people, such as Ike Eisenhower and William Allen White, men who have made history not only for your State but for our country.

I might add that none has stood taller than my good friend Alf Landon. I understand that next week Alf will be celebrating his 88th birthday, and I am sure all of us wish him the very, very best, not only on the 88th but for many, many more to come.

Now, let me just say a word or two about what I think of the Kansas delegation. You have, in the delegation that represents you in Washington in the Senate, two outstanding Senators—Jim Pearson and Bob Dole. I have worked with both of them over the years. And I think from my own experience of 25 years in the House of Representatives, I can tell quality of either Senators or Members of the House, and I do wish to compliment you from Kansas for having two outstanding Members of the United States Senate.

I never had the privilege of serving in the Senate, except for an interim period as Vice President, and then they don't let you say anything. [*Laughter*]

But anyhow, I did have a great honor of serving almost 26 years in the House of Representatives, and during that time I got to know Larry Winn, Keith Sebelius, Garner Shriver, and Joe Skubitz.

The Kansas delegation had a very unique—I don't know whether it was an honor or not, but they had a responsibility. In 1965, in January, when I ran for minority leader of the House of Representatives, I was contesting the establishment. And the Kansas delegation unanimously, in the House of Representatives, supported me and therefore contributed significantly to the landslide victory that I had of 73 to 67. [*Laughter*] And it was your delegation in Kansas that really tipped the balance.

But as I look at the responsibilities that your House Members have representing the Republican Party in Kansas, you cover a broad spectrum with their assignments in committee and elsewhere. So, I can assure you, on the basis of quality and talent and experience, you in Kansas are well represented. And I hope you send every one of them back next year and you add one. [*Laughter*] That would be very helpful.

We have some problems in this country. In the 13 months that I have been President, we have had our ups and downs. We had some problems when I was sworn in. We have some today. But with the help of people like yourselves, with the help of people in Congress, mainly Republicans but a few Democrats, we have made a significant rate of progress in many areas. We failed in some others.

I happen to feel that in the area of foreign policy we have made significant headway. We have made a giant step forward for peace in the Middle East. We have strengthened our alliance in Europe. We are seeking to make a good, two-way street, negotiated settlement for a strategic arms limitation.

At home we went through a terrible recession, but we are on the way out of it. We still have inflation that is far too high, but if we can keep the irresponsibles in Congress from spending too much money, we can win that battle against inflation.

Let me mention a matter. Some of the columnists have been critical of me for vetoing a sizable number of bills—I think it's 37 as of the last count. Some so-called experts have alleged that a veto is a negative action. That is a total misconception of the veto power.

The Constitution gives to a President the constitutional authority to veto. And what it amounts to is, by constitutional authority, a President can veto in order to give the Congress more time to think about whether they made the right decision or not.

Let me give you two illustrations where a veto in one instance saved almost \$2 billion. Isn't that right, Garner? I recommended \$1,900 million. The Congress added \$2 billion more. I vetoed it. The House sustained it. And the net result was that we ended up with about a \$2 billion savings. Isn't that constructive? Well, I could go through some others and do the same.

I don't like to veto legislation, but I have a responsibility. And fortunately, with the help of good, strong Members of the House and the Senate, we have been able to sustain enough so that about \$6 billion in unnecessary expenditures have been saved.

A number of you have mentioned to me, as I have met you, the problem of energy. In January of this year, I submitted a comprehensive 200-page energy program that would have conserved energy, produced new sources of energy in the United States, and taken us on a step toward freeing us from the vulnerability of foreign oil cartels.

Most people don't realize that every day that goes by, the United States becomes more and more vulnerable to foreign oil decisions—not our decisions, their decisions. And we have been trying to stimulate production at home and conserve within our own country, but so far we haven't been able to move the Congress off dead center.

I hope we will get some headway now in this last effort, but I have gone the last mile—more than halfway. And if we don't get a solution on this occasion, I think we have no choice but to take a very strong stand and say,

if you won't compromise, we can't either, because we have gone more than halfway. I think Garner and Larry and the others would agree.

It is so simple, in my opinion. Do you know how much we have paid out in foreign oil? In 1972 or '73 we were paying \$3 billion a year. This year we are paying \$25 billion a year. That is \$25 billion a year that goes to foreign oil producers, takes jobs away from Americans. That money, if we had adequate production in America, would stay home. Wouldn't that be constructive?

Well, I appreciate the help that Jim Pearson and Bob Dole and the House delegation have given. This ought not to be a partisan issue, but unfortunately, there are some aspects of it that appear to be that.

Let me add a special comment. Betty's and my daughter, Susan, was out here last summer. She had a terrific time, and all of you from Kansas were so nice to her. And I thank each and every one of you. The Governor and Mrs. Bennett were especially thoughtful and helpful, and for that, Bob, we are very grateful.

But let me add, concerning Bob, I have had a fair amount of experience with Governors, and I can say without any hesitation or qualification that all of you in Kansas are very fortunate to have Bob as your Governor.

Now, let me conclude with this final comment. Seventy-six is a big year, and a major part of that competition is going to be kicked off right here in your great State. I think we will have candidates. I think we have the workers. And obviously, by your attendance here, we have people who will help to support it in a financial way.

It is a combination of good candidates, good workers, good financial help, plus sound principles. And as I look at our policies, our principles, I think they are the ones that appeal to most Americans.

We believe in fiscal responsibility, both at the State as well as the national level.

We believe that we should have a national defense program second to none in order to ensure peace.

Thirdly, we believe that local government, either at the local level or at the State level, is the best way to run our country. I don't think we need the bureaucrats in Washington telling Bob Bennett or the local mayors how to run their respective responsibilities. Local control—the people that you know are infinitely better prepared to do the job than somebody on the banks of the Potomac.

And then I think it is important that we make a special effort to make certain and to make positive that individuals have a growth of freedom rather than the heavy hand of government.

The third century of our country ought to emphasize the freedom of the

individual. We are all different. We shouldn't have mass education. We shouldn't have mass government. We shouldn't have mass labor unions. We shouldn't have ourselves computerized according to what some machine says.

The strength of America has been its diversity. The beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors. That is the strength of America.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:45 p.m. in the ballroom at the Ramada Inn Southwest. In his opening remarks, he referred to Jack Ranson, Kansas State Republican chairman.

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### Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in Kansas City, Missouri. September 12, 1975

*Thank you, Dutton. Governor Kit Bond, Lieutenant Governor Bill Phelps, Jack Danforth, Gene Taylor, Lowell McCuskey, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is really great to be here, and I appreciate no end the more than generous observations and conclusions. We have got a long way to go between now and November of 1976, but I can't help but reminisce a bit that it was the Middle West that kind of got me started back in 1965 on my interest in, and success in, the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives. And I guess I am a little nostalgic about what the Middle West can do in 1976, based on a little history.

So, I thank the kind words from Dutton and I am most grateful for the very warm reception, and I thank all of you for being here.

Let me say that I have a prepared text here, and as my friends from the press know, on occasion I don't use it. [*Laughter*] So, I am not going to use it tonight. They have written all their stories, and it will be in the papers, but I will just talk to you as friends.

First, let me congratulate all of you in the great State of Missouri for the outstanding Governor that you have in Kit Bond. Over a long period of time, I have seen Governors come and go, and you get a feeling—those that are going to stay and make a real record, yes, in their respective State, but potentially on a broader basis. And I say in Kit Bond you have got a real fine Governor who has a great future.

Somebody told me when I came to Missouri earlier today that Bill Phelps had a special name, something like "Full-time Phelps." Well, I like to see the number two man work at the job a hundred percent, and that is exactly what Bill is doing, and congratulations, Bill.

But you have an opportunity in the State of Missouri in 1976 to send a first-class, outstanding, young, attractive, articulate United States Senator, and I certainly hope you do precisely that with Jack Danforth.

Gene Taylor is a man of quality. He has done a fine job. But we need a little quantity from the State of Missouri in the House of Representatives, and I think Gene would like it, and believe me, it would be a great addition to the House of Representatives if you could add from our side of the aisle some new and equally attractive, articulate, able people. It would help us in 1977, 1978, in trying to do some of the affirmative things that must be done if we are to change some of the directions, if we are to move ahead.

And so, in those areas where there may be some vacancies for one reason or another, this is a unique opportunity to get some good candidates and to support them in the field, in the precincts, with adequate and proper financial support. So, I urge that Missouri again have more than just one [Republican] Member of the House of Representatives.

I couldn't be happier that we are having our convention here in the Middle West—Kansas City, Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri. Aren't you all one family? You worked hard to get the convention.

I must tell a story. The good Governor more or less alluded to it, but I am told—I am not repeating what I said—but I am told that yesterday on the floor of the House of Representatives that the Democratic majority leader from the State of Massachusetts got up and started to ridicule the Republican decision to come to Kansas City, and he alleged that it was a mistake because the last Republican Convention held in Kansas City nominated Herbert Hoover. [Laughter]

But then my successor in the House of Representatives as the minority leader, a good Kansan Middle Westerner who now lives in and represents Arizona, got up, and he said he understood why the Democrats were going to New York City. New York City was in serious financial problems, better known as "Debt City," and that was identical with the philosophy of the Democratic Party.

So, we are pleased and honored to be invited, and I am especially pleased to know that we will be out here in August, and we look forward to seeing you then, if not before.

Now let me, if I might, talk for just a few minutes about some of the problems we have, some of the areas where we have made some headway, and where we have been very frustrated and have made little or no success.

Thirteen months ago when I became President we had a serious inflation problem—12 to 14 percent on an annual basis. We were on the brink of a

serious recession. We have gone through a very traumatic economic situation in the last 12 or 13 months. But because we had a steady, forthright approach of trying to do something constructive and responsible in the area of fiscal policy and because we have not panicked and gone for a quick fix when a permanent effort was the better way to go, we have made considerable, substantial headway in the area of inflation.

We are down now half of what it was a year ago. That is not good enough, and it won't be satisfactory. We are going to continue to try and control, regardless of the Congress, in the area of fiscal affairs. We are going to try and maintain the kind of steadiness and forthrightness and determination that is essential if we are going to keep our Federal budget under some degree of responsible control.

Now, I have heard some criticism from some of my good Democratic friends. They say a \$60 billion deficit is too much. I agree. But we are trying to do something about it, and they have established a deficit for the current fiscal year not at \$60 billion, or not at less than \$60 billion, but \$69 billion, and they have already exceeded it by their own actions.

So, we can say in all honesty and sincerity, based on the record, that we are truly seeking a policy of fiscal responsibility and doing something about it. All we need are more troops, people that will stand up and say that we can't do this, we have to be responsible and serious about how we handle the taxpayer's money.

Yes, we have had unemployment much too high, and we are trying to do something about that. But there are those who say if you just turn a spigot, all of a sudden you can end unemployment. Most responsible people say there is no quick fix. Most responsible people say that you have to seek to get the increase in employment out of the private sector rather than out of the public sector.

And I am glad to report despite the fact that unemployment is still at 8.4 percent that in the last 4 or 5 months—since March—we have added 1,500,000 more people gainfully employed in the private sector, and we are going to have more progress in that regard. And I am convinced that if we don't panic, if we don't get irresponsible, we can look forward to a slow but constructive decline in the unemployment figure as we give individuals in the private sector the kind of employment that is good for them and good for the country.

Let me speak for a moment, if I could, about energy. As you all know, in 1973 there was a blowup in the Middle East. The net result was that we had



an oil embargo imposed by the OPEC nations. It triggered substantial increases in oil prices.

We were first strained to get any oil, and then after the settlement in the Middle East the prices zoomed. Whereas in 1972 we were spending for foreign oil about \$3 billion a year, after the price increase following the embargo, today we are spending \$25 billion a year, paying it to OPEC, which means, if you translate it into the figures of an individual family, it means that every individual family is paying today about \$350 more a year for fuel, and it is all going overseas to OPEC.

Wouldn't it be better to have those extra prices paid to American oil producers rather than paying them overseas?

Now, how are we going to solve our energy problem?

First we have to recognize that we are extremely vulnerable to foreign oil cartels. If they wanted to turn the spigot tomorrow, our whole economic progress in the last 6 or 8 months would go down the drain, and they could because today we buy roughly 40 percent of our oil overseas. So, what we in America have to do is become invulnerable to foreign oil dictates.

Now, how do you do that? You conserve on the one hand—and it must be admitted that the United States, because energy was very cheap for many, many years, we have wasted it, we have squandered it, we haven't been careful how we used it, so we have to conserve. And there are many things each of us individually and businesses can do and governments can do, but in addition to that, we have to produce more at home.

You can't produce more if you aren't going to let people get a return on their investment. Oh, I know it is very easy for the demagogues to get up and make the speeches which Gene Taylor has heard in the House of Representatives and I have heard innumerable times, but it is pure demagoguery. You don't increase production by controlling prices. All you do is spread a scarcity, that is what you really do.

So, we have to find an answer on the short haul to increase production domestically. In January of this year, I submitted to the Congress a 200-page bill that was a comprehensive energy program that would have conserved, produced more, and it would have given us the wherewithal to increase our research and development in some of the exotic areas—geothermal, solar, and the rest.

Isn't it hard to believe that since January of this year, there hasn't been one meaningful energy bill passed by the Congress? Not one. Isn't that right, Gene? Not one. It is unforgiveable. And if the Congress doesn't do something, they

are going to be responsible for the increasing vulnerability of this country to foreign oil cartels.

Now, I would rather have an answer than a political issue, and we have gone the last mile, we have gone better than 50 percent trying to get an answer, and in all honesty, so far there hasn't been any progress on their part.

Well, we have got another 60 days, or we are about to get 60 days. I can recall vividly in, I think it was February, they pleaded with me to give them 60 days, they would pass an energy program. That 60 days passes. Then they wanted another time limit. Then they wanted another time limit. And the net result is zero.

Well, all I am saying is the American people are smarter than the politicians. They know we have an energy problem. They know we have to do something about it. They won't tolerate being vulnerable to foreign sources, and we are going to get it somehow, someway, because America needs it, and America deserves strength at home in the energy field.

Now, let me, if I might, talk about something that some of our columnist friends have written about. They have said I have vetoed 37 bills passed by the Congress, and they make it an evil thing.

I am glad I did because I think we have achieved some higher degree of fiscal responsibility in vetoing. Some people allege that a veto is a negative act. I am sure you have been accused of that, haven't you, Kit, that you are against progress, that it is negative and, therefore, something awfully evil about it.

First, let me say that in the Constitution of the United States there is the authority given to the President to veto, so it is a constitutional right of the President. And our forefathers were so wise to give that veto authority constitutionally, because every once in a while a Congress acts very irresponsibly, and a veto is a power given by the Constitution to tell the Congress maybe you made a mistake, maybe you ought to take a little time and think about it, maybe you ought to correct the error that you made, and oftentimes it works out that way.

Let me give you one concrete example. Sometime early in the spring I recommended \$1,900 million for a summer youth program and a public service employment program. The Congress took 1.9 billion recommendation by me and added \$2 billion, with a whole batch of totally irrelevant logrolling, pork-barrel projects. So, I vetoed it. It was sustained in the House of Representatives, and they came back with virtually the bill that I recommended.

Now, we have done this on a number of occasions, and the net result, according to the statisticians, is we have saved \$6 billion in taxpayers' money. I think that was worth the effort.

What I am saying is that domestically it has been a hard fight. It hasn't been pleasant, but we have made headway by being candid, forthright, determined, and I think the public is on our side—I think not only Republicans but Independents.

And as a result I believe we have created the climate that gives our party and our candidates an opportunity to run on a record of responsibility fiscally, a party that has a record of trying to do what was right and not necessarily what was political.

Now, we are going to continue in the domestic area of trying to be straightforward, firm, openminded. In the field of foreign policy, we are going to continue our efforts of trying to negotiate rather than confront, and the best evidence of that is what was achieved in the last few weeks in getting two nations together that couldn't in the past agree—Egypt and Israel—to settle the problem in the Middle East.

And I give full credit to the genius of Henry Kissinger, who did a superb job in taking two longstanding nations of vast differences, and the net result is we have made progress toward peace in that very volatile, difficult area. But wherever we go around the world, we are going to keep the pressure on, the pressure on for peace with strength, fairness, and I believe the record will be one on the plus side.

But what makes it possible for us to have that capability is very simple. It is a military program second to none, not to wage war, but to ensure the peace. I know from my negotiations and discussions with world leaders they respect us because we are strong. They will work with us because we are able. And therefore, it is extremely important that America maintain an Army, a Navy, an Air Force, and Marines that is second to none, not for war, but for peace. And that is what we have.

One final observation, if I might. I have made quite a campaign about trying to get the Government off your back, whether it is through the executive branch or through the regulatory agencies. I am not advocating all regulation—certainly not that that involves health and safety—stripped, but there are some obsolete regulations, there are some obsolete laws, there are some bureaucrats that hang on to power like they had to have it to live.

We are going to get rid of some of these things. We are going to get rid of them, because during a period of time within the last 25 years, to my own personal knowledge, there was this effort made to expand controls and to increase regulation.

I used to sit in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and I would

listen to these arguments about they had to do this for the people and they had to do that for the people and so forth.

I was reminded one time of a saying that was given to me a good many years ago of a man who said, "Don't ever forget that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have."

I thank you all for being here and supporting and making the party fiscally solvent in the great State of Missouri.

I thank you all for the friendship you have given and the hospitality that you have expressed. I love Kit Bond and Jack Danforth, and I love Gene Taylor. I just hope that you will send them back for the good of Missouri, but for the good of the country.

I can't say that I am going to wish you well on October 4, however, in Ann Arbor, Michigan. I know you will play very well, and you will be treated extremely well. I have played a few ball games in that stadium. But let me say I love Missourians, and I thank you for the wonderful day and the fine evening.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:09 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Alameda Plaza Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Lowell McCuskey,

Missouri State Republican chairman, and Dutton Brookfield, chairman of the dinner.

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### Exchange With Reporters on Arrival at Dallas, Texas.

*September 13, 1975*

IT IS very nice to be in Dallas, and we are looking forward to not only the convention but SMU and a nice luncheon, and then we go on to Midland. So, we look forward to a full and a most enjoyable day here in the great State of Texas. If you have any—I won't look at you, Walt [Walter Rodgers, Associated Press Radio]. [*Laughter*]

REPORTER. How do you feel your protection has been all along, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. It has been great. The people have been so wonderful that I just felt happy from the day we started until we finish here in Texas.

Thank you all very much.

Q. Concerning your stay in Dallas, did it ever enter your mind, before you came here, what happened here 12 years ago?

THE PRESIDENT. Quite frankly, I hadn't thought about it until you mentioned

it. I have always come to Dallas and had a very warm reception, and it never entered my mind.

Q. Do you think that the Warren Commission should reopen in view of the things that have been revealed in Dallas in the last few weeks?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen any new evidence that would justify a reopening. The Warren Commission did an excellent job. We assembled all the evidence that was available, and based on that evidence, I think the right decision was made. It seems to me that it would be unwise—unless there is some new and very important evidence brought to light—that it would be unwise to reopen the hearing.

Q. What about the destruction of the letter? <sup>1</sup>

THE PRESIDENT. I think if you go back into all of the evidence that was accumulated by the Warren Commission, that every bit of significant evidence was pulled together by the investigators, analyzed by the staff and by the Commission. As I said a moment ago, I don't think there has been any additional significant evidence that has been turned up that would change the basic decisions made by the Warren Commission.

Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:37 a.m. at Love Field.

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## Remarks in Dallas at the Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women.

September 13, 1975

*Thank you very, very much, Connie. Mary Louise, Senator John Tower, distinguished Members of the Congress—Bill Archer, Alan Steelman, Jim Collins, Frank Gaston, Jack Kemp—Governor Bond:*

Thanks very much, Kit, for the wonderful day that we had in the State of Missouri yesterday. It was just a terrific day, and I thank you and your wife, Carolyn, for your kindness and hospitality.

Anne Armstrong, it is wonderful to see you. We thank you for the super job that you did for so long. It is nice to be in your State.

<sup>1</sup> According to testimony by a Federal Bureau of Investigation official given before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee on October 21, 1975, Lee Harvey Oswald visited the FBI's Dallas Office several days prior to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, and left a note warning an FBI agent to desist from further interviews with Oswald's wife. Shortly thereafter, the note was destroyed in the Dallas Office and thus was not available for examination during the deliberations of the Warren Commission.

Let me thank all of you for the especially warm and friendly welcome. I have heard nothing but wonderful comments about the convention—the enthusiasm, the dedication, and the conviction.

You know, there is a slogan that says, “Never underestimate the power of a woman.” I can assure you the National Federation is an organization of Republican women whose power, prestige, perception, and purpose will never be underestimated by anyone. I know it. You know it. And next year a lot of Democratic candidates are going to know it, too.

First, let me thank President Connie Armitage for her introduction, and let me also thank Connie on behalf of all Republicans for her quarter century of outstanding contribution to our party. Connie, you have made excellence look all too easy.

But the Federation has always been very rich in exceptional leadership, and I know that Pat Utar will continue this great tradition of outstanding executive achievement. As one chief executive to another, I pledge, Pat, my fullest cooperation in putting our party’s principles to work throughout the length and the breadth of this United States.

The Republican Party, its men and women, will be facing an historical challenge next year. Nineteen seventy-six will determine whether we can regain our numbers, our stature, our effectiveness on the national political scene, or whether America is truly on the road to one-party rule. To meet this challenge, we need the spirit, the determination, and above all, the talent of all Republicans. We need your help, as I have gotten that wonderful help over the years from the Michigan delegation here at this time.

Frankly, I have had it with the negative attitude that would write a self-fulfilling prophesy of doom for America. I have heard much too much from people who say everything is falling apart, how the quality of life in America is sliding downhill, how the dollar is worthless, how muggers and murderers have driven everyone behind locked doors, and how even the President of the United States should stop visiting public places and seeing the American people.

I have had it with that attitude. I did not take the sacred oath of office to preside over the decline and fall of the United States of America. I most emphatically reject the scenario of pessimism. In contrast, I look to the future and to building upon the proud past of America.

In America’s first century, a young nation forged political institutions responsive to the people. Unity grew from diversity.

Our second century transformed America into the most productive nation that ever existed. America vibrated with pioneer courage, the achievements of

industry, agriculture, and free trade unions, the incentives of the free enterprise system, and the sharing of gains at both home and abroad.

Our third century begins in less than a year. Let this new era be one of fulfillment for the individual. I see a century devoted to the quality of personal and family and community life. I see people solving problems rather than wallowing in despair. I see our people making their own decisions rather than abdicating their future to the massive big brother governmental structures or turning their lives to the 1984 nightmare script of what our third century could be.

It is my fervent conviction that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

I ask you to share my vision of a third American century in which the individual, not the government, makes personal choices. I am confident that the American spirit that brought us to our 200th birthday has produced men and women who are determined to prevail over the agencies and bureaus of government that would reduce human beings to computerized abstractions.

I see American individualism as the sentinel of 1976 standing watch over the future. Never forget that in America our sovereign is the citizen. The government exists to serve the people. Government must never become an unresponsive monstrosity that masters everyone and is responsive to no one.

My vision of America's third century is a time of achievement rather than apathy, fostering human growth and spiritual and moral greatness.

Two centuries of struggle won for America a great measure of political and economic independence, and I am proud to be President of a free government that checks and balances its own excesses. I am proud of a free economic system which corrects its own errors, controlled by the marketplace of free and enlightened consumers.

I am especially proud to be a member of a political party that cherishes the individual and believes in government that does for the individual only that which he or she cannot achieve alone. That is what freedom is all about.

Let me add at this point, if I might, a matter of deep concern to me, a matter that I am positive is of deep concern to all those here and 214 million Americans. We have tried hard, we have written laws, we have appropriated money to accomplish quality education for the young in America. In 1954 the courts of this country decided that one way, in their estimation, to achieve that was court-ordered forced busing. Now, regardless of how we individually may feel, the law of the land must be upheld.

But if I could give you a view that I have expressed, not just recently but for 10 or more years, there is a better way to achieve quality education in America than by forced busing. We can and we will find a better way.

We can increase pupil-teacher ratios. We can improve facilities, have more and better equipment, rely more heavily on the neighborhood school concept. There is a way, and we must find it.

Our forebears who founded this great Nation were driven by a passion to be individuals. They created a system of government that gave form and substance to that revolutionary goal. But then the politicians and the theorists began to intrude upon this individuality with theories that big government and Federal spending could cure every social evil.

They began to preach that our free enterprise system needed oppressive government rules and regulations to protect the individual. They started a trend that now threatens to engulf us as individuals as well as the entire Nation. A trickle of Federal spending for human needs has become a tidal wave under Democratic Congressional action.

Some laws needed to promote competition have become a maze of regulations that are strangling our economic system. Every new dollar appropriated, every new law that fetters free enterprise erodes personal freedom. We are losing that freedom that made it possible to build this, a truly great Nation.

The flood of Federal spending covers a wide range of income redistribution programs—programs enacted by the Congress under which a qualified system is automatically entitled to specific benefits. Some of these programs are necessary and commendable, but in this fiscal year those laws enacted by the Congress will total in a 12-month period more than \$168 billion. They will eat up more than 45 percent of total Federal expenditures.

Ever-increasing government spending for all social programs literally threatens our whole economy. If that spending grows at the rate of the last 20 years, by the year 2000 half of the people in this Nation will be living off the other half. That will significantly change our form of government. This trend must be reversed, and it will be reversed.

Everybody here knows my record in the Congress, where I was fortunate to win five “Watchdog of the Treasury” awards, every year they were issued while I was a Member of the Congress.

In the White House I have continued to fight the big spenders, but it takes a little time to undo the damage caused by 25 years of reckless Democratic spending. And if not stopped, this Democratic Congress will balloon this year’s budget



deficit to \$70 billion, \$80 billion, or even possibly \$100 billion. Are you going to let that happen?

The only weapon available to outnumbered Congressional Republicans is the veto. I have used it, and if necessary, I will use it again and again and again.

These vetoes are positive. The framers of our Constitution intended that they should be. The experts tell me that my vetoes in this year alone will save taxpayers some \$6 billion by 1977. I think that is positive action by any standard.

In addition, these vetoes have resulted often in far better legislation. When I vetoed irresponsible bills and enough Congressmen agreed to sustain the veto, the Congress was forced to come up with better bills, more or less along the original lines that I proposed.

Senator Tower knows that in the housing bill. Others on the Committee on Appropriations know that when Congress—on a bill that I felt had to provide for summer youth employment—a reasonable, necessary budget request for \$1,900 million—the Congress loaded it up and larded it up with another \$2 billion in unnecessary porkbarrel spending. I had a veto, and the Congress sustained it, and we came back with a reasonable figure.

What I am trying to say is that a veto can be used for affirmative action as the drafters of the Constitution provided in that document.

Now, I have heard that some of the wild-spending, more liberal Democrats in the Congress want to switch billions, billions of dollars from national defense—money for the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines—into more social programs. That would be dead wrong. If they don't already know it, I am going to fight them every step of the way.

As we approach the campaign year of 1976, the air will soon be filled with the voices of candidates, the rumbles of bandwagons, and questions of pollsters. Pollsters aren't the only ones who will be asking some questions. Here this morning, I have some questions of my own to ask.

Do you want your President to accept, without a fight, budget-busting appropriation bills? Let's put it another way. Do you want to be deep in the heart of Texas or deep in the heart of taxes? [*Laughter*]

Another question. Do you want your President to open the United States Treasury to every city that hasn't or won't responsibly manage its fiscal affairs?

Do you want your President to roll over and play dead while Congress passes more and more legislation to strangle free enterprise?

Do you want your President to go along with those who abdicate State and local responsibility to a massive Federal bureaucracy?

Do you want your President to accept legislation that will continue America's dependence on unreliable foreign oil?

Do you want your President to accept, without a fight, slashes in our defense program that would make America number two in a world where only number one counts?

As Americans concerned about the future of this great Nation, your Republican answer to every one of those questions has been a resounding no, and I thank you for it.

I agree with you, and I intend to fight with everything at my command to make sure that we have fiscal responsibility in government, a vigorous free enterprise system, a strong national defense, local control over local affairs, and preservation of personal freedom for the individual.

Today, the Republican Party and the American people are in tune and in step, and they are an unbeatable combination. With your talent and with your enthusiasm and with your help, we can make 1976 a year all Republicans and Independents will remember and Democrats may never forget.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. at the Dallas Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Mary Louise Smith, Republican national chairman,

and Anne L. Armstrong, Counsellor to the President 1973-74.

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## Address at a Southern Methodist University Convocation.

*September 13, 1975*

*Chancellor Tate, President Zumberge, Senator Tower, Congressman Steelman, Secretary Clements, members of the faculty, student body, alumni, and guests:*

It is really a very great honor and a very high privilege for me to be here this afternoon, and I thank you, Chancellor Tate, and those in authority for giving me this honorary degree.

I couldn't help but think, as you suggested, that I might try out for and hopefully help the SMU football team. [*Laughter*] You are extending an invitation that is not justified. I played football at the University of Michigan so far back it was back when the ball was round. [*Laughter*] That wouldn't help you very much against Florida tonight.

Just before I left Washington yesterday morning, I did receive a bit of very good news. Bill Clements, our Deputy Secretary of Defense as well as the former chairman of SMU's board of governors, informed me that I had been

named the first and only honorary member of your sensational Mustang Band. All I can say is, I have always been proud to be a Ford. In the future, I will be even more proud to be a Ford Mustang. [*Laughter*]

I am honored to address this opening autumn convocation beginning the historic year of SMU's 60th anniversary as well as your participation in the national Bicentennial.

I am extremely pleased to congratulate your new President, Dr. Jim Zumberge. As he indicated, I have known Jim from his very first days as first president of Grand Valley State College in Michigan in the district that I had the honor of representing for some 25 years. He started that school literally from a cornfield, and now through capabilities and experience and talent, it is great to see him here as the new president of this great university.

I knew Jim not only as a distinguished educator and scientist but as an American who believes in the possibilities of the human individual. I am confident that under his presidency, SMU will instill into the Bicentennial year a vision of the future—a vision that typifies the great State of Texas and this distinguished university which has done so much to demonstrate what is right with America. And I have no doubt whatsoever that Texas will instill in your distinguished new president an even greater appreciation of what is right with Texas.

I have always felt very much at home in Texas, because I admire so much of the Texas spirit and Texas accomplishments. There is a touch of Texas in all Americans, and I am not immune to the stardust cast by the Lone Star State.

In Texas everything is possible. And there is just enough Texas optimism in me to believe in America—to believe that in America not only is everything possible but our fate as a nation is in our own hands.

The prophets of gloom and doom have predicted that the quality of life in America will worsen, that democracy as we know it is finished, that we face economic collapse, that we are either being poisoned by the food or will starve to death, that criminals are capturing our cities, that the President of the United States is no longer safe in greeting citizens in the Nation's communities, that if the earthquake doesn't get us an ice age will. I strongly reject such pessimistic scenarios.

I would like to share with you today something of my own vision for the future. I would build upon our proud past.

In America's first century we developed political institutions responsive to the people. A great nation was painfully consolidated with unity growing from diversity.

Our second century transformed an underdeveloped country into the most productive nation that ever existed. America reflected the pioneer spirit, the achievements of industry, agriculture, the incentives of free enterprise, the contributions of free trade unions, and the widespread sharing of economic gains both at home and abroad.

As we approach our third century, I see this era as one of the fulfillment of the individual citizen. I see a century devoted to education, which equips young men and women, like the students of SMU, to make their own decisions rather than permit their future to be programed by massive government structures that an imaginative writer foresaw for 1984—a nightmarish fantasy of what our third century could be.

It is my deepest conviction that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

Let us usher in a third century in which the individual rather than the government makes personal choices and decides how individual income is to be spent. Men and women must prevail over the endless agencies and bureaus that would reduce human beings to computerized abstractions and program people into numbers and statistics.

I place a high premium on creativity, originality, and your right to differentiate yourself from the mass. Today's mounting danger is from mass government, mass education, and mass technology, and we must not let them prevail.

I am determined to do everything in my power to prevent conformist pressures from smothering individual expression or stifling individual opportunity. Individualism must stand as the sentinel of 1976 against the monolithic threat of sameness in our society.

Never forget that in America our sovereign is the citizen. The governments and institutions exist to serve people. The state is a servant of the individual. It must never become an anonymous monstrosity that masters everyone and is responsive to no one. These propositions are the foundations of our Bicentennial.

My vision of America's third century is one of an era of achievements rather than apathy, of fostering the ennobling and transcendental qualities of the individual spirit rather than building huge new bureaucracies.

Two centuries of sacrifices and struggle, of conflict and compromise, have won an unprecedented measure of political and economic independence for each of us. I am proud to be the President of a free government that checks and balances its own excesses.

I am proud of our free economic system which corrects its own errors, controlled by the marketplace of free and enlightened consumers.

I am especially proud of the role of free education in preserving individuality. Education is vital to my vision of our third century. Only education can equip individuals to take responsibility for their own lives in the face of pressures of mass systems of society. Education must provide the perception upon which rests the quality of individuality.

I challenge educators and students to regain the excitement that made America great. Each generation brings a new spirit of competition, new reservoirs of enthusiasm, new responses to the humanitarian needs of others, and regenerated pride in personal independence.

This generation bears a very special task—the preservation of individualism. You are the bulwark of individualism. So is your family. So is your local community and, especially, schools like Southern Methodist University, which join the public educational institutions in cross-germination of ideas.

My own background included two experiences in higher education: one, the University of Michigan, the other Yale University; one public, the other private. I value both. I buy an open market for ideas.

Education is the key to diversity which will determine the kind of people we will be. It must not become a mass product. All the armies, weapons systems of our defense will mean absolutely nothing without self-reliant individuals who retain the cherished qualities of Americanism. That is one great purpose of education.

Educated men and women not only provide answers to problems but keep open the options in a society that make life worth living. Our real first line of defense is the quality of individual life—in moral and spiritual values, compassion, courage, love of community and country, creativity, innovation, enterprise, originality, and healthy sportsmanship, and fair, but tough, competition. None of these attributes of individuality can be mass produced. They must be encouraged. They will grow within each man and woman.

But that growth can be nourished. On the portico of Angell Hall on my old campus at Ann Arbor, there is an inscription from an act of Congress, adopted in 1787—the Northwest Ordinance Act—which states: “Religion, morality, [and] knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”

The American tradition can inspire the highest virtues. But the government cannot achieve personal fulfillment for each of you. Your future depends upon your own determination to develop your highest potential.

Let us apply the theories of education in the laboratory of life. I urge students and graduates and faculties to direct their genius, their energy to the solution of the problems facing America. I challenge you to help make not only America but American life beautiful, inspiring. You can do it.

Let us take a new look at ourselves as Americans. By seeking a real partnership between the university and the rest of society, you can give greater meaning to your own life and help all Americans enhance the quality of their lives.

I look at Southern Methodist University and other privately supported institutions of higher learning—both in harmony and in competition with public institutions—to help regenerate the values that make American life so very special.

Students who prefer different philosophies of learning should be able to choose among the widest possible variety of options. This ensures that diversity so essential to educate the whole person—the physical person, the intellectual person, and the spiritual person.

In private education there is a direct citizen participation in the educational process. SMU is not dependent on government funding that establishes a rigid requirement or rigid guidelines. To maintain its very unique qualities, Southern Methodist University takes responsibility for its own support. And I commend its supporters, and you should all be most thankful for them.

I am concerned about the very heavy burden falling upon the working, middle-class citizens who are struggling to pay tuitions and costs at both public and private colleges. I am also concerned that private higher education is now in financial difficulty.

Private institutions provide a leavening and stimulating influence for the public universities and the public colleges. Their continuing strength and vitality are essential to higher education. We must help to keep this competition going between the private as well as the public colleges and universities. Educators must innovate and respond to the world in which students of all ages and all backgrounds find themselves.

Private institutions can best serve by emphasizing their uniqueness, not by succumbing to any temptation to imitate the public university. But neither students nor government will support a private college just because of its antiquity or its history.

They must offer something truly different, truly important. Private education, free of government constraints, enjoys boundless freedom to experiment in vital areas that may fall outside general public support.

Let us encourage human growth, which can transcend from despair to dynamism, from confusion to clarity, from hopelessness to hope unlimited.

America is going through an unprecedented period of technological and economic change and dislocation. We have been jolted by shock after shock, but this Nation is not disintegrating. It is going through a period of transition. It may not be easy. It is experiencing the growing pains of a mighty nation of over 214 million with the world's greatest record of achievement in the short span of two centuries. We will transcend this period of trial. I believe in America, as I am sure all of you do.

I am convinced, as I am certain each of you are, that all we have in America is far more right than wrong, and we should be proud of the progress we have made despite the difficulties over a period of time.

I am proud to have been in this office some 13 months and to have helped to create a new climate of peace abroad while striving for solutions to some of our most complex problems here at home. In the finest American tradition, we have served as peacemaker in the Middle East. I am confident that the Congress will take quick action to ratify agreements involving Egypt and Israel. All Americans can take the unifying pride in our initiative in making peace, not war.

I have the deepest confidence in America's future and our educational resources. The schools of this Nation—private as well as public—can help to inspire the lives of Americans with new meaning and with new quality. Both private and public educators must combine their genius in preparing men and women for our challenges of the third century.

I urge you in the words of Thomas Jefferson to “enlighten the public generally, and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day.”

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. in Moody Coliseum. Prior to speaking, he received an honorary

doctor of laws degree from University Chancellor Willis Tate.

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## Remarks on Arrival at Midland, Texas.

*September 13, 1975*

IT IS a great privilege and pleasure for me to come and see so many of Congressman Mahon's supporters of so many, many years. You are lucky, and I am grateful for the fact that you supported him, my good friend, for so long.

May I add also it is a great privilege to be here with Senator John Tower and with Congressman Dick White and Congressman Harold Runnels. And to be in the Midland-Odessa area is a great privilege despite this little sprinkle that we are having. I know you want it, and I am delighted to be here despite it.

Now, I ought to thank also the mayors of Odessa and Midland, Mayor Hemphill and Mayor Angelo, for being here. And I do want to express my deep appreciation to the Odessa High School Broncos for being present and the Lee High School Rebels. It seems to me there might be a little competition between the two. [*Laughter*]

But most of all, I wish to express to the many, many of you who are here for coming out on this occasion to give me and those with me a very, very warm welcome. I just can't believe that in this temporary adverse weather that so many of you would make the effort and be so generous in your warmth and friendship. It makes a long 3 days a very rewarding experience to end it with this kind of a welcome from so many wonderful people.

I love you, and I thank you, and I wish you the very, very best as I would good friends from my own hometown.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:45 p.m. at Midland-Odessa Regional Airport.

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### Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies for the Permian Basin Petroleum Museum in Midland. *September 13, 1975*

*Senator John Tower, my former colleagues in the House—Harold Runnels and Dick White—my former colleague in the House of Representatives and now Mr. Ambassador, George Bush, our two mayors, Mayor Angelo and Mayor Hemphill, Mr. Ramsland, and others:*

It is a great privilege and a very high honor for me to have the opportunity of being here and participating in this wonderful ceremony today.

This is a great, great crowd, and I appreciate your warmth and your cordiality. But I couldn't have been more thrilled and more grateful for the tremendous turnout of wonderful west Texans that were at the airport in untypical Texas weather. [*Laughter*] It was a thrill, and I tried to express to them my gratitude. It was a great opportunity to come to a wonderful part of this country.

George, you mentioned in passing that under certain very limited and prescribed circumstances, you might have voted for me for Speaker. Well, I appre-



ciate that willingness, and under those circumstances—but you even went further than that—you voted for me for Vice President. [*Laughter*]

I am delighted to be here in west Texas, an area that is so obviously rich in natural resources—oil, natural gas, cattle, good land—but, more important than anything else, good people.

I am particularly pleased to take part in the dedication of this very fascinating petroleum museum. I just wish that the ceremony could have been held outdoors, because I was honestly looking for that shower of rose petals from the top of the rig. [*Laughter*] Believe me, in the last year, when it comes to oil from the Congress, I have had very little roses coming up. [*Laughter*]

But I think it is very significant that that drilling rig outside is named Santa Rita, the patron saint of the impossible. When it comes to the good of the country, Americans have always joined together and worked together to achieve the seemingly impossible.

I am certain that in the weeks ahead, the Congress and I will be able to do so—to give our Nation an energy program that will cut us from the dependence on interruptible foreign sources of oil. America's energy independence must be decided by us. It cannot be entrusted to the policies or to the passions of others in far-off lands.

I want to thank very deeply the man who invited me, not once but many times to come out here—my long-time and very close, personal friend George Mahon.

George indicated during the 12 years I was privileged to serve on the House Committee on Appropriations, I worked up from the real bottom and finally got to the top. But in the process of that 12 years' experience, we spent literally 4 to 5 hours a day, 5 days a week, 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 months a year trying to help develop a strong national defense program, trying to help implement a strong foreign policy. And in the process of those many hours, we became close, intimate friends, despite the fact that there was a partisan dividing line—theoretically, at least—between us.

I honestly count George Mahon one of my closest friends in my period of time in the Congress of the United States, and I appreciate that friendship, George. And believe me, if I lived in this district it would be awfully easy for me to be out in the spotlight, in the headlines for George Mahon. Of course, the principal reason I would be doing that is because of Helen [Mahon], not George. [*Laughter*]

But it is nice to be here also with John Tower, who I know comes from a great part of Texas and who has been such a wonderful Senator on behalf of

all of you. John, of course, has been a close friend of mine in working together on energy matters and other important defense and foreign policy problems. John, I thank you for your help and assistance, both in the Congress as well as since I have been President of the United States.

I might say something about George [Bush], but since he is now a striped pants diplomat—[*laughter*—I don't dare say anything political or nonpolitical about him. But it is good to see him as well as Harold Runnels and Dick White.

You know, historians say we closed the American frontier back in 1890, but Midland in 1975 still has the adventurous frontier and is obviously still thriving. The enterprise and the spirit of hard-working people in west Texas shows to me the great productivity of this region—the land, the people, the mind, the physical effort. This area furnishes the Nation cattle and cotton, oil, natural gas, but also the genius of the people both in effort and in mind.

You have also demonstrated how much Americans can accomplish with the right incentives. Incentives are the fuel of the free market system, and the energy west Texas helps to supply is the fuel of our Nation's economy. The Permian Basin produces 25 percent of the Nation's domestic oil and 20 percent of the United States natural gas production. How fortunate the rest of us are that this great region is a part of our country.

To keep this oil and to keep this natural gas flowing from this region, the Nation must make it economically feasible to search for new production and to develop methods. This is one of the major reasons that I believe decontrol of domestic oil prices is so essential to our national security.

The vote in the United States Senate this week sustaining my veto of an extension of the oil price controls has paved the way for decontrol. I hope—I must concede I have been disappointed in the last 8 or 9 months on several occasions—but I hope we are finally on the road to energy independence in America.

We have got a long way to go, but between January of this year and even this past week, we had made virtually no progress whatsoever. But we got 39 staunch and strong people in the United States Senate to stand up and say something had to be done. If we had lost that vote, I doubt if we could have gotten off dead center for the next year and a half.

So, the 39 who stood up and were strong and wise probably did a great, great service to this country and our energy independence. I think we have maybe turned the corner, but we have got a long way to go.

Since 1971 America's bill for imported oil has been—well, it has climbed from just over \$3 billion annually to \$25 billion in the last calendar year—a 700-per-

cent increase in American money going overseas to buy a product that we should be producing in greater and greater quantities right here in the United States.

But the ill-advised policies go back some time and have kept us from freeing our energy, our natural resources, our ingenuity. And the net result is we have imported a lot more oil than we should, and it is getting worse and worse every day. And we are paying more and more overseas, and we are sending that money over for overseas jobs instead of having that money for jobs right here in the United States.

For example, that \$25 billion could provide more than one million jobs right in America. That would cut our unemployment, for example, from roughly 8 million down to 7 million. That would be a good investment if we had the right oil and natural gas policies.

Although the 4.5-percent unemployment rate in the Midland area in August is below the national average, I understand that it is higher than usual. Unemployment is a problem that is worrying many, many Americans. And I travel, and I hear. It is a problem that must be solved by a healthy, thriving economy.

With foreign producers supplying 40 percent of our oil needs today and growing every day, American jobs and dollars are being held hostage by other countries because we are vulnerable to their foreign oil influence. We are unable to control the price or the supply of imported oil. And that makes us, of course, extremely vulnerable to economic disruptions here at home—disruptions which we can ill afford if we are to continue to expand our great economic potential in America.

If we don't give America's oil industry the incentives to search for new sources and new production techniques through decontrol, and if we present the wrong policies, we will, within 10 years, import more than half of the oil that we need for our economy.

Energy keeps this country going. Energy is the heartbeat of our economic system. Unless we make some tough decisions about energy now, the Nation is in danger of suffering a serious energy emergency which could come at any time, because they have the capability overseas of turning that spigot off. And in a relatively short period of time, many of you know far better than I, our capability of keeping our economic machine moving would be slowed down and ended.

It just seems to me that decontrolling oil prices at home will move us toward the absolute, essential policy of energy independence. Energy independence will require that we find new energy sources and develop new methods, but those

solutions will not come overnight. And you are far more knowledgeable in those areas than myself.

Action must be taken now to spur the search for new sources. Research and development are critical elements in any proposed national energy program. We are spending, as George Mahon knows, in a variety of ways and in the so-called exotic fuel areas, better than \$2 billion a year—solar, geothermal, et cetera. But in the next few years, we will have to rely on our most readily obtainable domestic energy sources—and what are they? Oil, natural gas, and coal—if we are going to meet our energy needs.

Natural gas is one of the most environmentally acceptable forms of energy. But despite the many pluses of natural gas—and they are wonderful by any standard—the history of the Federal Government's policy toward this valuable asset has been a very sorry one.

Over the past 20 years, the Federal Power Commission, as required by Congressional legislation, has kept interstate prices at an artificially low level, and that has seriously hampered exploration and development.

I think—and I say this quietly, but with firmness and determination—we must stop Federal regulation of prices on new gas for interstate use.

There are approximately 16 States in the Union that are potentially going to have a serious economic disruption this winter. You can take New Jersey, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, et cetera.

Because of the shortsighted policies of the Congress over the last 20 years, we could have not only a shortage in natural gas in those areas but the economic consequences in jobs will be extremely serious. And the negligence of the Congress over this last few years in not recognizing that problem is inexcusable.

I hope we can move on some emergency legislation, but we cannot ignore the need and necessity for a permanent solution. Natural gas deregulation, it is obvious, is a high priority goal of myself and the Administration.

I think solving the energy problem goes back to some of our basic American principles. We must put back into our economic system some of our old-fashioned incentives that took us from 13 poor struggling colonies to a Nation of 50 States with unbelievable economic power and progress.

The profit incentive—the search for a better life—populated this continent. It brought thousands of pioneers to west Texas—men and women willing to risk all to find a livelihood on the land or in the land.

We should ask ourselves: What has made America unique? The explanations are as varied as the Nation itself, but I am convinced that one key to America's

uniqueness is that we wrote into our first great document the inalienable right of the pursuit of happiness.

In that pursuit, Americans have dreamed big dreams, taken great risks—sometimes failed miserably and sometimes succeeded magnificently. But always, whether successful or otherwise, they took it with courage and determination.

The men and women to whom this museum is dedicated lived and enjoyed that freedom to the fullest. The spirit of enterprise and daring this museum records in the petroleum industry must be kept alive all across the United States.

So, in memory of those who dared to follow their dreams, I respectfully dedicate this great museum.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to George Bush, Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in the People's Republic of

China, and Russ Ramsland, president of the museum.

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## Statement on the Death of Jack Bell.

*September 15, 1975*

I WAS saddened to learn of Jack Bell's death. A Washington political writer and author for more than three decades, he was also one of the best reporters I have ever known. Jack was a thorough, untiring newsman, always seeking more detail, more substance, more facts. He knew as much about national politics as many of us directly involved in it—and perhaps a bit more. He had the great ability to put complex issues in concrete, easy-to-understand terms.

American journalism has lost one of its giants and American readers one of their most respected bylines. Mrs. Ford joins me in sending our condolences to Mrs. Bell and her family.

NOTE: Mr. Bell was a reporter for the Gannett News Service.

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**Memorandum on the Combined Federal Campaign.  
September 16, 1975**

[Dated September 15, 1975. Released September 16, 1975]

*Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies*

I am pleased to announce that the Honorable Frank G. Zarb, Administrator, Federal Energy Administration, will serve as Chairman of the Combined Federal Campaign for the National Capital Area this fall.

This campaign, to begin soon, combines into a single drive the solicitation efforts of the United Way of the National Capital Area, the national health agencies and the international service agencies. In this one drive we will seek to do our share to meet the needs of more than 150 local, national and international health, welfare and social service agencies.

These organizations deserve our wholehearted support. Working together through the Combined Federal Campaign we can provide such support, helping our neighbors and friends with special needs. For those in need, the voluntary agencies are a beacon of hope. Frequently, they are the only source for needed assistance.

Through the Combined Federal Campaign, Federal workers are offered a unique opportunity to help persons in our community, in our Nation and in overseas lands by one gift once a year. Their pledge can be fulfilled through voluntary payroll deductions. I am confident that Frank Zarb will have your wholehearted support in this endeavor. I urge you to commend the campaign with its payroll deduction feature to Federal employees and military personnel in your organization.

I request that you serve personally as Chairman of the combined campaign in your organization and appoint one of your top assistants as your Vice Chairman. Please tell Frank Zarb if you will serve as Chairman and who you designate as your Vice Chairman.

GERALD R. FORD

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The President's News Conference of  
September 16, 1975

## VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

REPORTER. [1.] Mr. President, you are beginning to get some flak now from people who think you haven't been minding the store, and in the last 2 days I noticed you had one announced business session yesterday and you have, I believe, only one today. I assume you are doing something besides playing with the puppies, so, what are you doing? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have some big decisions coming up that involve, for example, the course of action that we will take on any SALT II agreement, and we have some very important decisions concerning the energy matter. We have some decisions to make that involve the delivery of material to the House and Senate committees, the Church committee and the Pike committee. So, I would say the day has been full, even though there haven't been any announced public meetings of any kind.

Q. Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

## ISRAEL

[2.] Q. I think you probably read the Post today and also Jack Anderson concerning secret accords with Israel for supplying the newest technology, including missiles that could be armed with nuclear warheads and so forth. Is this true?

THE PRESIDENT. That material has all been submitted to the responsible committees in the Congress. The announcement concerning the F-16 and the Pershing missile—those are not firm commitments. They do involve negotiations between the United States and Israel. They are on a shopping list, and they will be discussed with representatives of the Israeli Government.

Q. But do you really think you should arm one power in the Middle East at a time when you are moving toward peace with the potential of offensive weapons in that—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have for a long, long time supplied Israel with very substantial amounts of military hardware. This was a policy established a good many years ago, and we have always felt that the survival of Israel in the Middle East was very important. And the military hardware that we have in

the past and will in the future provide for that survival—as I indicated at the outset, these items were on a list open for discussion between the United States and the Israeli Government.

Q. Mr. President, is the United States moving towards a security treaty with Israel? This document which we read in the Post suggests quite a close, more formalized defense relationship with Israel.

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't say a security treaty. I would simply reiterate what I have said before, that historically the United States has supplied Israel with very substantial military weaponry, and it is our plan to do so in the future. But there is no firm commitment on any of the weapons that I think got the headlines this morning. They are merely open for discussion.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in one of your early press conferences you expressed approval of the CIA activities in Chile as something that they have done historically. Now you are quoted as saying you may be open-minded on whether the covert activities of the CIA ought to be kept in the CIA or separated from it. What has caused you to change your mind, if you have?

THE PRESIDENT. Since that comment in either the first or second press conference, we have had the Rockefeller Commission report, we have had the benefit of the Murphy Commission<sup>1</sup> recommendations. I have had the various departments and agencies of the Federal Government that have any jurisdiction analyze those recommendations. And we are now in the White House itself taking into account all of the proposals, and we'll make legislative recommendations to the Congress and we'll propose some administrative changes.

I think you have to certainly benefit from these exhaustive investigations, but I don't want to make any commitment one way or another until we actually submit the legislative proposals to the Congress and decide to do whatever we want to do administratively.

Q. I'd like to clear up one point, though. Are you ruling out political activity by American agencies, or is it just a question of whether the CIA would do it or some other agency would do it?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't rule out necessary political activity by the United States if it involves our security.

ISRAEL

[4.] Q. Sir, part of this agreement with Israel involves our providing them with oil either through foreign credits or giving oil to them from our own

<sup>1</sup> The Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, chaired by former Ambassador Robert Murphy.



supply. We don't have enough for ourselves and can't afford to pay for what we are getting. How can we supply Israel over several years?

THE PRESIDENT. We believe there are sources available to Israel to keep Israel secure after they have given up the oil fields in the Middle East. We are not concerned that these supplies will be turned off, and therefore, it will have no adverse impact, as we see it, on our own supplies.

Q. But we will pay for this oil, will we not? We will pay for this through foreign credits?

THE PRESIDENT. This is a part of the overall military economic agreement with Israel, and it is a step, I believe, in maintaining the peace. I think it is fair to point out that several months ago 76 Senators sent me a letter actually urging that I recommend to the Congress more money for Israel and no guarantee of peace, whereas at the present time we have made this agreement—or Israel and Egypt have made this agreement—and the prospective cost to the United States is less than what the 76 Senators recommended that we propose to the Congress for Israel.

So, we not only have peace and a step toward a broader peace but it is also at a lesser cost than what the 76 Senators promoted.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[5.] Q. Mr. President, you mentioned the Pike committee. They have subpoenaed CIA materials from you, returnable tomorrow. Will you honor that subpoena?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me give some background, first, on what the situation is.

Various agencies of the Federal Government, with my approval, have given to the Pike committee everything they have asked for, including some very highly classified material.

Now, I was disappointed in the manner in which that committee handled some of this most highly classified material. I think it is fair to point out—I don't want you to misconstrue what I am saying—but it is fair to point out that some of that material is specifically protected by law, and if a private citizen were to release that information involving communications intelligence, it would be a criminal—a serious criminal offense.

I am not saying that the Congress has violated a criminal law, or this committee has done so. I only use that as an illustration to show how serious the Congress felt the release of that information would be, because they passed a law saying if you or any one of you released it, it would be a serious criminal offense.

Now, the committee has all of the information that it asked for, some highly classified. They have all of the information that they need to make a legislative determination as to whether the intelligence community was properly organized, properly managed, did its job well.

I am very concerned as to the damage to our intelligence sources if the procedure used by the committee in this last instance is to be the procedure used by the committee in the future. Until I find from the committee what their procedure is going to be, I will not give them the information.

I have to have from them what their procedure is under this very important classified or secret material that we have given them and that they want.

#### TAX REDUCTION

[6.] Q. Mr. President, some Members of Congress are talking like an extension of the tax cut is already an accomplished fact next year. In fact, they are saying that an even larger cut needs to come. What is your thinking right now on the tax cut next year?

THE PRESIDENT. We have made no firm decision on that. We will, in a reasonably short period of time, make a recommendation. If the economy needs any additional stimulant, we will, of course, recommend a continuation of the present tax cut.

If we find that the economy is continuing to come out of the recession, as it is, and there is no danger of added inflationary problems, we would probably not recommend a continuation of the tax cut. But we do feel that we have some additional time before making a specific request of the Congress for action in this area.

#### SCHOOL BUSING

[7.] Q. Mr. President, you have been saying that there is a better way than busing to achieve quality education. You suggested some better ways, such as improving facilities and the teacher-pupil ratio. Are you prepared to approve of more money to do things like that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we, of course, do have in the emergency school aid legislation and appropriations a substantial amount of money that is available, and we have made money available to Boston, and we have—if my memory is correct—done the same in Louisville, although I will have to check that.

The thing that bothers me about actions of some of the courts, where they are involved in the school busing controversy, is that they apparently have not taken into consideration the law that was passed and signed by me on August 12 [21], 1974, 3 days after I was sworn in.

That law included what was known then, and still is, as the Esch amendment. I just happen to have a copy of the Esch amendment here—[*laughter*]  
—that sets forth seven specific proposals that the courts should follow before they actually use the busing remedy.

It is in Title 2 of the Education Amendments of 1974, Section 214. This section establishes a priority of remedies, and it says, in effect, that the courts and other Government agencies shall require the first of the following remedies, or the first combination of the remedies, which would correct a denial of rights.

It says, for example, assigning students to schools closest to their homes, taking into account both school capacities and natural physical barriers; two, assigning students to the closest school, taking into account only school capacities; three, permitting students to transfer from a school in which a majority of the students are of their race to one in which a minority are of their race; four, creating or revising attendance zones or grade structures without requiring transportation; construction of new schools or closing of inferior schools; establishment of magnet schools. Then it goes on to say that students should not be transferred to a school other than the school closest or the next closest to his place of residence.

Now, those recommendations included in the law in many instances apparently have not been followed by the courts. I think the courts ought to take into cognizance the legislative recommendations that are as a matter of law at the present.

Now, in addition, there are other things that I have mentioned before—improved facilities, upgrading the teachers if necessary, including better pupil-teacher ratios.

Q. Mr. President, that requires a lot more money than just the emergency funds that you talk about. Are you going to propose increases?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't think it is going to require a great deal more money, Bonnie [Bonnie Angelo, *Time* magazine]. Really, that is a very substantial sum, and it has been used up in Boston, and I believe it is being used in Louisville.

It is not nearly as much money if you focus it in on the places where the tension is the highest and the problem is the greatest, particularly if the courts follow the law as was enacted by the Congress in 1974.

#### SCHOOL INTEGRATION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, on two occasions over the weekend in discussing busing you mentioned a 1954 Supreme Court decision as the basis for busing.

It is my recollection that that Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education* related to striking separate but equal. Could you elaborate a little bit on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you are correct, and I don't think I said that decision in any way ordered court busing. It was the decision in '54 that declared unconstitutional the long accepted practice in many States of having separate but equal schools. But as an outgrowth of that court decision there have been the subsequent decisions that have involved busing.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

[9.] Q. Mr. President, as you know, a good many Congressional offices are receiving mail which runs contrary to your proposal for a Middle East peace settlement, particularly objecting to the use of American civilian technicians in the Sinai. I was wondering, sir, if, as you say, that is worth the risk? How long are those Americans going to be there, and is that not an open-ended commitment?

THE PRESIDENT. They will be there during the term of the agreement unless I, or another President, withdraw them because of any danger to their lives. It is a case of not more than 200 American civilians performing a highly technical warning station responsibility in a U.N. buffer zone. I think it is a good contribution by the United States to the establishment and permanency of peace in the Middle East.

Q. I'd like to follow up, sir, if I could, please. May I follow up, please? I'd like to ask what you would do if in the course of their term in the Sinai, the PLO moved in and kidnaped some of them, captured them, or if perhaps they were killed? Would you then use American intervention; the question being, then, is: Can you flatly rule out there would be no American intervention to protect those technicians?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to speculate on something that I do not anticipate will happen. I think I or any other President would use utmost caution in the protection of the lives of any Americans.

Q. Mr. President, to follow that up: If you are committed to the use of Americans on the Egyptian front, would you also, later perhaps, be committed to the principle of using Americans on the Jordanian or the Syrian front?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I should speculate about any negotiations or agreement that have not yet begun. It is a very valuable contribution to peace in the present agreement, but I would not want to make any commitment concerning any other.

## THE PRESIDENT'S SAFETY

[10.] Q. Mr. President, I believe when you were talking the other day about security out in Sacramento and when you were talking about going out and meeting crowds, I believe one reason that you have given for that is that you want to go out and get the ideas of the American people. I wonder in talking and going into crowds and working the crowds, as we call it, and shaking hands, you don't really exchange ideas with people, and that seems to be one of the most dangerous parts of these trips of yours.

THE PRESIDENT. You'd be very much amazed at how often people in the course of shaking hands or greeting them, they will make specific recommendations or comments. It is rather amazing and very encouraging that they will do precisely as you indicate they might not do. And it is very helpful in that regard.

## PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT

[11.] Q. Mr. President, was President Sadat aware before he initialed this agreement, signed the agreement, that the U.S. would be discussing with Israel the missiles and the other shopping list of things that you have mentioned, in specifics?

THE PRESIDENT. I think they were familiar with the fact we anticipated a commitment to Israel for sizable military hardware. I can't indicate to you whether they knew the precise weapons or not, but they knew, of course, that we were going to make a substantial commitment in weapons to Israel.

## VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[12.] Q. Mr. President, in recent weeks you have been saying some especially nice things about Vice President Rockefeller. You said you don't dump a good teammate, and you have endorsed his performance as Vice President, but yet you have always backed away from giving a flat endorsement of him as your running mate in 1976. Why won't you do that?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that is the tradition at this early stage of a Presidential convention and Presidential race. There is no need of my reiterating the many nice things I have said about him, because he knows how I feel about him.

Everybody, I think, who has read or heard knows precisely how I feel about the fine job he has done. And he and I are in no disagreement on the comments I have made or the attitude that I have taken. So, I think the record should just stand where it is.

## PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL EXPENSES

[13.] Q. Mr. President, regarding the early stage of the campaign, there has been some suggestion that you are probably deriving an unfair advantage by not having your political travel expenses charged against your Presidential campaign amount. Do you feel comfortable with this?

THE PRESIDENT. We have been very, very scrupulous in our bookkeeping to make certain that we cannot be legitimately criticized. A President has really three functions: one, being President and attending public affairs or civic affairs; he has another responsibility as the head of a political party—and in those cases, of course, the national committee, the Republican National Committee, assumes the cost—and where I am involved as a candidate, the President Ford Committee will pick up the tab.

We are keeping very scrupulous books. We are, of course, going to abide by any decision of the Federal Election Commission, and I hope they will clarify in the very near future any of the problems that might arise. But our books are being kept very, very carefully.

Q. Mr. President, do you expect that decision imminently, very soon?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't want to forecast when they are going to make the decision, but the sooner the better, I think, so we have a clarification.

## VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[14.] Q. Mr. President, Vice President Rockefeller has been going around saying that he is not a candidate for the Vice Presidency and he is not seeking support. This seems to be contrary to what you have specifically recommended, that he go and line up delegate support. How do you account for this difference if you and Vice President Rockefeller see eye-to-eye?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is a difference of degree, not of any real substance. Obviously, if he makes appearances before Republican groups, I am sure he is going to have a favorable impact on them. And my impression is that he has made a favorable impact on the various Republican groups where he has spoken or met with the individuals. Now, whether that can be translated into getting delegates or not, only time will tell. But the difference you alluded to, I think, is one of not great substance.

## ISRAEL

[15.] Q. Mr. President, in this agreement published in the Post today, it refers to the United States viewing with particular gravity threats made against

Israel, made by a world power, and goes on to say that the United States would promptly consult with Israel on support or assistance that it could lend. Now, does this go forward toward a security treaty, or does it not? And if so, doesn't it have to be taken to the Congress first to be approved?

THE PRESIDENT. That language does not constitute a treaty. The words speak for themselves.

#### DISCIPLINING OF SUBMARINE COMMANDER

[16.] Q. Mr. President, as an old Navy man——

THE PRESIDENT. Old is right. [*Laughter*]

Q. ——do you think the discipline given the commander of the submarine on which the go-go dancer performed was perhaps not quite in the tradition of the Navy that you knew? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I think I ought to refer that to the Navy where the matter is being, I am sure, thoroughly and properly handled under the procedures in the Navy code of conduct, or whatever they——

#### FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

[17.] Q. Mr. President, the cost of living keeps going up and up and Chairman Burns is now saying once again, as he has before, that monetary policy—that is, the Fed—just can't carry the burden of trying to curb inflation. Once again, it is talking again about an incomes policy, starting perhaps with jawboning, voluntary jawboning, and holding down wages and prices and perhaps the dressing up of the wage and price controls. I know you are against wage and price controls, but do you think it is fair for Mr. Burns to have to carry this load by himself?

THE PRESIDENT. I would like to reiterate my firm opposition to wage and price controls. I don't think it is fair to put all of the burden in the battle against inflation on the shoulders of the Federal Reserve Board. I have repeatedly indicated that Federal fiscal policy was as important as monetary policy in the battle against inflation. And that is why I have consistently said we had to hold the line on Federal spending, and that is precisely why I drew that \$60 billion deficit line in the Oval Office 3 or 4 months ago.

Unfortunately, the Congress hasn't gotten the message, because they have not only approved a higher deficit—\$68.5 billion—but they have already breached their own \$68.5 billion deficit by roughly \$5 billion. So, although I feel that Federal fiscal policy is a useful tool in combating inflation, I see very, very little cooperation from the Congress in a responsible Federal fiscal policy.

Q. If I might follow up, Mr. President, this very thing of the Congress not getting your message or not agreeing with it is the thing that the Nation's bankers are concerned about and are talking about at the IMF [International Monetary Fund]. And a great many of them are saying it is all very well for the President to go around saying he will never put on wage and price controls and calling for fiscal responsibility, but the facts are, the reality is that there isn't going to be any fiscal responsibility, there isn't going to be any holddown sufficient to curb inflation, and that sooner or later you are going to have to put in wage and price controls or at least some approximation of an incomes policy. Now, what is your response to the bankers when they say the rhetoric is all very well, but what are we going to do?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't had any pleas from bankers to impose wage and price controls—

Q. An incomes policy?

THE PRESIDENT. —and I haven't had any recommendations from any organization, such as bankers, for an incomes policy. We do have a wage-price council that has on some occasions investigated price increases and, on several occasions, have been helpful in trying to get a moderation of a price increase. But I do not believe on the basis of past history of wage and price controls during peacetime that they worked.

I think it is a quick fix that has long-range detrimental repercussions. And therefore, under the current circumstances, I think it would be unwise to even intimate that I would favor wage and price controls. I am still opposed to them, and I think there are better remedies.

#### TURKEY

[18.] Q. Mr. President, does the potential agreement between Israel and Egypt with the United States' participation make your job easier on the Turkish aid matter in Congress? Is there a parallel that you can draw, that your legislative people can draw for the Congressmen?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't believe there is any neat analogy between the two, but the fact that we have made headway in the Middle East and achieved it through negotiation ought to be helpful in convincing the Congress that negotiations in the Turkish aid embargo is the way to solve the problem. But there is no direct connection between the two problems as such.

FRANK CORMIER (Associated Press). Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. One more, and then we will end.



## MARIJUANA

[19.] Q. Do you favor the decriminalization of the private use of marijuana?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not believe we have sufficient evidence at the present time to warrant any recommendation in that regard.

Q. Have you read the Shafer Commission report?<sup>2</sup> Your predecessor did not. I am wondering if you would—

THE PRESIDENT. I have read summaries of a number of studies in this area, and there is no consensus. And therefore, until more information is available, I would not make any such recommendation.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

NOTE: President Ford's eighteenth news conference began at 11:40 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

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### Statement Announcing Termination of the Presidential Clemency Board. *September 16, 1975*

WHEN I took office 13 months ago, the status of persons who had evaded military service or had deserted the Armed Forces during the Vietnam conflict remained unresolved. In furtherance of our national commitment to justice and mercy, I established on September 16, 1974, a Program for the Return of Vietnam Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters, because I believed these young Americans should have the opportunity to contribute a share in the rebuilding of peace among ourselves and with all nations.

As part of this program, I established the Presidential Clemency Board to review the cases of evaders and deserters who had been convicted of these offenses. In addition, other parts of the program were administered by the Department of Justice and by the Department of Defense.

The Clemency Board, under the chairmanship of Charles E. Goodell, has considered approximately 15,500 applications on a case-by-case basis for the purpose of making recommendations to me. As I had intended, the Board gave careful attention to each individual case and did not simply recommend blanket amnesty for whole categories of applicants. The Board has worked diligently to fulfill its very important assignment.

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<sup>2</sup> The Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse, chaired by former Gov. Raymond P. Shafer, presented its report to President Nixon on March 21, 1972.

Now that the Presidential Clemency Board has completed its consideration of all its cases, I have signed an Executive order [11878 of September 10, 1975] terminating operations of the Board and transferring to the Attorney General whatever administrative duties may remain to be completed.

I want to thank the members of the Board for their personal contribution and hard work. As a result of their efforts, many deserving young Americans will have been helped to achieve full reentry into their respective communities.

NOTE: On the same day, the President met with members of the Board at the White House.

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**Remarks at the Annual Convention of the Air Force Association.  
*September 16, 1975***

*Members of Congress, members of the Air Force Association, and your guests:*

Let me first thank Joe and all of you for making an ex-Navy—[*laughter*—] a life member of the Air Force Association. Boy, that's really stretching things, to be that kind and thoughtful, and I am very appreciative.

I also am grateful for the opportunity to spend some time here and shake hands with some people I haven't met, get acquainted with those that are here, and to renew some acquaintances with those that I have known for a good many years.

I am most appreciative of the actions that have been taken by the Air Force Association, not because I am a member, because I guess I haven't gotten any voting privileges. [*Laughter*] But, nevertheless, I read with interest and admiration what the Air Force Association has done in some of the resolutions that you have passed, some of the recommendations that you have made.

We have got a tough job. We must be strong enough and we will be strong enough to make certain that the United States is second to none, period. Of course, that is, in my opinion, the best way to ensure that we keep the peace now and in the future.

We have some current problems, and we have some long-range ones. We have the current problem which this association, or the executive group, or whatever this distinguished group is called—[*laughter*—] you have taken some very forthright and, I think, commendable action in adopting a resolution urging the Congress to remove the arms embargo limitation as far as Turkey is concerned. I applaud your support.

All of you know the reasons why that was done. If we don't do it, we are going to weaken NATO. If we don't do it, we are going to very seriously injure our intelligence-gathering capability. If we don't do it, we will have no influence in trying to get an equitable settlement in Cyprus. So, I thank you, and I congratulate you for this help.

Secondly, the fact that the United States was strong and that it is our intention to remain strong gave us a very important opportunity to participate in keeping the momentum going for negotiations as far as the Middle East is concerned. Not that we actually negotiated the settlement, because the parties themselves did that, but the fact that the United States was respected, the fact that the United States had a major role in international affairs, gave us an opportunity to be a helpful participant in the negotiations between Egypt and Israel.

Now, I have scanned the other recommendations or actions taken by the Air Force Association, by all of you here. They are helpful. I would be less than honest if I didn't say that we are having trouble in the Congress in getting enough money to keep us as strong as we ought to be.

I, of course, seldom like to get in confrontations with my former colleagues—[*laughter*]*—*but after spending 12 years on the defense subcommittee on appropriations, I have some background on military weaponry, programs, policies, et cetera. I think without any question of a doubt, the actions that have been taken by the Congress so far are not good, and we ought to do something about it.

If you can grab some of your good friends around here—and I see a couple of good potential victims—[*laughter*]*—*whisper in their ears and bolster their determination, because we cannot afford to be number two. If we don't adequately authorize and appropriate for the Defense Department, we will be.

We have got a crunch coming in the very near future, as far as being able to convince the Soviet Union that we are negotiating from strength, if the Congress doesn't give us enough money to have adequate army, navy, air force, and marine programs. It is just that black and white.

We have to be strong enough to convince them that it is in our mutual interest to have a SALT II agreement. Now, if we are unsuccessful in this negotiation, then I will, under my oath of office, have to request that the Congress appropriate substantially more funds.

I would prefer having enough to have a mutually agreeable SALT II, but I have to be very honest and very frank with you that so far we need more help in the Congress, even for a SALT II agreement. And we will need a lot more help in the Congress if we don't get a SALT II agreement, because

under no circumstances, as far as I am concerned, are we going to be number two, and I simply conclude with this observation and comment.

It is organizations and people like yourselves that make my job much easier. I know in the past Presidents have called upon all of you or your predecessors to do the same. They have thanked you, and I am grateful for your help and assistance.

We have got some tough days ahead, but as I look down the road and look over the horizon, it is my judgment that America, both at home and abroad, has a great opportunity to have better and better and better days, and all of us will benefit, and your help will be significantly beneficial in achieving that result.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:31 p.m. in the Cotillion Room at the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

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### Remarks at the Presentation of the National Medal of Science Awards for 1974. *September 18, 1975*

*Dr. Stever, distinguished award recipients, Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen:*

The world was very late in recognizing that men and women of science and technology are the true movers and shakers of human events. Our Founding Fathers drew up a Constitution that gave the Congress the powers to promote the progress of science and the useful arts.

Although a great deal of Federal support flowed from that mandate in the Constitution, it was not until 1959 that the National Medal of Science was created to honor those who have distinguished themselves in this important field.

Since 1962, 89 distinguished scientists and engineers have been awarded this medal. It is our proud and honored privilege today to honor 13 more outstanding men of science and engineering with this distinguished award.

These awards, the Nation's highest honor to its men and women of science and engineering, are of particular significance as we approach this Bicentennial year. As we look back over 200 years of the Nation's history, we see the profound influence science and technology have had on our Nation's development. We owe a great debt to science and to all the men and women who have carried on the scientific enterprise of this country.

Beyond this, the whole spirit of science—one that urges us here in the United States to innovate, to explore the unknown, to answer the unanswered—is the true spirit of America.

Today, more than ever, we need to maintain, to nourish that spirit and to do it in every facet of our national life.

The 13 men whom we are privileged to honor today have contributed to the spectrum of scientific advances in many, many ways. Their work in the physical and biological sciences and in mathematics and engineering has touched and enriched the lives of all of us.

Wide-ranging Federal support of scientific research and technology became a national policy after World War II. Since then, support has grown both in dollars and the percentage of the Nation's total effort. In the coming year, this amount and percentage will again grow. Total Federal funds for civilian research and development will rise to over \$7.3 billion, an increase of 12 percent over 1975.

Throughout all the years of Federal support for research, there has been a continued debate over the issue of what fields of inquiry should have priority. As the Nation's needs have changed, the priorities have changed, which is as it should be and is as it will be.

In recent years, Federal research and development support has been particularly responsive in the fields of energy and environmental conservation. From 1969 to 1976, energy research and development has grown at an average annual rate of more than 21 percent; environmental support has grown at a rate of 17 percent.

Nonetheless, the Nation's commitment to that most fundamental of all inquiries, basic research, has not diminished. We recognize that it is such research that forms the base upon which all understanding in all fields of human inquiry must build. This is why we will increase basic research funding in 1976 by 11 percent.

It is impossible to measure accurately the benefits of our research efforts to the Nation and to the world. We do know, however, that our achievements will be far-reaching and profound. We can be absolutely certain that new products and improved productivity will flow from them.

Our Nation's future and that of the world depends on the creativity and the genius of men and women such as these we honor today.

For your contributions, gentlemen, for what you have given to our country, to science, and to humanity, we thank you all. We are grateful, and we are proud to honor you today.

It is now my pleasure to call upon Dr. Guy Stever, Director of the National Science Foundation, to read the citations for each awardee.

Guy, will you come forward, please?

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

The awards were based on recommendations of the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science.

Saunders MacLane accepted the medal on behalf of Kurt Gödel who was too ill to attend the ceremony, and Mrs. Nicolaas Bloembergen accepted the medal on behalf of her husband who was in the People's Republic of China.

The texts of the citations follow:

BRITTON CHANCE—For his contributions to our knowledge of cellular and subcellular physiology made through work on enzyme-substrate complexes, on the kinetics of enzyme action, and on the mechanism and control of membrane-bound electron transfer during cellular respiration.

ERWIN CHARGAFF—For fundamental chemical and biological studies establishing the basis for modern concepts of the mechanisms of protein synthesis and the genetic role of nucleic acids.

JAMES VAN GUNDIA NEEL—For pioneering achievements in creating the science of human genetics and discovering the genetic basis of several human diseases.

JAMES AUGUSTINE SHANNON—For outstanding leadership in biomedical research following an earlier career in distinguished laboratory investigation of kidney function and anti-malarial drugs.

RUDOLF KOMPFFNER—For his invention of the traveling-wave tube and for major contributions to communication satellites and to optical communications.

RALPH BRAZELTON PECK—For his development of the science and art of subsurface engineering, combining the contributions of the sciences of geology and soil mechanics with the practical art of foundation design.

ABEL WOLMAN—For significant improvements in the environment and in the health and prosperity of large populations through the development of better water supply and wastewater systems for cities, regions, and entire nations.

KURT GÖDEL—For laying the foundation for today's flourishing study of mathematical logic.

NICOLAAS BLOEMBERGEN—For pioneering applications of magnetic resonance to the study of condensed matter and for subsequent scientific investigations and inventions concerning the interaction of matter with coherent radiation.

PAUL JOHN FLORY—For his outstanding contributions to our understanding of the modes of formation and structure of polymeric substances.

WILLIAM ALFRED FOWLER—For his scientific contributions to nuclear physics and astrophysics, which permitted him to span both disciplines to unravel the nuclear processes that control the evolution of stars.

LINUS CARL PAULING—For the extraordinary scope and power of his imagination, which has led to basic contributions in such diverse fields as structural chemistry and the nature of chemical bonding, molecular biology, immunology, and the nature of genetic diseases.

KENNETH SANBORN PITZER—For his pioneering application of statistical thermodynamics and spectroscopy to our understanding of the properties of organic and inorganic materials.

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## Letter Accepting the Resignation of William J. Casey, President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank of the United States. *September 19, 1975*

*Dear Bill:*

I have your letter of September 13, and it is with deepest regret that I accept your resignation as President of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, effective on a date to be determined.

While I fully understand the personal considerations which have prompted your decision, I want you to know, as I indicated in our conversation last week, that I would much prefer to have you remain as Bank President. You have been an outstanding member of our team and, needless to say, we will greatly miss your loyal, dedicated services.

For nearly five years, as Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and now as President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank, you have brought to your responsibilities a valuable combination of exceptional economic skills and sound political judgment. I am, of course, particularly grateful for your assistance and counsel during the past thirteen months and hope you will always look back on this period of public service with personal pride and satisfaction in the contributions you have made to the well-being of our Nation.

As you return now to private life, Betty joins me in extending to Sophia and you our warmest good wishes for every success and happiness in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable William J. Casey, President of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, Washington, D.C. 20571]

NOTE: Mr. Casey's letter of resignation read as follows:

*Dear Mr. President:*

This will confirm the request I made, in our discussion earlier this week, that I be relieved of my duties as Chairman of the Export-Import Bank at your earliest convenience.

I made this request with great regret. It has been a high honor and great privilege for me to serve in your Administration. As you know, I have a deep interest in what you are seeking to achieve for our country and great admiration for what you

are doing. I will always remain eager to assist you in any way you wish.

I greatly appreciate your understanding of my feeling that I should give some attention at this time to business and financial interests which I have been away from for almost five years.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM J. CASEY

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

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**Letter Accepting the Resignation of Ray Garrett, Jr.,  
Chairman and Member of the Securities and Exchange  
Commission. September 19, 1975**

*Dear Ray:*

I have your letter of September 17, and it with deepest regret that I accept your resignation as Chairman and Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission, effective on a date to be determined. In doing so, I want you to

know that I fully understand the personal concerns which have prompted your decision at this time.

For more than two years, you have fulfilled your challenging responsibilities with exceptional energy and skill. The valuable experience and keen judgement which you brought to the Chairmanship have enabled you to make an outstanding contribution to the work of the Commission, and more importantly, to the improved well-being of all Americans.

Under your direction, new luster has been added to the Commission's already fine reputation for effectiveness, fairness and integrity. It is a record of achievement in which you can take a large measure of personal satisfaction and which has earned my lasting respect and gratitude.

Now as you prepare to return to the private sector, I hope you will always look back with pride on the service you have rendered our Nation. You may be sure you take with you my heartfelt good wishes for every future success and happiness.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable Ray Garrett, Jr., Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, D.C., 20549]

NOTE: Mr. Garrett's letter of resignation read as follows:

*Dear Mr. President:*

I hereby submit my resignation as Chairman and a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission as of November 30, 1975, or such earlier date as may suit your convenience.

It is difficult to know when it is the right time to return to private life. Given the pride and affection with which I view the Commission, any time would be difficult. However, in various areas of our responsibilities we have achieved postures where a break seems less disruptive to the Commission's work than might otherwise be the case. Since I cannot re-

main indefinitely, this seems to be as good a time as any to plan my departure.

It has been a privilege to be associated with your Administration, which has given strong support to the actions and policies of this Commission, and I extend my best wishes for continued success in your own endeavors.

Sincerely yours,

RAY GARRETT, JR.  
*Chairman*

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500]



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**Remarks at the Oklahoma State Fair in Oklahoma City.***September 19, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, Henry. Governor Boren, Senator Bartlett, Congressmen Tom Steed, John Jarman, Ted Risenhoover, Ed Gaylord, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am highly honored and overjoyed to be here with you, and I express, on behalf of Betty and myself, our deep, deep gratitude for the wonderful welcome and reception we have received. Thank you very, very much.

As a former college football player, I can't tell you how pleased I am to be here in Oklahoma again—the home of the number one team. Michigan is number two, and we are going to try and get ahead. [*Laughter*]

I like to come to Oklahoma because adventure still lives here, and it was so beautifully expressed by your fine Governor, Dave Boren. The pioneering spirit of the founders of Oklahoma—independent and self-reliant—exists as your mighty plains, cities, and towns. It represents, as Will Rogers used to say about Oklahomans, the work of the “big, honest majority.” I salute you for your achievements and commend you for your visions of an even brighter and brighter future.

Today, the ranchers and farmers of Oklahoma and of other parts of the country have become the most productive in the world. Last year alone, the United States exported nearly \$22 billion in various agricultural products.

Without these exports, our country would have had a huge balance of payments deficit, our dollar would have been weakened in foreign markets, and we would have had to pay higher and higher prices for the items we import from abroad.

In short, the American farmer not only raises crops but raises the overall standard of living of every American—210 million Americans—and I compliment you for it.

As many of you know, I advocated a policy of full agricultural production last year. It is not in the long-term interest of the American farmer or consumer to limit the production of wheat, feed grains, or any other agricultural product. Our country has now achieved a record wheat crop, and a record corn crop is expected by the end of the year. It is a record that every American farmer can be proud of, and we are proud of you.

Far too often the American farmer has been made the scapegoat of many

of our economic problems. The price of beef goes up—blame the farmer. The price of milk goes up—blame the farmer. The price of bread goes up—blame the farmer.

Well, I know and you know the farmer is not to blame for the inflation we have today. I recently read in a news magazine that when it comes to bread, the food product that seems to get the most attention, the farmer only receives 17 percent of the total retail price of that loaf of bread. The middlemen get the rest. The American farmer is not the beneficiary of inflation. Along with every other American, he is the victim.

Fortunately, we have some good news today regarding inflation, and I would like to share it with you. The latest figures released this morning—and I have them here—indicate that in August the cost of living rose only two-tenths of 1 percent. This is the smallest monthly increase in more than 2 years, and contrary to all the fingerpointing at farmers, food prices held steady. The small rise was accounted for by other commodities and other services.

Now, I have been around long enough to know that the good news of 1 month does not mean that the battle is won. But I do believe it means we are winning the battle against inflation if we just keep the pressure on. But let me assure you, this victory will not be achieved at the expense of the Nation's farmers, and I pledge you that.

The American farmer wants—and with very good reason—to sell all of his production either at home or abroad. And I am here today to tell him and to tell you that we are working night and day to make certain that farmers will be able to sell what they produce in a free market at fair prices.

We have built regular, profitable grain-trading relations with traditional buyers in Europe, Japan, and elsewhere. Therefore, we can generally count in advance on a certain level of sales to these long-time foreign customers. Farmers can plan for them, and our marketing can accommodate them without disruption. The Soviet Union represents a relatively new factor in United States agriculture trading. Farmers have not been able to predict Soviet Government purchases, and our market has been disrupted when Soviet purchases are unusually large on the one hand or unusually small on the other.

I am now giving priority attention to reaching an agreement that will enable us to trade with the Soviets on a more predictable basis. It would permit us to make, for example, additional sales this year and guarantee sales in the years to come.

So there will be no misunderstanding about what is happening in these grain negotiations with the Soviet Union, let's look at our last five crop seasons. Soviet

grain purchases from the United States have fluctuated wildly in the last 5 years—peaks and valleys.

In 1971–72, the United States sold 2.8 million metric tons of grain to the Soviet Union. In 1972–73, the figure soared to 13.8 million metric tons. In 1973–74, it dropped to 6.8 million metric tons and then plummeted to 2.2 million metric tons in 1974 and 1975.

In this crop year we have already sold 10.2 million metric tons, and the Soviets want to buy still more. These wide fluctuations, these peaks and valleys, have brought about serious repercussions in price and in marketing both here at home and around the world. They have caused serious international shipping complications. The United States wants a solid agreement from the Soviet Union on the future grain purchases. The American farmer would benefit tremendously from such an agreement.

It would enable him to plan ahead and produce for a much more reliable market. It would strengthen this Nation's reputation as a dependable supplier and increase our long-term sales. At the same time, full production would assure American consumers of plentiful supplies at reasonable prices.

Also, we must be in a position to deliver the grain that we sell. That too determines whether we are dependable suppliers. Once grain starts moving from the wheatfields of Oklahoma to the Russian docks, or to any other nation, it must continue to move or the total sale is jeopardized. This would cause unfavorable repercussions on markets and jobs here at home.

The purpose and the result of my discussions with labor representatives was to keep the grain moving that had already been sold while we negotiated for a long-term contractual agreement with the Soviet Union.

I am glad to report that encouraging progress is being made on an agreement which will enable us to make additional sales this year and substantial sales on a regular basis over the next 5 years.

Neither our Government nor the Soviet Union, its Government, would set the price. The Soviets would pay the full amount, the full market price throughout the length of this agreement.

I am optimistic that the United States and the Soviet Union will reach this agreement, which will benefit American Farmers and the American consumers, an agreement that will benefit both our countries so that the temporary halt in grain sales can be lifted.

There is still another very urgent challenge facing the United States and the people of this great State—to make certain that we produce enough energy for our growing needs and produce it here at home.

Many people in the United States apparently do not believe there is an energy problem, including too many Members of the Congress. I am glad to say it is not the Oklahoma delegation, but they know who I am talking about.

But I say to you in all seriousness, the United States is headed for very deep trouble unless we act while we have time. We will soon have time only to react and that will be too late.

We are engulfed in Washington in apathy on the part of some, distrust on the part of others, and indecision among still others. Let me repeat with emphasis, the energy threat is very real. It will not go away. It will grow steadily worse until the United States makes some hard, tough choices about its energy future.

Since 1971, the amount of money we have been spending overseas for foreign oil has skyrocketed by 700 percent. Our annual bill for foreign oil was just over \$3 billion 4 years ago, and today it has ballooned to \$25 billion.

That \$25 billion could have provided more than 1 million jobs for unemployed Americans here at home. As American dollars pour out of our country, so does our economic stability and our national security.

Eight months ago I proposed to the Congress this Nation's first comprehensive national energy program. Well, let me just tell you how many times since then I have tried to work out an energy solution with the Congress.

You won't believe this—between January 1 of this year and as of a week ago, I held 48 energy or energy-related meetings with Members of the Congress. I have met at least once with 51 out of the 100 United States Senators and at least once with 304 out of the 435 Members of the House of Representatives. I listened to their pleas and promises, asking for more time to act. I offered compromise, I sought cooperation, all without avail.

But we are no closer now to a positive energy-producing program from the Congress than we were 8 months ago. And may I, at this point, reiterate what I indicated a few moments ago—and Henry Bellmon, Dewey Bartlett, Tom Steed, John Jarman, and Ted Risenhoover and the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the other Members of our delegation—if I had that kind of full support from the delegations of every State, we would have had an energy program on the statute book 6 months ago.

I have met the Congress more than halfway. It is time for the Congress to cooperate, for the Congress to act to protect the future security and prosperity of the United States.

The problem is perfectly obvious—if we don't get a program on the statute books this year, you can bet it won't happen in a national election year. All efforts to achieve energy independence will be set back even further.

Don't believe those who tell you they are fighting to hold down your energy costs. We have a growing scarcity of domestic energy. Government controls to allocate this scarcity can't work, because our energy shortfall is constantly increasing.

Those who procrastinate are not fighting to hold down your energy costs; they are fighting to put off the critical decisions we have to make as a nation. The truth is the American consumer can no longer enjoy cheap energy, at least not in the lifetime of most of us.

Prices have increased and they will continue to increase, because foreign oil producers from faraway shores who sell us 40 percent of our needs have combined to raise their prices. They will increase even more as we become increasingly dependent on foreign oil.

That dependence continues to grow every single day as our domestic production continues to decline. That is why I insist on a new declaration of independence—energy independence. I want and I need your help.

Under the plan that I submitted to the Congress in January, we will pay American dollars to American companies to produce American energy for American jobs and American profits and American taxes. That is a pretty good program. Don't you think so?

The real danger to our economy is not the actions I propose, but the inaction that stifles more production here at home and increases our dependence on oil from abroad. That is the great danger—the loss of economic freedom by the United States of America, the reckless risk of placing our national livelihood and our national security in the hands of others.

That doesn't represent American independence, self-reliance, or the pioneering spirit. It is just plain chicken, and I don't think Americans admire it, want it, or will stand for it.

I am counting on you—the “big, honest majority,” as Will Rogers called you—and millions of others like you across America who will decide our Nation's fate and who, in the final analysis, will be the producers and the protectors of America's greatness in the future.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:59 p.m. at the Independence Arch on the fairgrounds. In his open-

ing remarks, he referred to Edward L. Gaylord, Oklahoma State Fair president.

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**Remarks at a Republican Party Reception in Oklahoma City.  
September 19, 1975**

*Thank you very much, Dewey. Henry, John Jarman, Bill McLean, ladies and gentlemen:*

If I should stop right now and walk off this platform to speak to a very cute, attractive little girl, I hope you will understand. We have been having a little affair going on down here. [*Laughter*]

Let me say at the outset how deeply grateful I am for the warm welcome and the kind words of Henry Bellmon, Dewey Bartlett, and let me add with emphasis how great it is to have John Jarman not only vote with us but be with us.

Obviously, both Betty and I are totally delighted to be here in Oklahoma, and let me also thank you for the very fine welcome you gave to Vice President Rockefeller here last week. Nelson tells me that when he went to the football game last Saturday, he was met with nothing but unrelenting kindness, hospitality, and friendship with just one exception—the guy who gave him Oregon and three points. [*Laughter*] If we should play Oklahoma, I will have to get more than that. [*Laughter*]

What a better time to be in Oklahoma than State Fair Week and the beginning of the football season. It is obviously a great experience of Betty and mine to be with you, to meet so many enthusiastic and ardent Republicans planning and working for next year's election.

May I especially thank Bill McLean for his participation and those that he has brought here on this occasion. Bill, I am very grateful, and if I can get those strokes on the golf course, I can't wait to play with you. [*Laughter*] But thank you very, very much.

As you have heard me say on many occasions when I was here last fall and elsewhere, the Oklahoma Republican Party has in Dewey Bartlett and Henry Bellmon two of the most outstanding, finest Members of the United States Senate that I know. I am not going to embellish what you know better than I, but it certainly is encouraging for me, whether it's on fiscal matters or defense matters or anything else that is relevant to the national progress of this Nation, I can always count on Dewey and on Henry, and I thank you for that help.

I would be negligent if I didn't add a word about John Jarman. He and I have been friends in the House of Representatives for many, many years. His

lovely wife, Marilyn, and my wife, Betty, have been close and personal friends. We are so pleased to see them on our side, and I thank John on this occasion for his many votes when I was minority leader and now, when I am in the present office, for his strong support. John, we darn well better get somebody really good to succeed you.

Let me say with complete and total emphasis that, as I travel around the States, whether it is in Maine, Rhode Island, or New York, or the State of Washington or Oregon, I find there is a great sense of renewal and anticipation, State after State, on behalf of the philosophy that we espouse and that we believe in, that we are willing to work for.

And the revival of this optimism is based, in my judgment, on very, very sound political realities. Whether it is on the east coast, the west coast, the northern border, or the Gulf of Mexico, I find that the American people want economic stability, and that stability, which is the very foundation of our democracy, can only come from Federal fiscal responsibility.

As Republicans, we believe in sound management of the taxpayer's money, yours and mine and that which was contributed by some 200 million other Americans.

Today this Nation is seeing the unhappy, the sad results of an obsolete, outdated political philosophy which holds that if you just spend enough Federal money, you can solve every problem in our society.

The fact of the matter is precisely this: The American people know that Federal dollars are their dollars. They want some old-fashioned thrift in the way in which their money is spent, like they manage their home or their business or their church. And one of these days—listen very, very carefully—one of these days the big spenders in the Congress are going to find this out. And I respectfully suggest that it be November 2, 1976.

The way to reduce Federal overspending and its dangerous offspring, inflation, is to elect a Congress with a little common sense, a little common sense about dollars and cents. And until that happens, the only way Republicans, outnumbered better than 2 to 1 in the Congress, can head off massive spending and effect a balance in how we spend our tax money is with the veto. I have used it before, 37 times to be exact. And I will use it again and again and again.

And may I say with complete sincerity that a veto is not negative, as Dewey and Henry and John will tell you. A veto is a constitutionally given authority in our great document upon which our Nation was founded. It was constitutionally given to a President in order that he could veto something and thereby

give the Congress a little more time to reconsider bad legislation. I agree. [Laughter]

But the veto is not negative; it's an affirmative way to get better legislation. And that is why we are going to use it more and more.

But in all honesty, there is a better and a more certain way, a surer way to restore fiscal sanity to the Congress. And I say with emphasis, elect more Republicans.

If my soundings around the country—and I have traveled in a good many States and I speak up with pride about it—most Americans want what we in the Republican Party want. And let me enumerate them, five in number: a free enterprise system unfettered by obsolete regulations, unfettered by obsolete regulations stifling private initiative rather than stimulating it; number two, fiscal restraint and fiscal responsibility in the way their tax money is spent, yours and everybody else's; number three, a strong national defense which is the best assurance of peace; number four, local control by local people over local problems; and last, but not least, more freedom for individuals and greater say in their own personal affairs.

These are the guideposts which have pointed the way for this Nation for 200 years and directed the efforts of our party for over 100 years. These are the principles Republicans believe in and most Americans support.

As you here in Oklahoma are well aware, on the eve of a major political campaign to elect a President, a Congress, Governors, mayors, and State and local officials all across our 50 States, the air will soon be filled with speeches of candidates, the rumble of bandwagons and the questions of pollsters, but the pollsters aren't the only ones who will be asking some questions.

As we prepare for this campaign, I have a couple of questions I would like to ask you my own self, and I would like your response.

Do you want your President to accept without a fight budget-busting bills from the Congress which could touch off a new round of inflation?

Do you want your President to open the United States Treasury to every city that hasn't or won't responsibly manage its fiscal affairs?

Do you want your President to roll over and play dead while the Congress passes more and more legislation to strangle free enterprise and the Federal bureaucracy passes out more and more forms to fill out? [Laughter]

Do you want your President to go along with those who would transfer local and State responsibility to the massive Federal bureaucracy?

Do you want your President to accept legislation that will continue America's dependence on unreliable foreign oil? Not in Oklahoma, I am sure. [Laughter]



Do you want your President to accept deep slashes in a defense program? I say this with very sincere and deep conviction myself. It would make America number two in a world where only number one really counts.

Do you want your President to permit America's defense intelligence system to be crippled and leave this Nation naked to the mercy of potential enemies?

I think your answers are obvious, and I think those are the answers that the American people, by and large—Republicans, Independents, discerning Democrats, the Republican Party—are in tune with: your needs, your hopes, and your aspirations.

We believe, as you do, in the principles which made this Nation great, and believe me, I think I see in this great audience a heck of a lot of people that are going to go out and fight hard, give time, effort, talent, and everything else, especially enthusiasm, to carry this message to the American people.

If we do, I am optimistic as to the results in the Presidency, the Congress, the governorships, the State legislatures, and the local offices on November 2, and America will be better off for it.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:05 p.m. in Independence Hall at the Lincoln Plaza Inn. In his opening remarks, he referred to Bill McLean, reception chairman.

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## Interview in Los Angeles With Television Reporters.

*September 20, 1975*

BOB ABERNETHY. Good evening and welcome. I am Bob Abernethy, KNBC News. With me to question the President are KNBC News reporters Jess Marlow and Warren Olney.

Mr. President, welcome.

RONALD REAGAN

[1.] A prominent California Republican said the other day that he thinks it would be healthy for the Republican Party if Ronald Reagan were to try to get the GOP nomination for the Presidency. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't see any serious problems in that regard. I have always thought that competition in the political arena was healthy for the candidates and for the party. I certainly feel that former Governor Reagan and myself are close enough personal friends that we can have any competition without having

a divisive impact on the party. So, competition being good for candidates and the party, I think, under our system, I see no serious harm in that regard.

Q. More and more people are saying they think it is inevitable that Governor Reagan will run. Do you share that view?

THE PRESIDENT. I really should not pass judgment on what he will or won't do. So, since that is a judgment on his part, I think we ought to wait and see.

Q. Mr. President, you suggest the competition would be healthy. Indeed, are we not seeing some of that competition right now with your concentrated schedule in California?

THE PRESIDENT. I look upon my efforts here as part of the responsibility that I have as President to talk to groups in the education field, in the labor field, in other areas—and I also feel it is a part of my responsibility on this trip to help the party per se, to help get the party strengthened in the responsibility it has for organization as well as fundraising. There is nothing in this trip that relates to my candidacy as such.

Q. Mr. President, is there any question in your mind that if you went head-to-head in the primary in New Hampshire, Florida, other places, that you could beat him?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't like to forecast what I will do in the political race. I am confident the policies that we have for the country, the policies that we are trying to implement domestically and foreign policywise put us in a pretty good position against any competition within or without the party.

Q. In the event Governor Reagan should defeat you in New Hampshire and Florida, how serious a blow would that be to your effort to get the nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't speculate about defeat. I look at it affirmatively, that we will do well in any of the primaries, whether New Hampshire, Florida, or otherwise, just as I feel the policies we are trying to implement for the country will be favorable, and therefore, we don't analyze what will happen if we don't do well.

#### SENATE ELECTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

[2.] Q. How do you see the result of the Senatorial race in New Hampshire? A lot of people will say that it was a rebuke to your policies.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't feel it was, necessarily. The opposition was extremely well-organized up there. They got out roughly 30,000 more votes for Durkin than they got in 1974 in November. Strangely enough, Louis Wyman got about 3 or 4 thousand more votes than he got in November. So, it was really an orga-

nizational effort rather than the ideology of the Administration being repudiated.

Q. Both you and Governor Reagan campaigned there, though. That is about as heavy an artillery as your party could have brought in.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, and I got a very favorable response from the people of New Hampshire, for which I am very grateful. I don't think that response or the result really entered into that election as such, and the technical adviser to the Democratic Party, Dick Scammon, discounted any impact on a national level from that particular election.

#### RONALD REAGAN

[3.] Q. Mr. President, one more Reagan question. Your friend, indeed your host for part of this weekend, the U.S. Ambassador to Belgium, Leonard Firestone, has said he doesn't think Ronald Reagan is qualified to be President. What do you think? Is he qualified?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I ought to pass judgment on that. He was a very good Governor for the State of California, and I don't think I should enter into those discussions.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

[4.] Q. Mr. President, you expressed confidence that your policies would get you past any primary competition, indeed in a general election, too, and you particularly noted foreign policy. I would like to ask you a couple of questions about foreign policy, particularly about recent Middle East agreements. First of all, is there an agreement to supply Pershing missiles to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. The documents carefully spell out that we will study with Israel their request for Pershing missiles. It is carefully phrased, and it goes only to the commitment to study the need and necessity for Pershing missiles for Israel.

Q. Senator Howard Baker said here yesterday that he believes—and he emphasized it is only his belief—that Israel has nuclear weapons now. Could you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not know categorically whether they do or do not. Therefore, I don't think I should speculate.

Q. Another missile question. The Hawk missile for Jordan—did you insist that we be assured that those could only be used defensively?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly, the intent is that those Hawk missiles should be used for defensive purposes. It is important for Jordan to have that defensive

capability, and the intent—and I think the agreement itself—is aimed at that direction.

Q. Did Jordan regard it as an insult that we suggested it only be defensive? Is that only because that was made public?

THE PRESIDENT. It is a very technical dispute, and it is my opinion that those differences have been resolved—and I think constructively so—for the Middle East as a whole.

Q. Mr. President, another concern regarding the Middle East is those 200 American civilians who may go into the Sinai, concern that they may become targets or hostages and that that could cause us to make a larger movement of men. Can you promise that if 200 civilians are sent to the Sinai now, more Americans will not have to go in the future?

THE PRESIDENT. There is certainly no intention that that technical contribution be enlarged. I see no reason why it should. As a matter of fact, it is fully understood by the parties that it will not be enlarged.

To compare that to the situation in Vietnam is not an accurate comparison. In Vietnam, there were two parties at war, and the American initial contribution back in 1961 was at the request of one party and in opposition to the other party.

In this case, both Israel and Egypt requested our contribution. So, it is a totally different situation, and there is no intent on our part to enlarge it. There is no request by either party to enlarge it. So, I see no possibility of that happening.

Q. Supposing there was some kind of an attack on those people by the Palestine Liberation Organization? What would this country's response be?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, our effort would be to bring those American technicians out of the area in case of any forecast of trouble arising in the area. They are there, will be there in the U.N. buffer zone along with 7,000 or 8,000 U.N. forces, and I think they are thoroughly protected.

It is an area, in my opinion at least, that it is safe for those Americans. I think it is well to point out that we have now, I think it is, 15 or 20 Americans there with the U.N. forces at the present time. So, this is a very technical contribution in a protected area, the U.N. buffer zone. So, I don't think that problem is going to arise.

#### THE FEDERAL DEFICIT

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the Congressional Budget Office reported this week that if the Federal Government would increase the deficit by another \$25 billion, you could put a million people back to work who wouldn't otherwise be

put back to work, by the end of 1977, with a very tiny increase in inflation. If that is true, why don't you do it?

THE PRESIDENT. An extra \$25 billion to a \$61 billion deficit would have serious ramifications.

Q. Is that study wrong, that Congressional Budget Office study, is that wrong?

THE PRESIDENT. I respectfully disagree. I think there is a better way of approaching the problem. Of course, their recommendations came out prior to the announcement on Friday that we had made very significant progress in the battle against inflation, and I think it is important to point out that in the last 8 months the cost of living has gone up 4.8 percent on an annual basis compared to a figure for the previous comparable period of an inflation rate of 8.3 or 8.4. So, the Congressional Budget recommendation for a \$25 billion increase in the deficit, taking it up to \$85 or \$86 billion, is the wrong approach, predicated on the facts that were revealed by the Department of Labor on Friday.

#### THE NATION'S ECONOMY

[6.] Q. The Governor of California, among others, thinks that the growing cost of energy and raw materials, the demands of the poor nations for more of what we have—all this means that our days of significant economic growth are over. Do you agree?

THE PRESIDENT. I am an optimist, and I respectfully disagree with the Governor that we should predicate our future on a less well-off society than we have had in the past. We will have certain periods of time where we will pay more for energy or there will be some energy scarcity, but it doesn't mean that the United States should expect a period of dismal progress.

I think the United States, if we adopt the right policies, can expect continued growth in a substantial and constructive way. If we approach it from the pessimistic point of view, I think we are adopting the wrong attitude.

Q. You say "if" we adopt the right policies. Does that suggest that we have not yet adopted it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let's take the energy problem. If the Congress doesn't act for a constructive approach to the energy problem, yes, we will have difficulties. We have been prodding the Congress, pushing the Congress, cooperating with the Congress, and yet they have done literally nothing.

Fortunately, we may be coming out of it on the right side, even if the Congress doesn't do something, but I would rather do it on a phased decontrol basis rather than an abrupt end of controls.

Q. Congressman Ed Roybal said yesterday that he did not think you had cooperated sufficiently or compromised, I think, is the way he put it.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me just cite some figures that I did yesterday in Oklahoma. Since January, when I submitted a program, an energy program, I have personally consulted with 51 out of 100 United States Senators. I personally consulted with 305 or 310 of the 435 Members of the House of Representatives.

I have recommended two phased decontrol programs. They have rejected both of them. I have gone more than halfway. And I regret—and I think it is unfortunate—that the Congress has not responded.

I still think that there is a chance they could at least do something, but if they don't do something, then I think we also are in a position where we will come out of it in good shape.

#### THE NATION'S GOALS

[7.] Q. Mr. President, in times past and in times of national problems, other Presidents have called on the American people to serve the country in various ways. It seems to me a lot of people are willing, even eager to do the same thing now, but they aren't sure exactly how. What would you like to ask the American people to do?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not pessimistic at all that the American people will not respond. As a matter of fact, as I travel around the country I find the American people are eager to cooperate. They can do it in a number of ways. The first is to impress upon their representatives in the Congress, Senators and Congressmen, that we have to move ahead, whether it is in energy, or the economy, or national security. I note a slight change in the attitude of the Congress, because I think the American people are having an impact.

Q. Indeed, that is what you are trying to do in your travels.

THE PRESIDENT. That is exactly what we are trying to do. And I note some slight improvement in the attitude of the Congress in trying to cooperate with me, and I certainly am going to bend over backward, and I think I have in that area.

#### INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING ACTIVITIES

[8.] Q. During the past week we have heard that the intelligence apparatus in this country deliberately defied the press, the people, and the Congress about the size of the enemy during the Tet offensive in the Vietnam war. What do you think about those remarks that were made, and how do you feel, as a former Member of Congress, having been intentionally defied?

THE PRESIDENT. If it is a fact, and I think the committee ought to get others to testify who might have a different view——

Q. Are you making an independent effort to find out if it is right?

THE PRESIDENT. That is one person's testimony, a former employee. To get a balanced appraisal, I honestly think the committee ought to call other witnesses. And that brings up a basic decision that I have made. Under no circumstances will we in the executive branch hold back any information that might involve a criminal activity or a mistake that was made. As a matter of fact, I have ordered the people who have the immediate jurisdiction to make any and all information available. I think it is important that the record be laid out, with this exception: We should not, in the process of making this information available, reveal sources of intelligence information—either by individuals or by mechanical means.

Yes, if people made mistakes, the public ought to know about it. Yes, if there is any criminal activity involved, that ought to be made available and action ought to be taken. But I do not think we should just throw open our intelligence sources. That is a serious problem.

#### CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[9.] Q. Mr. President, public confidence is established in people and in institutions. We are told public confidence was established in you by your firm handling of the *Mayaguez* affair. I think we can suggest that in recent days public confidence has been reestablished in the FBI by the capture of Patty Hearst. What is it going to take to reestablish public confidence in the Central Intelligence Agency, or are they such a secret agency they can never boast about their victories?

THE PRESIDENT. I think your last comment is one of the problems. The committee investigations in the House and the Senate, if conducted properly, can, I believe, illustrate that mistakes were made, but overall, some great accomplishments were achieved.

I have the benefit of the Rockefeller Commission recommendations and the Murphy Commission <sup>1</sup> recommendations, and in a relatively short period of time, I will make some administrative decisions that will improve the working operations of the intelligence community, including the CIA, and I will propose to the Congress some legislative recommendations which will likewise, in my opinion, improve our intelligence-gathering community. But you are never going to have the intelligence community where it will have the opportunity to brag about its accomplishments, because it is so important that we not involve sources, and therefore, they have got a tough PR problem.

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<sup>1</sup> The Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, chaired by former Ambassador Robert Murphy.

## SCHOOL BUSING

[10.] Q. Mr. President, you have said that State courts in their effort to integrate the schools have ignored less drastic alternatives than busing. What specifically do you mean by less drastic alternatives?

THE PRESIDENT. The Congress in 1974 approved what was labeled the Esch amendment—laid out six or seven specific guidelines for the courts to follow. The last of the recommendations to achieve what the courts should do was busing—court-ordered forced busing to achieve racial integration. Those steps—and I was in the Congress part of that time and I signed the bill that became law—those steps include a magnet school, utilization of the neighborhood school concept, the improvement of facilities, et cetera. I hope that in the future, as some courts in the past, recent past, will utilize those guidelines rather than plunging into court-ordered forced busing as the only option for the settlement of segregation problems in the school.

Q. The whole issue of opposition to busing tends to get confused with racism, and there are a lot of racial epithets and whatnot being thrown about on the protest line. Do you have anything to say about that? You are opposed to busing, but how do you make the distinction?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think opposition to busing really has any relationship to racism on the part of most people. I think the best illustration, one of the rising young columnists in this country, Bill Raspberry, a black, has been most forceful and most constructive, I think, in opposing the court approach in many cases.

I have been opposed to busing as a means of achieving quality education from its inception. My record in the Congress in voting for civil rights legislation is a good one. So, I believe that the real issue is quality education. It can be achieved better for disadvantaged people, minorities, by other means.

I have sought, through the support of the Esch amendment, through adequate funding, to help Boston and other communities where this problem exists to upgrade their school system rather than to have this very controversial approach of forced busing.

Q. Do you think it will be an issue in next year's campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope it won't.

## FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

[11.] Q. Mr. President, during your visit here, have you made any plans to telephone or visit former President Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't made any specific plans, no.



Q. Do you intend to?

THE PRESIDENT. I may.

Q. Do you see any role for him in national life in the future?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is a judgment he has to make, and I really can't tell you whether he will or he won't, but that is a personal judgment on his part.

Q. You say you may contact him. What is it that you want to say to him?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, he is an old friend, and I have known him and worked with him in the past. What has happened in the past, or recent past, I don't think should destroy a personal friendship.

#### PRESIDENTIAL CLEMENCY BOARD

[12.] Q. Mr. President, there has been a minority report from your amnesty panel being very critical of Charles Goodell, saying that he misinterpreted and he violated the spirit of the amnesty program in granting amnesty or seeking amnesty for felons. Would you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. That was a very controversial area, as I am sure you recognize.

Q. Mr. President, our time is almost up.

THE PRESIDENT. I felt I had to do something, and I can understand, with the strong people on that board, that there might be controversy.

Q. Mr. President, gentlemen, I am sorry, our time is now up.

Our warm thanks to the President of the United States for joining us here in Los Angeles.

NOTE: The interview began at 8:57 a.m. in the Santa Monica Room at the Century Plaza Hotel. It was taped for broadcast that evening.

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#### Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies at Pepperdine University, Malibu, California. September 20, 1975

*Bill, Margaret,<sup>1</sup> and all of you who have so generously come with your time and your enthusiasm and your dedication to this wonderful day here at Pepperdine:*

I thank you as well as Betty. I have known Margaret a good many years. I have known her many, many efforts in a broad spectrum. Of course, those of us who are Republicans knew that she has been a loyal, generous, dedicated Republican and she is sort of known by those of us outside of California as Mrs. Republican, and we thank you very, very much for that, Margaret.

<sup>1</sup> William S. Banowsky, president of Pepperdine University, and Margaret Martin Brock, for whom the university president's new residence was named.

But as Bill has said and all of you I am sure know, her interests are far broader than that in civic and community affairs. Her generosity is extremely well known. As she indicated, she has a very deep commitment to not only Pepperdine as an institution but to the students here at Pepperdine. And that covers, again, many, many things that she does that are not too well known. She has a little special fund that helps deserving and needy and fine students.

I am told that Margaret, on many occasions—to a civic function, to a community activity, wherever people come in from the outside—she will support it and make sure that the younger people participate. The emphasis on youth, I think, has helped to keep Margaret just as youthful and attractive as she is today.

This beautiful house is a great tribute to her real deep interest in Pepperdine, and I can't imagine a nicer couple and family than Bill and Gay and their four fine sons being the first occupants and establishing a great precedent as a family.

And may I just close because I am going to talk a little later and I don't want to preempt here what I might say down there.

But I have, of course, had an opportunity to look into what Pepperdine stands for. It stands for excellence in education and anything that is related to excellence—whether it is in the arts or in athletics, in business, professions, I wholeheartedly support—and Pepperdine, in the field of education, does represent that high standard.

And the 8,000-some students who attend here, some at this campus and some at the other campuses, are likewise getting the benefit of not only excellence but great leadership.

I thank you all very, very much for coming, and it is a pleasure to participate, Margaret, in these dedication ceremonies. And both Betty and I are delighted to see you again, and we thank you for your help to this great school.

Thank you very, very much.

*[The President spoke at 11:07 a.m. at Brock House. Following his remarks, he proceeded to Firestone Fieldhouse for a meeting with student leaders and dedication ceremonies for the fieldhouse. The President spoke at 12:03 p.m. at the ceremonies as follows:]*

*Dr. Bill Banowsky, Ambassador and Mrs. Firestone, distinguished academic delegates, special guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

Today, you have conferred upon me the honorary degree of doctor of laws and granted me the status of an honorary alumnus of Pepperdine University. Obviously, these honors are very deeply appreciated, and I am equally grateful for the especially warm welcome here in southern California.

Actually, I have been looking forward to visiting the campus here at Malibu. Some of you may know I like skiing and swimming, and here in Malibu one of the big things is surfing, which combines a little of both—skiing when you do it right and swimming when you do it wrong. [*Laughter*]

But I never realized how popular surfing really is until just before the program when I asked President Bill Banowsky how many minutes he wanted me to speak, and Bill just said, “Mr. President, hang ten.” [*Laughter*]

Last May, when my wife Betty returned from her trip to this beautiful State, she gave me a very enthusiastic report on her visit to Pepperdine’s inner city Los Angeles campus. And Pepperdine’s rapid growth from a small college in southwest Los Angeles to a multicampus university has been a success story in the best Hollywood tradition.

I am impressed with your distinguished faculty, with your dynamic student body, and with your balanced budget of \$35 million. [*Laughter*] Then again, coming from Washington, I am impressed with a balanced budget of any size. [*Laughter*]

Let me also add a very special word of praise for your president, Dr. Bill Banowsky. Bill’s great, great capacity for leadership has been a guiding force in Pepperdine’s phenomenal progress in pursuit of excellence. He is the man most responsible for this “Malibu miracle” campus. It represents a testament to his skill, his diligence, and I congratulate you personally, Bill.

Today, we gather to dedicate this most impressive structure, the Firestone Fieldhouse, made possible by the generosity and the commitment of two of my very good friends, Leonard and Nicki Firestone. I join with all of you in saluting these two outstanding Americans, in admiring this proud building, their fine gift to Pepperdine University.

As Dr. Bill Banowsky was reeling off all of the athletic accomplishments of Pepperdine’s teams on the competitive field of athletics, I thought to myself there wasn’t one single sport where I could qualify for the first time, even 50 years ago. [*Laughter*]

So, I thank you for the opportunity to participate in this ceremony because of my personal interest in competitive athletics, but also because Firestone Fieldhouse stands as a splendid centerpiece for this superb campus. It symbolizes the vitality, the exuberance, and the strength of Pepperdine students, indeed, the students throughout this country.

Pepperdine University is a symbol itself. It is an outstanding example of those voluntarily supported institutions which have contributed so much to America’s greatness and to our country’s progress. Such great universities as

Paris, Oxford, and Padua—dating back to the Middle Ages—have a rich heritage as institutions of independent education. America proudly celebrates its 200th birthday next year, but we would have to reach back still another century to mark the founding of Harvard College in Massachusetts Bay Colony, or William and Mary in Virginia, or St. John's College in Maryland. Thirteen other great American universities were founded before the American Revolution, and all share in the distinguished traditions of private higher education.

Independent schools in the United States exemplify the commitment of their benefactors to the American free enterprise system and, in a sense, to freedom itself.

You know and I know that it is the vitality and the competition of free enterprise that made America great. It is the wealth of the free enterprise that has done so much to help underdeveloped nations throughout the world. And it is free enterprise that in the long run will do the most for the underdeveloped nations of the world and the disadvantaged people throughout this great world.

It is the strength of the free enterprise that has given the greatest challenge to communism and statism and every other dogma which would crush individual freedom.

The independent colleges and universities have played a very major role in America's history. They represent a sound investment in America's future. Thanks to the vision and dedication and commitment of private citizens and organizations, there are now more than 1,500 independent colleges and universities in America, with a combined enrollment of more than 2 million fortunate students.

Today, as in the past, these institutions serve as a great reservoir of national leadership in the arts, in the sciences, in law, medicine, religion, and in business, as well as in the government.

Twenty-four Presidents of the United States were educated in private colleges and universities in our country, as were 287 Members of the Congress—Senators, Representatives—serving in the present Congress today.

More than 40 percent of the board chairmen and presidents of the Nation's 100 largest corporations today were educated at independent institutions. The number of outstanding writers, musicians, judges, teachers, physicians, scientists, ministers, and scholars produced by these institutions is almost beyond counting.

My own background, as Dr. Banowsky indicated, included two experiences in higher education: one at the University of Michigan and the other at Yale University Law School; one public, the other private.

I value what I learned from both, and I am all for an open marketplace for ideas and learning experiences. Private institutions both complement on the one hand, and compete on the other, with public education in America. Millions of Americans have enjoyed the diversity of benefits this dual system has produced.

I believe that every American who has a desire to learn should be given the chance to learn. Today, California's independent 4-year colleges and universities have an outstanding record of providing such great opportunities.

They have enrolled, for example, a higher percentage of black students than any public sector of higher education in this State. Further, independent 4-year colleges rank very high in the percentage of Mexican-Americans enrolled, and they provide more students with more scholarships than any public segment of California education.

They have proven this point, which we should emphasize: They have proven by their own example that the road to quality higher education need not be a narrow one traveled only by a select few.

As Aristotle said centuries ago, "All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of political communities depends on the education of youth."

But today one segment of America's educational capacity is in serious trouble. The institutions of private education in the United States are being battered and buffeted in ways that may ultimately jeopardize their survival.

We should remember and never forget that the term "private education" is misleading, because these institutions, though privately endowed, serve important public functions, and at a great savings to the American taxpayer. We should remember that this is something that is too often forgotten. California, for example, now counts about 100 independent colleges and universities within its great borders. It is estimated that these institutions carry 30 percent of the State's postsecondary education workload. Each year they provide, with almost no cost to the taxpayer, more than \$1 billion in educational research and related services in California alone.

In return, these institutions and their students received less than 3 percent of the total State funds spent for higher education in California. It is through the support of alumni and friends such as Leonard Firestone, Margaret Martin Brock, Frank Seaver, and so many others who have helped Pepperdine build this magnificent campus, that independent education survives and grows in California and throughout the United States. And we thank them all for it.

California's independent schools have amassed \$2½ billion in capital assets and in dollars. Each year they attract an additional \$400 million from private

nongovernmental sources. If these institutions should suddenly close, shifting the burden from private donors to public taxpayers, the tax load would be heavy indeed. American taxpayers and America as a whole would suffer the consequences. We must not allow this to happen.

In recent years the Congress has considered a number of proposals which would discourage private charitable contributions to these institutions. Fortunately, most have been rejected thus far. But there is a certain persistence in these proposals which must be constantly monitored and rebuffed. Today, let me repeat what I have said to many educators who have visited me in Washington: I approve, support, and encourage the principle of voluntary giving to help finance higher education. And I will oppose any legislative proposals which discourage such support, including those which would limit charitable tax deductions, disallow the full value of appreciated assets, or exclude the State tax deductions.

The Firestone Fieldhouse and literally thousands of other facilities which grace independent college campuses across America testify vividly and in concrete ways to the wisdom of those existing tax policies. These facilities will be built either with private capital or with taxpayers' money, but they must and they will be built, and I will do all that I can on a personal basis to encourage the use of private funds for the public good.

Today, we have all been a part of a proud and fulfilling moment in Pepperdine's history. Students, faculty, friends, and community have all joined together in this celebration of this achievement. It is a good feeling and one that should be experienced as often as possible.

Bill, is that a good suggestion? [*Laughter*]

In some circles it is considered very smart and very in to be cynical and somewhat disdainful of the basic motivations that have inspired and sustained mankind throughout the centuries. A love of family, a love of country, a love of labor, a love of learning, a love of God—these values are not outdated. And from the spirit that I feel is here today, I am sure that all of you agree most wholeheartedly.

I know from my many conversations with Bill Banowsky and others that this is the spirit of Pepperdine University, its founder, its faculty, and its students. It is a wonderful, worthy spirit—a spirit to which Daniel Webster gave expression when he wrote: "If we work upon marble, it will perish. If we work upon brass, time will efface it. If we rear temples, they will crumble into dust. But if we work upon men's immortal minds, if we imbue them with high principles, with the just fear of God and love of their fellow-men, we engrave

on those tablets something which no time can efface, and which will brighten to all eternity.”

Thank you for letting me share this thought with you.

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**Statement on Signing a Bill Redesignating November 11 as Veterans Day. *September 20, 1975***

I HAVE signed into law today S. 331, a bill which will return the annual observance of Veterans Day from the Fourth Monday in October to its original date of November 11, beginning in 1978. This action supports the expressed will of the overwhelming majority of our State legislatures, all major veterans service organizations, and many individuals.

Under a law enacted in 1968, the fourth Monday in October was designated for the observance of Veterans Day. Since that law took effect, it has become apparent that the commemoration of this day on November 11 is a matter of historic and patriotic significance to a great number of our citizens. It is a practice deeply and firmly rooted in our customs and traditions. Americans have appreciated and wish to retain the historic significance of November 11 as the day set aside each year by a grateful nation to remember and honor those, living and dead, who fought to win and preserve our freedom.

I believe restoration of the observance of Veterans Day to November 11 will help preserve in the hearts and lives of all Americans the spirit of patriotism, the love of country, and the willingness to serve and sacrifice for the common good symbolized by this very special day.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 331, approved September 18, 1975, is Public Law 94-97 (89 Stat. 479).

The statement was released at San Francisco, Calif.

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**Statement on Signing a Bill Authorizing the Smithsonian Institution To Plan Museum Support Facilities. *September 20, 1975***

I HAVE signed into law today S. 907, an act authorizing the Smithsonian Institution to plan museum support facilities.

The new law, approved by Congress earlier this month without dissent, will

enable the Smithsonian to undertake the development of facilities for the most effective care and conservation of the collections it holds in trust for the Nation.

These collections, which include nearly 75 million items, among them the Kitty Hawk Flyer, George Catlin's remarkable paintings of North American Indians, and three million botanical specimens, record our historic, scientific, material, and cultural development as a people and as a nation.

The proposed facilities will permit increased public access to the rich and diverse heritage represented in the collections. They will also allow the Institution's Mall museums to be used to the fullest extent possible for the education and enjoyment of the millions of citizens who visit them each year.

On the eve of America's Bicentennial, I believe it is appropriate to make this commitment to this heritage of our past to better guide us on the path of our third century.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 907, approved September 19, 1975, is Public Law 94-98 (89 Stat. 480).

The statement was released at San Francisco, Calif.

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### Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies at the Stanford University School of Law. *September 21, 1975*

*President Lyman, Dean Ehrlich, Waller Taylor, distinguished members of the board of trustees, and faculty, students, alumni, and friends of Stanford University:*

I am indeed honored to be here and to thank my good friend, Waller Taylor, for his excellent arrangements as chairman of the Law School's board of visitors. Now, I know that I am not the first visitor to this beautiful campus who happened to be President or past President or a future President.

Former President Benjamin Harrison was one of your first professors of law. Future President Herbert Hoover, to whom this university owes so very much, was one of your very first students.

One of my first acts as President this year was to sign into law a bill authorizing Federal matching funds for the expansion of the Hoover Institution in honor of the 100th anniversary of the birth of this great American and great humanitarian.<sup>1</sup>

I understand that former President William Howard Taft and future President John F. Kennedy also enjoyed brief associations with "The Farm."

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 6.



I hope I haven't overlooked anybody, but if so, I will blame the dedicated Stanford men and women who serve in my Cabinet and as my counsellors in the White House.

The contributions of the Stanford alumni in all branches of our Government in Washington are tremendous. I hope we have many, many more in the future, and I say that as a Yalie and a Michigander.

It is a tremendous pleasure to be here at the Law School today, to be a part of this very special dedication. The students and faculty of Stanford have always demonstrated an outstanding devotion to the concepts of truth, justice, and equality under the law. And yesterday you did it once again. When it comes to equality, you can't be any more equal than that game with Michigan—19 to 19! Well, what better place than a law school to celebrate a hung jury. [*Laughter*]

Today's dedication of this impressive new home for the Law School is certainly no tie; it is one more victory in Stanford's unbroken record of educational excellence. The dream of Senator and Mrs. Stanford that children of California should be their children, with the help of many who followed their generous example, has broadened to the benefit of its young men and young women of all America and the world.

Back in 1968 when plans for this Law School complex were completed, there was a serious question in many sober minds whether the rule of law in this country was breaking down. Assassins gunned down a candidate for the Presidential nomination and one of our most eloquent civil rights leaders. In 1 week, riots and arson and looting swept 125 cities in our country, including the Capital of our Nation. Violent disorders, demonstrations, and defiance engulfed many, many of our communities.

In the midst of this environment, I was to make the 275th commencement address at the College of William and Mary, which produced such giants of constitutional history as Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall.

As a result, I got an early start on my Bicentennial rereading of our Nation's beginnings. And I asked myself what were the most precious possessions the first settlers of American wilderness brought with them across the Atlantic? What was nurtured here in the New World to be carried across the mountains, across the plains, across the deserts, and over the High Sierra to the Golden Gate of California? What made us the unique Nation and people that we are today?

For the most part, the first American immigrants were poor, they were outcasts, they were persecuted, they were disadvantaged, they were dissenters, and they were rebels against the Old World Establishment. They brought little

beyond what was on their backs and in their heads except a few seeds and a few tools and a few books. But what they brought was very precious to them.

They brought, even as they protested its capricious abuse, an abiding respect for the rule of law. They built orderly systems of self-government even before they erected dry houses. Generations later, when our Founding Fathers met in Philadelphia to declare their independence, they formally stated their reasons in terms of both moral and legal rights which the distant King and Parliament had denied them as colonists. Our American Revolution was unique in that we rejected our rulers but we revered their rules.

There were more colleges and universities in the Thirteen Colonies before the American Revolution than in all of England, Scotland, and Ireland put together. As Americans moved westward, they set aside lands for the higher training of teachers, engineers, agriculturalists, scientists, doctors, lawyers, and other professions. They encouraged the support of both private and public institutions of learning in State and Federal tax policies. No nation, at any time, has put a higher priority on education for all of its citizens.

Finally, the long march of the Americans halfway around the world, from Jamestown and Plymouth Rock to the westernmost tip of Alaska and the far Pacific Islands, carried with it a common commitment to the future. The material progress of the United States of America has been premised on the half-humanist, half-theological idea of the perfectibility of society, the enlargement of human freedom, and the innate worth of the individual.

Stanford University, where the winds of freedom still circulate through the pleasant quadrangles of old and new, was built and still stands upon the solid triad of law, learning, and liberty. The fears of seven summers ago were unfounded. The rule of law in America has survived. Our constitutional instincts have proven sound. The commitment of Americans to law, learning, and liberty continues in this very court this afternoon.

But the contradictions and dilemmas remain in our society in abundance. They will always exist in a democratic nation where the delicate balances between freedom and order, between private right and public interest, between the safety of the state and the security of the individual all require constant review and resolution.

This is the role of government at all levels and the mission both of those who make the laws and who practice and respect it. There is an old saying that those who love the law and those who are fond of sausage should never examine too closely how either is actually made. [*Laughter*] I certainly don't intend to pick any quarrel with the sausagemakers. But as a former lawmaker and as a

lawyer, I believe we need to examine much more closely how our Nation's laws are made in order to prevent perfectly laudable legislative intentions from having perfectly horrible consequences.

Literally hundreds of examples can be cited. Let me take one area that affects almost everybody, with which you as lawyers will surely have to deal. That is the area of the individual's right of privacy—the right to keep one's individual identity inviolate, or in plain talk, the right to do your own thing.

I can speak with some authority on this, because as Vice President one of my chores was Chairman of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy. I took that duty very seriously. Among the very first things we learned was that one of the worst offenders is the Federal Government itself. I don't mean improper or illegal invasions of people's privacy or constitutional rights by Federal agencies or individual officials, which nobody condones and which I will not tolerate as long as I am President of the United States.

Rather, I mean threats to privacy which have resulted from laws duly enacted by past Congresses for very laudable purposes having wide public support and appeal. Many of these laws, with today's technology, cumulatively threaten to strip the individual of his privacy or her privacy and reduce him to a faceless set of digits in a monstrous network of computers. He has not only no control over this process but often has absolutely no knowledge of its existence.

For example, in a simpler and earlier era, the government's principal interest in watching its citizens was to see that they obeyed the law, paid their relatively uncomplicated taxes, and from time to time, came to their country's aid in an emergency.

But when the government expanded enormously and undertook vast social programs that established a direct link between the citizen and the bureaucracy, government logically became interested not only in monitoring criminal behavior but also a lot of other things about its citizens' lives, its citizens' habits.

To determine the eligibility of millions of individuals for receiving government's benefits, for welfare or unemployment or social security or social service pensions or other special assistance, government has to gather, record, and constantly update information.

Government acquired a legitimate reason to inquire also into the private lives of students seeking scholarships, professors seeking research grants, businessmen wanting government loans or requiring government licenses, professional persons doing business with the government or participating in subsidy programs. The list is literally endless.

Over the years, therefore, agencies of the government—State and local as well

as Federal—gradually have amassed great amounts of information about almost every one of us. As technology advanced, it made administrative sense to combine and codify such information, especially when it was voluntarily given in expectation of benefits and beyond the special legal safeguards provided for Federal census and Internal Revenue data.

Here we face another dilemma of democratic society in this new technological era where information is not only power, as it has always been, but also instantly retrievable by anyone trained to push the right button.

Certainly, we cannot scuttle worthwhile programs which provide essential help for the helpless and assist the deserving citizen. Yet we must protect every individual from excessive and unnecessary intrusions by a big brother bureaucracy.

Many of the recommendations of the Committee on Privacy, which I chaired as Vice President, were incorporated in the Privacy Act of 1974, which a cooperative Congress passed and I was pleased to sign as President. That law goes into effect next Saturday.

Briefly, the Privacy Act generally prohibits collection of information concerning exercise of an individual's first amendment rights. It requires that files on individuals be accurate, relevant, timely, and complete. It requires the Federal Government to reveal the existence and the whereabouts of all data systems containing identifiable personal information. It gives everyone the right to read his own file and to make corrections or to make amendments. It commands the Government to use the information only for the purpose for which it was collected. And it sets up an independent Privacy Commission with a 2-year mandate to monitor the operation of the law and investigate additional privacy rules.

It is, to be sure, extremely experimental. But it makes a long overdue start in trying to restore to every individual some of his rights which have been eroded in the process of gaining other advantages.

I have said in Bicentennial speeches around the country—and I will continue to say—that the great achievement of the first century of American independence was to perfect political institutions strong enough to endure stress and responsible to the times and to the needs of all of our people.

The second century of our independence, now ending, saw the development of the world's strongest economic system in a free climate our political freedom fostered. Two hundred years of American independence have gained for all of us an unprecedented measure of political and economic stability and success.

But we should ask ourselves, what should be the goal of our third century

as a nation? I prefer to look at our Bicentennial celebration through a telescope, not a rearview mirror. The great challenge of our next 100 years is the advancement of individual independence—of specific safeguards, that can be made available as to the identity of each and every American, from the pressures of conformity.

These pressures close in upon us from many, many quarters—massive government, massive management, massive labor, massive education, massive communication, and massive acquisition of information.

To meet this challenge, we still need a positive and passionate commitment to law, to learning, and to liberty. Without law, there is no liberty. Without liberty, there is no learning. Without learning, there is no law.

Here at Stanford you have all three—law, learning, and liberty. Make the most of them. Make them part of your lives. Make them your richest legacy as well as your most precious inheritance.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:12 p.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to Richard Lyman, president of Stanford University, and Thomas Ehrlich, dean of the School of Law.

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## Question-and-Answer Session With Students at the Stanford University School of Law. *September 21, 1975*

### THE SUPREME COURT

QUESTION. [1.] Quite likely you will have an opportunity to select someone under the Constitution for the Supreme Court. Of course, we have little guidance to go under on what type person you would select. We know and assume it would be someone highly competent. The only guidance we have is that in 1970 you suggested that Justice Douglas was advocating rebellion in the United States, as James Reston reported today.

My question is to describe the type criteria you would employ in selecting someone for the Supreme Court, but hopefully be more specific than just saying someone that was a strict constructionist.

Also, a follow-up question is, all of the things being equal, would you perhaps lean toward selecting a woman, considering that we haven't had a woman Justice on the Court?

THE PRESIDENT. I think, of course, it is premature to make any decision or imply that I was actively seeking one, because all nine members of the Court,

of course, are still serving. And from everything I understand, the intention is to continue.

But my feeling is that first we have to have a person who is very qualified in the law, as such. On the other hand, I don't think you can exclude certain classes of individuals because they don't happen to be a practicing lawyer. We have some very knowledgeable people in the law who might have other current occupations. So, they have to have a competence, a very high competence in the law, but that doesn't mean they have to be restricted within a certain framework in a very limited sense.

Now, they have to be a person of great integrity. I would hope it could be someone in a relatively middle-age group, because I think continuity on the Court is a matter of importance.

I wouldn't want to make any commitment as to ideology. I don't think that is necessarily something that you can tell precisely, and I wouldn't want to preempt anything in this area by any comment I make at this time.

#### EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

[2.] Q. Mr. President, do you think you can match your wife's ardent support of the equal rights amendment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I voted for it in the House of Representatives. I can't do any more than that.

Q. Would you do one more thing—[*handing the President a button*]—would you take this back to Betty Ford? “A woman's place is in the world.” [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. She has been doing quite well lately—[*laughter*]—for which I am very proud of her.

#### CHILE

[3.] Q. Under Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, the United States attempted to help achieve the violent overthrow of the Governments of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Chile. We would like to know under what circumstances your Administration will participate in the violent overthrow of Latin American countries. And I would like to know why you have not spoken out against heinous abuses of human rights in Chile and sought to bring pressure to bear on those who do?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't want to indicate that our Government is going to interfere with the internal operations of any government anyplace in the world. I think it is a matter that has to be carefully considered in the context of how it relates to our own national security. And to even imply that this

country is going to get involved overtly or covertly, I think, is a mistake for the President of the United States.

I made a comment the other day—to show how sensitive the subject is—I was asked a question about the situation in India, and I said it was sad and added a qualifying phrase. It created, apparently, some great stir in India.

So, it is a very sensitive subject, and I just don't think I should discuss it.

Q. Do you rule out the United States ever again participating in the overthrow of another country?

THE PRESIDENT. I would not want to rule it out or decide otherwise. It has been done apparently in some cases in the past, but I don't think a President should—in this very sensitive area—make any commitment one way or another.

#### CHARTER ON ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I was just wondering what your reaction was to the introduction of the economic charter by President Echeverría in the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT. As I recall, Senator Chuck Percy, who is our representative at the United Nations, led a very determined fight against it—and I have great respect for Senator Percy—and Senator Percy, I know from personal conversations with him, was extremely well prepared in meeting the proposal that President Echeverría made, or was made on behalf of him at the United Nations. And as a result of Senator Percy's strong feelings and well-documented arguments, the United States was one of a limited number of nations that voted against it. He was acting for the United States. I was President, so I support him.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

[5.] Q. Mr. President, my question relates to a commitment to Israel to, I guess, discuss the possibility of providing them with the Pershing missile. In this morning's paper, I guess, you are quoted as commenting from Los Angeles yesterday, I believe, that you don't presently know whether or not the Israelis possess the nuclear warheads that can be carried on these missiles. My question is that before we would make a commitment to give them these missiles, is this something that we would undertake to find out? And if it turns out they do presently have these warheads, would we still give them the missiles?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the basic shopping list that was submitted by Israel is a very extensive one. They want substantial arms aid, including some very sophisticated weapons systems, and the Pershing missile and the F-16 are among those listed. In the case of the Pershing missile, the language, the precise lan-

guage in the agreement simply says we will study whether or not Israel has a justification for the acquisition of that particular weapons system. I am certain that we will, in the process of studying this, cover the whole range of its deployment, its warheads, and everything else.

Q. Is there any justification now for giving the Israelis a nuclear capability?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no present intention of us giving to any Middle East nation any—

Q. Any means to develop?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no present intention of giving any Middle East nation a nuclear capability, and that would include, of course, any expertise for the development.

#### VIOLENCE IN AMERICA

[6.] Q. Mr. President, in your address you mentioned a very brief and violent period of American history not too long past now. The news media has recently focused our attention again on a very violent extreme political group. Why do you suppose it is that a society such as ours fosters groups committed to violence in a political form?

THE PRESIDENT. I am bothered about that. I honestly don't have the answer. I would welcome any observations or recommendations from all of you as to why, in a society where I think by any other standard that I have ever observed—and I have traveled in a good many countries—we should have violence, and in some of those far more oppressive societies don't seem to have any. If you have any solution to the problem, I would welcome such observations.

Q. Mr. President, on that subject, perhaps when people are less inclined to trust the legal system, they may think of looking elsewhere in making their own law, which perhaps is where the violence comes from.

#### THE LEGAL PROFESSION

[7.] Q. On the subject of giving all the people of this country some kind of legal ability to get legal help, it seems that there is very little chance now, that people coming out of law schools who want to do public interest law, want to give legal aid and public defense, can find a way to do that. It is very difficult to get a job in the law now anyway, but especially in those fields, and I was wondering what your Administration proposes to do to expand those kind of—

THE PRESIDENT. I signed the basic legislation which set up the new legislation, and I have appointed, or nominated—have they been confirmed yet, the nominees?—the organization that will, I think, give greater opportunities for



young lawyers or other lawyers to participate. As a matter of fact, I recommended for the first year's budget about \$81 million, which is, as I recollect, a slight increase over the existing amount, or the previous amount that had been made available for the effort under the old setup.

I hesitate to refer to my own experience, but there was a great challenge when I got through Yale Law School. I had an opportunity to practice in several eastern cities, but it was a greater challenge to me to go back and open up a law office with another young law school student—and we didn't have a client. We worked about 14 hours a day, and we actually made our expenses the first year. It was one of the great experiences of my lifetime. I think that is a great challenge. You ought to try it. [*Laughter*]

#### PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES

[8.] Q. My question concerns what has been termed the crisis of our large cities. And one of the manifestations of this crisis are the recent problems we are having in Boston and other cities with busing for quality education. Now, it seems to me that one of the problems behind quality education in our big cities is that the big cities lack the finances or resources to provide that quality education.

Now, education is only one facet of this crisis. It also goes into the other social systems—transportation, communications, recreation within the cities. I don't recall hearing any programs recently by this Administration, the past Administration, about reversing this—what I would term a spiral downward of our big cities—to correct that problem. Because if we don't correct the problem in the near future, killing the cities will thereby lead to a worsening of life in the United States, if you want to use a broader term.

But with the exodus of people in cities going out to the suburbs, what you have is that the people in the cities just get worse, and the financial structure will deteriorate, the job structure will deteriorate. So, do you have any present plans or any future plans to maybe reverse this trend?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I think I ought to set forth a record you may not be familiar with. In 1971 or 1972 the Congress passed—on the basis of the then administration's recommendation—what we call general revenue sharing, where \$5-plus billion a year goes directly to cities—two-thirds to cities and local units of government and one-third to the States, free, without any strings or limitations.

That is a very substantial commitment, and about 2 months ago I recommended its extension, with \$150 million a year added, so that in the first year

of the second program—the second 5-year program—the annual amount will be about \$6,250 million a year that just goes to those cities and to those local units of government and to those States, free of any limitations.

So, they did get a real shot in the arm for financial resources from the Federal Government to meet some of these local problems. Plus in the field of transportation, last November, December, I signed an \$11.5 billion transportation act. And without getting into the details, I had a significant impact in getting the House and Senate to reconcile differences and to make that available. And this is primarily a mass transit act aimed at major metropolitan areas. Well, there are other programs that I think have sought to help and assist major metropolitan areas, New York City included. And just in passing, New York City last year in all its Federal programs, all of them, got \$4,300 million from the Federal Government. We have not neglected New York City.

Q. Mr. President, I realize there are the various programs that you have just mentioned. But it seems in my view that the amount of resources that have been devoted to the cities require a much more substantial amount than the programs you have just outlined, because the cities are large, the problems are massive and should be tackled, and must be tackled in a systematic, organized, manner. I gather from what you are saying is that you think that the programs that you have outlined—and maybe some others you haven't right now—are sufficient to tackle the problem at this current stage?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so. It has been my general feeling that just the massive piling on of more money to cities doesn't necessarily solve the problems. The programs have to be well worked out, coordinated, and I think there is a fair assumption, a basic assumption I make, that the Federal Government ought not to try and determine how those cities meet their local problems. We do make substantial contributions financially, but the actual stimulation of new ideas to meet their problems ought to come from those communities.

With citizen participation in the housing act last year—where we went from an old housing program of about seven or eight categorical grant programs where we had urban renewal, Model Cities, a whole bunch of them—what we did was to eliminate the categorical grant programs, give them the same money. We had a hold-harmless provision in that law so they all got at least no less than they got before. And we said, now you get this money, you have community hearings—and every city is required by law to have community hearings—so that the people make recommendations to their local authorities for the expenditure of this money.

Now, in the communities that I am personally familiar with, I think the

expenditure of that money is far better today under that kind of a system than under the old categorical grant program, because each city is different, each city has problems that are unique to it, and the people give the recommendations to the locally elected officials—they spend the money. All we do is audit that it's honest. And we ought to have enough genius in each local city or local unit of government to come up with good programs. And I think we can, but it has only been in operation a year.

Q. Mr. President, it is time to head outside.

THE PRESIDENT. Can I take one more here?

Q. We would like to make sure you have this before you go, sir. It is a petition signed by over 200 students here.<sup>1</sup>

THE PRESIDENT. Fine, I will read it. And let me take one more question.

#### SCHOOL BUSING

[9.] Q. You have expressed publicly your feeling that busing to achieve equal education is not the preferred way to achieve that goal. What suggestions do you have for attaining the goal of equal education for all children?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there are a number of Federal educational programs that are aimed at helping local communities in a very broad sense. But the one that is aimed specifically at meeting the problem of those communities that are under court order or under HEW administrative requirement for the current fiscal year—if my recollection is accurate—it is about \$250 million.

In the case of Boston precisely, in the last year, out of this fund, the Boston school system has been given something over \$4 million to be aimed directly at trying to assist in upgrading the school system in Boston—meeting the challenge. And in addition, we have had the top person in the Federal Government—HEW—Dr. Goldberg,<sup>2</sup> who has gone up to Boston to try and work with the local officials in Boston to meet their unusual and difficult problems.

I really believe that this is the approach that ought to be taken. You just don't throw the money up there. You try to take the money and utilize it in an effective way as to student opportunities, student facilities, organization, et cetera.

I think a lot of things can be done, including the list of things that are set forth in the Education Act of 1974, called the Esch amendment, that are a better approach than the ones that have been used in a number of cases by the courts themselves.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The question-and-answer session began at 4:40 p.m. in the Irvine Gallery at the university.

<sup>1</sup> The petition listed certain policies of the Ford Administration with which the students disagreed.

<sup>2</sup> Herman R. Goldberg, Associate Commissioner for Equal Educational Opportunity Programs.

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**Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Life Underwriters in Anaheim, California.*****September 21, 1975****President Levine, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

Let me thank President Norman Levine for that extremely generous and very kind introduction. And may I also, at this point, offer my personal congratulations to Mr. Lester Rosen, who obviously, by his fine record in your industry, by his total dedication to the betterment of society, not only in his hometown but throughout the country—my personal congratulations.

President Levine is a very rare and a very unique gentleman, and there is a story behind that compliment. A few years ago, I shared a head table at a dinner in New York City with Norman Levine. A few people were good enough to ask me to sign their programs, and in so doing, my pen ran out of ink. So, I borrowed Norm's. Well, a few years went by, and the next time I saw Norm was in March of this year, when he came to the Oval Office to ask if I would attend this dinner.

After the meeting was over I asked Norm to accept a pair of cufflinks as a souvenir of his visit to the Oval Office. Norm was very gracious about it. He thanked me, he declined the offer, and said, if I didn't mind, he'd just like his pen back. [*Laughter*] So, I gave Norm a pen and that is why I say he is a very rare and unique gentleman. How often do you meet anyone who ever got something back from Washington? [*Laughter*]

It is really great to be here in Anaheim, with so many old friends. Carney Smith, your executive [vice] president, was my neighbor in Alexandria, Virginia, until I moved into public housing on Pennsylvania Avenue. [*Laughter*]

I am also delighted to see Jack McDonald here, a friend and former colleague in the House of Representatives.

In short, some of my very best friends are in the insurance business, and that is one reason why I am here today and to enjoy your hospitality and the friendship of your wonderful organization. Another is that I want to pay tribute to you who sell life insurance.

Altogether, I am advised that policies sold total more than \$2 trillion. That is an impressive figure—2 followed by 12 zeros. You typify the free enterprise system, the men and women who go out on your own, with your initiative, with your energy and talent working for you.

Obviously, from those that I know and from the record of Lester Rosen, you are leaders of your communities. I commend your efforts as participants in public service, including the political arena.

You and your policyholders have a big stake in responsible government, and I urge you to continue and to expand this effort. And I can assure you from my personal experiences with him on a number of occasions, you should be honored by the fine job that Governor Jim Longley of Maine has been doing and, I am sure, will continue to do. That should be a stimulant to all of you to broaden your effort for the public service in your community, in your State as well as in your Nation.

What you do obviously is very important to this country. When you talk insurance to people, you are getting them to think and to plan for their futures. And when they take out insurance, they are not only providing for their families, for their family's security, but for the country's future as well, because most of the premium money is reinvested by your companies in America.

Altogether, I am advised that these investments total more than \$278 billion, including \$88 billion in mortgages on homes and commercial buildings. I look upon this as an impressive vote of confidence by the insurance industry in the future of America, and that is what it is.

Some economists call it capital formation, but I prefer a much more basic term—job creation. This money helps to start new businesses. It modernizes and expands our industries. It finances homebuilding. It adds up to one big plus for America in the form of jobs. Savings, investment, jobs—those are the basic ingredients that make our economy strong and healthy. In turn, they lead to more savings, more investment, and more jobs.

There is a phrase in the jargon of economics which has always bothered me. The phrase is “an acceptable rate of unemployment.” As far as I am concerned, there is no acceptable rate of unemployment. As long as there is one American who wants a job and cannot find one, the unemployment rate is too high.

The human tragedy of involuntary unemployment cannot be measured by the graphs, the charts, or the percentages which show up in a multitude of government reports. How can cold statistics ever adequately portray the trauma of a lost job, lost savings, and more importantly, lost pride? America's greatest natural resource is its people, and I intend to see that this resource is not endangered.

One of the prime goals of this Administration is to sustain the economic recovery now underway and to put out-of-work Americans back on the job.

A working American is a buying American, an investing American, a saving American.

Unemployment checks are designed simply to maintain life. Paychecks are to enrich life, to provide not only its necessities but some of its luxuries. No American can successfully engage in the pursuit of happiness until the basic needs—food, clothing, shelter, education, and employment—are first met.

By the year 1980—not too far away—to meet the employment requirements of an expanding population, we must create over 11 million new jobs—11 million new jobs to build the houses, produce the products, harvest the fields, and earn the salaries that pay for it all, 11 million new jobs to show the rest of the world that the American dream functions best when we are wide awake.

This Administration has already proposed to the Congress reforms which will establish taxing policies necessary to the development of new capital in the creation of new jobs. These reforms will give the United States business and industry some of the necessary incentives our economic expansion requires. More importantly, they will give jobseekers a paycheck instead of a raincheck.

The time to act is right now. Because of the recession slowdown, our plants and factories are underutilized. But the signs are clear for all to see that America's economy is picking up speed. Today there are 1,500,000 more people working than there were in March of 1975. The unemployment rate has dropped—not far enough—but the trend is downward.

Industrial production in the last 2 months has increased at an 11.3-percent annual rate; retail sales from March through August rose at a 20-percent annual rate; real disposable income rose in the second quarter at a 21-percent annual rate.

Just 2 days ago I think we got some of the best information and news, and this is very significant: The Department of Labor reported that the cost-of-living rate in August rose only by two-fifths of 1 percent, the smallest rate increase in 3 years. More importantly, this figure represents an annual inflation rate of only 2 percent instead of the 12 to 14 percent we were confronted with about a year ago.

That is good news. But we must not allow the good news to obscure the fact that there is still a lot to do if we are to maintain a strong and healthy economy unfettered by runaway inflation. To make sure inflation doesn't get out of hand, we must hold the line on a number of new Federal spending programs, programs which could well push up the deficit next year and reignite the fires of inflation.

Frankly, that is why I have been using the Presidential veto. Some have mis-

takenly called this negative action, but it is not. It is positive action, the constructive way to achieve better legislation. And let me take a moment to explain.

From my 25 years in the House of Representatives and the time that I have spent in the White House, I am convinced that the Founding Fathers put the veto power in the Constitution as a very vital part of our system of checks and balances in this great framework of government.

Recent history bears this out. President Truman exercised the veto 250 times and was overridden only 12. President Eisenhower used it 181 times; he was overridden only twice. But again and again the result of the initial veto was to bring the President and the Congress together to arrive at a reasonable middle ground, usually a sounder, more responsible measure than the original proposal that came from Capitol Hill to the Oval Office.

To put it very simply, a veto often compels first the reconsideration by the Congress of the previous action and then, undoubtedly, in most cases, a responsible compromise.

I can promise you, if it is necessary to assure continued progress for this Nation on a sound, economic base, I will continue to use the authority granted in the Constitution to veto legislation I consider unsound as it comes from the Congress.

If we are to continue the momentum in the battle against inflation, your President cannot join forces with those who would spend, those who would squander the investments in the future of millions of America's small savers, including your policyholders.

The dynamic burst of productivity we call free enterprise has financed enormous social and economic gain. No one would argue that the human agenda of America is complete. We still have much to do, but let no one contend that our free enterprise system has failed us. It has succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of those who came before us.

Our task today is to get the mighty engine of free enterprise running at full throttle again. The quick solution, and the wrong one, would be to load a lot of new spending measures onto the taxpayer and unleash a flood of deficit dollars into the Nation's economic mainstream. That might make the economy leap up and shout hallelujah today, but the recovery would be very shortlived. Soon the patient would be flat on his back, worse off than ever.

I will not be a party to such irresponsible action. From hallelujah to heart-break in one quick surge is not the responsible way to make our economy healthy in the future. Our task—yours and mine and that of millions of our fellow citizens—must be to smooth out the peaks and the valleys in our eco-

conomic performance. That takes wisdom, restraint, and considerable discipline. It takes an understanding of what will work and what will not work for the long pull. Most of all, it takes an appreciation of the fact that government has a limited capacity to help our economy, but an almost unlimited capacity to harm it.

I have great, tremendous faith in the ability of the American people to perceive what is in their long-range best interest and to act on that perception. That is the gamble and promise of democracy. It places faith on the increasing understanding of people. And if I might insert something I have said a number of times—but I think it is appropriate to this group—never forget that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

Democracy does not ask that people agree; it does ask that they think. It is here, not on Capitol Hill, not in the White House, that the essential process of democracy takes place. The real source of power under our system of government is you. As President, I am but the instrument of that power.

When we meet like this, a chemistry takes place. I give to you my sense of where we stand and where we must go. You give me the power of your reason and the strength of your understanding. Ours is a government by consent, not command. We would have it no other way. That is why I need you, your wisdom, your strength, your support. Without that, I can do nothing. Together we can move mountains.

President Theodore Roosevelt made this observation with eloquence and with brevity. He said, “The Government is us. We are the Government, you and I.” I’m ready, are you?

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. at the association’s John Newton Russell Memorial Award Dinner at the Disneyland Hotel Convention Center.

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**Remarks in San Francisco at the Annual Convention of the  
AFL–CIO Building and Construction Trades Department.  
September 22, 1975**

*President Georgine, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

Bob, let me thank you for your very generous invitation to be a part of this very great convention. It is always a pleasure to see so many old friends and



some new friends again and, in particular, to visit with my very good friend, Bob Georgine.

Bob is well-known as a man of outstanding accomplishments, a demonstrated leader, an exceptional administrator, a concerned citizen, and a celebrated gin rummy player. [*Laughter*]

I say a celebrated gin rummy player, but perhaps I'd better explain that term. Bob doesn't celebrate, his opponents do. [*Laughter*] As a friend I won't say how good a gin rummy player Bob Georgine is, but two more games and you could have a brand new name—the AFL-CIO-IOU. [*Laughter*]

Last January I went to a testimonial dinner in Washington honoring Bob Georgine. I asked Bob and the skilled construction trades to help America achieve energy independence, and Bob has helped. I have just seen a copy of the September issue of the AFL-CIO American Federationist in which Bob Georgine again speaks out on the energy crisis. Bob, nothing could make me happier than your report that unions are still vigorously pressing for energy growth. I know that construction workers are among those suffering the heaviest impact of recession and the energy crisis. When you suffer, America suffers.

The mission of the skilled construction trades represented here is to build a better America. That is also my goal as your President. Two centuries of construction enabled America to achieve its special status among the nations of the world. And I salute you as representatives of the millions of men and women who have been a part of this great building process in our wonderful country.

As America completes 200 years of history, we face some very serious problems. But we—you and I together—will solve those problems.

If any nation or group of nations in this world in which we live—including those favored by nature with great oil resources—think America is finished, we no longer control our destiny and our finances, then they have another think coming.

The 4 million skilled construction workers you represent and multitudes of other Americans will show the world that Uncle Sam is not about to say "uncle."

You and I know we can produce our own energy. You and I know we can protect ourselves against arbitrary increases in price by foreign nations. You and I know we can provide more jobs. And you and I know we can bring an end to the intolerable situation in which America exports more than \$25 billion annually to pay for imported oil while plenty of energy is potentially available right here at home. The money we will pay out this year for foreign oil would pay the wages for 1 million more American workers.

When I talk about energy, I am talking about jobs—American jobs. Last year about three-fourths of all planned nuclear plants and over one-fourth of all coal plants scheduled to be built in the next 10 years were postponed or canceled. Domestic oil production right here in the good old U.S.A. has fallen by 11 percent since early 1973. Natural gas production has declined so seriously that thousands of jobs are threatened this very winter.

Last year, the average American home paid about \$360 for foreign oil compared with only \$45 in 1970. Oil-producing nations know that we are more dependent and more vulnerable than ever.

There is now a possibility that the OPEC nations' foreign oil cartel will once again raise prices. In fact, they are meeting this week for that purpose. We don't have to take this lying down—and we won't.

For starters, let's spend here at home for American jobs some of the billions we have been spending abroad for foreign oil and foreign payrolls. We can create construction jobs for workers, capital for industrial expansion, and new energy for all Americans. That is what independence is all about.

In response to those nations which would control our energy supply and prices and hence our future, I say to industry, to construction workers, and to all Americans: Let's go into business for ourselves. Let's produce American energy in America with American workers and do it as soon as possible.

Last January, I asked the Congress to act. The comprehensive program I then outlined was based upon my deep personal belief and conviction in America. By 1985, I envision 200 major nuclear powerplants, 250 new coal mines, 150 major coal-fired powerplants, 30 major new oil refineries, 20 major new synthetic fuel plants, the drilling of many thousands of new oil wells, the insulation of 18 million homes, and the manufacture and sale of millions of new automobiles, trucks, and buses that use much less fuel.

I happen to believe we can do it. In another crisis, the one in 1942, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, our then President, said this country would build 50,000 warplanes in a year. Our enemies scoffed. But by 1943 our production had reached 125,000 aircraft annually. We did it then, we can do it again right now.

Frankly, we cannot wait any longer for the Congress to act on my comprehensive energy program. Long-range security, jobs, and energy are inseparable. The time has come for action on energy independence.

Accordingly, I will ask very shortly the Congress to erase all doubt about the capacity of America to respond. I will propose an entirely new \$100 billion Government corporation to work, with private enterprise and labor, to gain energy independence for the United States in 10 years or less.

This new energy independence authority will have the power to take any appropriate financial action—to borrow or to lend—in order to get energy action. It will serve as a catalyst and a stimulant working through, not in place of, American industry.

It can stimulate economic growth. It can create new jobs. It can give us control over our own destiny. It can end runaway energy prices imposed by foreign nations. It can give foreign nations a new look at what Americans can do with our great resources when we stop talking and start acting. That is my answer to those who tell us Americans can no longer do what they set out to do.

I speak today to the great majority who believe in American capacities rather than in American incapacity. I speak to all Americans who know that this is the same Nation that made up its mind during World War II to develop synthetic rubber, and did so; who know that this is still the same Nation that decided to harness the atom by the Manhattan Project and accomplished that objective; who know that this is the same Nation that said it would put the first man on the Moon, and did so. Perhaps, people said, all these projects were impossible, but Americans have done the impossible.

The proposed energy independence authority would have a 10-year life and be self-liquidating. It is designed to achieve what many regard as impossible—energy independence by 1985. It is a program to secure our jobs, our standard of living, and the national interest of the United States.

This new Government corporation would be an independent Federal authority reporting directly to the President. This concept is bigger than partisanship. I am determined to appoint as directors Americans of stature without regard to politics.

The new energy independence authority will seek new technologies to support or directly produce or transport American energy; technologies to support American nuclear development; and electrical power from American coal, nuclear, and geothermal sources.

The energy independence authority will undertake only those projects which private business cannot undertake alone. It will not replace the private enterprise system, it will supplement it.

My vision is of dramatic action to produce oil and gas from coal, safe and clean nuclear and coal-generated electrical power, harness the energy of the Sun and the natural heat within the Earth, and build numerous other energy facilities throughout our great country. The energy independence authority would act to finance those projects vitally needed for America's energy inde-

pendence that will not be financed even by America's great private capital resources.

We will need over \$600 billion of energy investments over the next decade to finance American energy independence. As always, most of that investment will come from private sources. But I am convinced that we cannot wait for our emerging technologies to become conventional technologies. We must act now to speed their development. We must also ensure that conventional projects with very large capital needs will have adequate access to investment resources.

The central defect of America's present energy system is that it relies most on our least plentiful domestic energy resources—oil and natural gas—and relies least on our most abundant energy resources—coal and nuclear power.

My vision is of a crash development—in harmony with environmental protection—of these abundant resources we have throughout our land. America's oil shale resources are more vast than all the oil reserves of the Middle East. America's coal resources are 10 times greater than our oil shale resources. America's ability to harness the atom is legendary, with the known potential of producing unlimited amounts of clean and safe energy.

Without this energy independence authority, these vast treasures of America might never be developed or developed too late to keep America's leadership in the world. With an energy independence authority, we will have the financial means to tap all of this energy during the crucial next 10 years.

The energy independence authority will be an important new element, but only one element in our total national energy independence effort.

We need dramatic action to produce synthetic fuels, at least a million barrels a day, floating nuclear powerplants mounted on barges, new pipelines for oil and gas, and vast energy parks throughout America.

My vision of America is one of going back to work as a chain reaction of economic activity spreads throughout all 50 States. To build energy is to create energy and jobs in all sectors of our life in this country.

It has been estimated that for each job created directly in industry, the ripple effect throughout the economy creates at least another unrelated job. The total number of jobs generated will more than double the energy-related jobs.

Let me cite an example, if I may. Four hundred thousand man-years of labor are required to construct plants and manufacture equipment for 50 nuclear plants. This represents 650,000 man-years of labor in the time frame required.

I want to see millions of new jobs in the next 10 years with healthy, widening ripples of growth throughout the economy. And we can do it. I am directing

my energy and economic advisers to take all steps required, in the shortest possible time, to make this vision a reality. I am also counting on you, the construction workers who will do the job. We need your help, along with the help of literally millions of others throughout our Nation. You have the skills, you have the courage, you have the dedication which has enabled America to defend itself in times of war and develop in times of peace.

I am confident of your ability and that of all Americans—labor and management, Democrats, Republicans, and Independents, employed and unemployed, rich, poor, and struggling, old and young—to unite behind this bold new program that I have outlined.

As America's population grows and our economy expands, we must create 11 million more jobs by 1980. This is a big order. It cannot be filled by government alone or by industry alone or by unions or by politicians acting on their own. But the problem can and will be solved if we all work together, just as you in this hall today are united in building America.

As Bob Georgine said, the door to the White House will remain open, as it has been since I have been President, to those who champion the cause of America's working people. Nor will I ever close my heart to the millions of Americans who are now unable to find work.

I will not rest as long as any American who wants to work can't find work. Too many people remain without jobs. I have heard references to so-called acceptable rates of unemployment. I do not recognize the acceptability of any level of unemployment as long as people cannot find a job. I am determined to help create new jobs on a sound economic basis—good jobs, real jobs, and not make-work jobs at \$2 an hour.

When statistics are issued on the loss of jobs, there are some losses which are not published. I refer to the loss of hope among the young people seeking their first real job, the loss of self-esteem among heads of households who are laid off, the loss of security and standard of living that people work for years to achieve, and most important, the loss of faith in America's future.

These are tragic losses. They are losses that the United States of America cannot and will not permit.

The need for skilled construction workers to build new energy installations and new operators to run them will be enormous. By planning and working now, we can ensure that development is orderly and that progress is continuous.

As we enter our third century, Americans can look back with great pride upon our achievements in providing safe, healthful, stable, and productive

jobs. But obviously, we have much to do. Let's get going, and let's go to work together.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 a.m. in the Plaza Square Ballroom at the Hyatt Hotel.

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**Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Luncheon  
Meeting of the World Affairs Council in San Francisco.  
*September 22, 1975***

*Thank you very much, Mr. Mersman. Mrs. Feinstein, distinguished guests, and particularly our guests from the People's Republic, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of joining you on this occasion, and I thank all of you for the honorary membership in your organization, and I am deeply grateful also for being a transmittal belt for my long overdue membership card in the Grand Rapids World Affairs Council.

**ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT**

[1.] This morning I had an opportunity to announce a very important proposal for a \$100 billion Government corporation to work through the private enterprise system to develop energy independence for the United States by 1985.

It is spelled out in a detailed bill which I will send to the Congress next week. It is my very deep conviction that the United States must not surrender its destiny to those foreign nations on which we now depend for oil. We must move very decisively to give foreign nations a new look at what Americans can do with their great resources when we set out to do it.

The program I envision would enhance America's future at both home and abroad. It would serve the national interest of the United States and would safeguard American jobs and the American economy. I envision a dramatic crash program to develop coal, nuclear, and other sources of energy, such as geothermal power, which I saw last spring on my visit here to this part of California, and including oil shale resources, which alone are more vast in their potential than all the oil resources of the Middle East. Without such an energy independence authority, which would be a Government corporation, our vast natural energy resources may be developed too late to bolster America's leadership in the world for the rest of the 20th century.

As America completes its first 200 years as a nation, we must resolve to solve our energy problem. It is the key to our future.

At home and in our relations with the rest of the world, it is my conviction that energy independence is vital to protect ourselves against any arbitrary price increases or future embargoes by foreign nations. It is the way to end an intolerable situation in which America's exports last year totaled more than \$25 billion to pay for imported oil while plentiful energy is potentially available to us here at home.

The money we now pay out for foreign oil in 1 year would put over one million more Americans back to work. We must have the earliest possible action to spend these rapidly growing sums at home and to strengthen America domestically as well as internationally. With those observations, I will be glad to respond to questions.

### QUESTIONS

#### FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

[2.] Q. Mr. President, my name is William Sumner, and I am not sure what Mr. Mersman meant by my associations, but for your sake I will say I am a registered Republican.

THE PRESIDENT. I appreciate that. We need more in California. [*Laughter*]

Q. Well, I have worked on getting a tough question for you. Over the years, Mr. President, foreign aid programs have proved themselves quite long-lasting and very costly. Some have met with success, probably many others have met with obvious failure. Very clearly, the American electorate has been disillusioned with foreign aid and both parties have promised to cut it back as best they can.

However, every administration has favored foreign aid at some time or another, frequently to buy itself out of a jam overseas. The recent Sinai accord can be said in part to follow this example, and I deliberately use the Sinai example to make the question as tough as possible. We all hope it works, but, Mr. President, in balancing the near-term practical usefulness against the huge cost and the growing unpopularity of foreign aid, do you think it is realistic for the American electorate to expect perhaps some cut in the foreign aid bill during the remainder of your 5-year Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me assure you that at the time that Secretary Kissinger and I had to make some very hard decisions on what we could do to help facilitate the negotiations between Israel and Egypt, we took into consideration the request by both countries for us to make available not more than 200 tech-

nicians in the U.N. buffer zone plus the prospects of substantial economic and military aid to the State of Israel and, to some extent, the same to the State of Egypt.

Let me say that, as we analyze the alternatives—and the alternatives were simply two—if we did not play a meaningful role in what we have recommended to the Congress, it would be my judgment that the stalemate in the Middle East would continue with all of the potential volatility, increasing tensions, and the high likelihood of another military conflict. And each one seems to get bloodier and bloodier and more costly. That was one alternative.

The other choice was to do what we have recommended to the Congress. I believe it is a good investment in momentum and a long-range possibility of an equitable and secure peace in the Middle East. I believe that it is a way in which we can participate in a fair and proper way to achieve the momentum and to hopefully avoid a conflict. And in balancing the difficult choices, the decision by myself, and with Secretary Kissinger, was that this is a better course of action.

And may I say that it is going to be costly, but the general figures used are somewhere between \$2 billion to \$2.3 billion for economic and military assistance for the State of Israel.

I only point out that earlier this year at the time that I was conducting the reassessment of our Mideast policy, I received a letter signed by 76 Senators asking me to make certain that I recommended \$2,600 million for Israel without any participation by Israel in the negotiations with Egypt.

So, going by what 76 Senators felt was a proposal of some magnitude in money, I believe the decision to work with Israel and Egypt to achieve peace—and I think it is a good, solid program—it is a better investment than more money being spent, as 76 Senators requested us to do, without any program for momentum of peace in the Middle East. I think it is a good gamble for peace.

The other would be a very difficult potential problem of a high likelihood of war. So, I think it is the right action, and I hope the Congress promptly and overwhelmingly approves, number one, the 200 technicians to serve in the U.N. buffer zone, and also the necessary amount, which, of course, the Congress can decide. But I think it is a good gamble for peace, and I hope the Congress responds.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

[3.] Q. My name is Robert Gomperts, and I am a member of the trustees of the World Affairs Council of Northern California. In a few months' time you are scheduled to travel to Peking, and at the moment there is one over-



riding issue and I would say at least two major issues outstanding between ourselves and the PRC. The overriding issue is the question of recognition. The major issues are the frozen assets and an end to discriminatory tariffs on goods coming from the PRC. Do you feel that these issues will be solved during your trip to Peking, and if not, do you feel that your trip to Peking is in the national interest, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't go if I didn't think it was in the national interest. [Laughter] The precise agenda for the visit by myself to the People's Republic has not been laid out. Preliminary work has been done, and it will probably be finalized in a prospective earlier trip by Secretary Kissinger to Peking.

There has been no final determination as to the items that will be on the agenda. Of course, all that has taken place since the reestablishment of a relationship has followed the Shanghai announcement, and I believe that we are proceeding—the two countries—within the confines of the Shanghai communique.

I would expect that the progress we have made would continue within those constraints, but I am not in a position at this time to give you the details of what the agenda will be, except I expect—and I am sure that the People's Republic expects—headway and progress and the furtherance of better relations.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I am Alexander Dallin. I teach at Stanford University. Mr. President, you have been quoted as saying that there may be circumstances under which it may be proper to intervene in the affairs of other countries.

THE PRESIDENT. Excuse me, I didn't hear that. Involve ourselves in what?

Q. In the affairs of other countries. Since the statement—if in fact you are quoted correctly—may provoke some controversy, I wonder whether you might care to specify some circumstances or principles involved that you have in mind?

THE PRESIDENT. It has been traditional in this country, certainly since prior to World War II, during World War II, and subsequent to World War II, for the United States to, in one way or another, involve itself directly or indirectly in the affairs of other countries.

In each case, regardless of the individual who was President, it was determined by responsible people that such action involved our national interest. I know there has been controversy about what has been done in one or more countries, but it is my judgment that if properly handled, and with a correct

and a very certain relationship to our national security, we should not rule out responsible action in this area.

But for me to write a prescription here with the great variety of circumstances that prevail, that have prevailed, and undoubtedly would prevail, I think it would be unwise.

This is a critical and crucial area where on some occasions what we have done, we have been very successful and it has been to the benefit of the United States, and unfortunately in some instances we have had some disappointments.

But to categorically rule it out or even to prescribe a specific limitation here, I think, would not be proper for the President of the United States. I am not ruling it out. I am not saying what we are going to do, except there have been some benefits, and if there are, related to our national security, I think we ought to do it.

Q. President Ford, my name is Neil Joeck. I have no formal affiliation. I would like to ask a question following up what you just said, I think. Do you plan to take positive steps to discourage those American allies that use torture as a means of political oppression?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't help but ask myself this question: What precise authority do I have as President or we as a nation to interfere directly with the internal and domestic actions of other nations? We have been criticized on many occasions for being too involved with the internal or domestic operations of one nation or another. I deplore it, I condemn it, but I hesitate to say that the United States should take an affirmative action every time torture, as we understand it, is inflicted upon a citizen or a group of citizens of 140 other nations.

We don't like it. We would hope it doesn't continue, but for us to be that precise a policeman in every one of 140-some nations of the world, I think, would not be approved by a majority of the American people.

#### THE THIRD WORLD

[5.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Donald Davis. I am president of the Santa Clara Valley World Trade Club. You, in your opening remarks, have alluded to the problems concerning energy independence. Perhaps related to this issue of energy independence are the Sinai accords, and a much broader picture for the coming years is to attract the leadership role which the United States intends to assume, vis-a-vis the Third World countries, in connection with their aspirations for redistribution of the world's wealth.

I know that you have spoken at the United Nations and other places on this

subject, but I would appreciate your personal comments, assuming that you were to continue in office, that what you believe our leadership role would be in attempting to meet the needs for redistribution of the world's wealth, assuming that there is some need, and to meet the aspirations of these countries?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't believe that we should, as a nation, participate in the redistribution of world resources. I don't think that ought to be our objective. Our attitude as a nation was submitted to the United Nations in their special get-together about 10 days ago by Secretary Kissinger. This was a practical answer to the Third World request for economic understanding, political understanding.

There appeared, prior to Secretary Kissinger's presentation, the distinct possibility that there would be a head-to-head confrontation between the United States and the other industrial nations of the world and the Third World, because the underdeveloped or Third World nations were complaining very bitterly about the fact that their natural resources, whether it is bauxite or tin or coffee or the multitude of other natural resources, were not getting a fair shake in the world, at least from the industrial nations. What they wanted was really the establishment of a new world economic order. I don't believe the United States should commit itself to a new economic order.

We believe, as it was expressed in Secretary Kissinger's prepared text, that we should take the individual resources such as bauxite or tin or copper, et cetera, and on a practical, case-by-case example, try to find through negotiations a proper way for those nations to participate in the growing world opportunity for a better life for all their people. And the net result of the Secretary's presentation was that instead of a head-to-head, irreconcilable confrontation, the attitude and the atmosphere at the United Nations was totally different.

And it is my opinion that that good feeling and better understanding will be productive in the subsequent meetings of the United Nations and that we ought to carry on as we said we would, working with those nations in some way to make sure that they don't have the peaks and valleys of high prices and overabundance and that they can have a relatively stable return, not under the umbrella of a new world economic order, but under some practical negotiated agreements that will take care of the real problems in each instance.

#### FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SALES

[6.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Barney Rocca, Jr. I am a member of the World Affairs Council, the Commonwealth Club, and a past president of the World Trade Association of the Greater San Francisco Bay Area. My question

relates to the business in which I am personally engaged, which is foreign trade and agricultural commodities. There has been much discussion recently about the trade embargo on agricultural commodities. My question is, why should not our agricultural producers have free access to the world market for their production, the same as other producers of nonstrategic materials? And then a second part to the question is, how do you construe the Congressional attitude on this issue?

THE PRESIDENT. I made a fairly complete speech out in Oklahoma—I guess it was Friday—[*laughter*—]—on this precise subject. And let me summarize it for you. I believe that we should sell our agricultural abundance, not only domestically but internationally, in the free marketplace at fair prices for the farmer. The best way to ensure the utilization of full production for our farmers is to find assured markets.

We have a 3-year agreement which was just renewed with Japan for an agricultural purchase program by Japan. We have other such relationships with other foreign countries.

The big problem is that of the Soviet Union. If you go back to 1972-73, you will find that the Soviet Union bought corn, wheat, et cetera, at a relatively low level. And then they went up to the 1972-73 figure of roughly 13 billion metric tons, and then they went down in 73-74 to a figure—if I recall accurately—of around 3 million metric tons. Then the next year they went up to another figure. This year they have already bought 2.3 million metric tons of grain from the United States, and they want to buy some more.

Now, these wide fluctuations are not healthy for the American agriculture. They are not healthy for the farmer, because he ought to have some assurance, practical assurance, that what he produces is going to be purchased. So, we are in the process now with a temporary suspension of sales to the Soviet Union—temporary, assuming we reach an agreement—to be based on the signing of a long-term agreement—5 years perhaps—with an assured, guaranteed, mandatory purchase by them with potentially an option to buy more. If we work this agreement out, I think you will find a far healthier relationship between our farmers and their markets, a far better relationship between our country and the Soviet Union, and an overall advancement of a better world.

This, I think, is the kind of utilization of our great abundance that we can say with pride is part of an affirmative, constructive relationship with not only one country but many others, to the benefit of the farmer and a healthier relationship the farmer has with the rest of us Americans.

So, I hope within the next week perhaps or more, hopefully the sooner the

better, we will sign an agreement. It looks optimistic, it looks encouraging, and if we do, I think both the producer and the consumer at home and abroad will be better off.

SOUTHERN AFRICA; THE MIDDLE EAST

[7.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Fudah Hayati. I am a member of the Northern California World Affairs Council, and I have a two-part question. This country was instrumental in bringing about détente in the Middle East with the Sinai accord between Egypt and Israel. Can you see this country playing a similar role in southern Africa, specifically between Rhodesia and the liberation movements? The second part of the question is, in light of the reports of U.S. Marine maneuvers in the Mojave Desert carrying out desert warfare, is there a possibility that U.S. troops would become involved in the Middle East if détente did not hold?

THE PRESIDENT. I see no prospects of the United States military forces participating in the Middle East. I see no reason for that to take place. We are on a course of action which, if successful—and I believe it will be—that will preclude that.

The United States has been trying to work not only in the United Nations but elsewhere in the settlement of some of the very serious problems in Africa between Rhodesia and South Africa and the nations that are emerging in Africa.

Unfortunately, there are some very serious problems, but I can assure you that our best efforts will be utilized in that area as they have been in the Middle East.

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

[8.] Q. I am Paul Zinner, and I teach at the University of California at Davis. I am also a member of the World Affairs Council. Mr. President, I wonder if you would give us some insight into the policy considerations that led you to agree to a Helsinki summit in the middle of the summer, pretty much on Mr. Brezhnev's timetable, and I wonder if you could also give us at least a brief reading on the state of détente since Helsinki?

THE PRESIDENT. The timing of Helsinki was not important. The substance of Helsinki, both in the language and the spirit—those are the important things.

The meeting in Helsinki between 35 nations came about because of 2 or 3 years of very detailed negotiations between East and West. And the various amendments, the various compromises, in my opinion, have led or have the potential of leading to a better relationship between East and West, whether it is the confidence-building provisions, whether it is the relationship of one

nation to another, and the freedom of information, the greater freedom of access between nations, and a multitude of things that were involved.

The language is all right, and as I said in Helsinki, the language we approve of. What has to be certain is that the spirit coincides with the words, and there is to be a meeting in 2 years where there will be a review of all of the participants to see whether the language which was signed in Helsinki is carried out in the 24 months.

And the test is performance. I am optimistic, and I believe that if we keep pressure on that, we can say that Helsinki was a big plus. If the spirit doesn't exist, the words mean very little. But I am optimistic that world pressure will force all nations that participated to have the spirit coincide with the language.

Now, the status of détente. Détente was not initiated as a solution to every problem in the world or every problem bilaterally between the United States and the Soviet Union, but it has been extremely helpful in a number of instances as a line of communication, as a means of relaxing tensions, and as a vehicle for the solution of problems between the Soviet Union and the United States.

I believe that SALT I was a significant step forward. I believe very strongly that the agreement at Vladivostok, where Mr. Brezhnev and myself agreed for a cap of 2,400 on launchers in strategic vehicles and a 1,320 limitation on MIRVing—SALT II is now moving along at the technical stage, and there will have to be some very important decisions made between now and when the final agreement is achieved, if it is achieved, and I hope it will.

I think détente has been successful. It hasn't solved every problem, but we are a lot better off, in my honest judgment, than to go back to the old days of the cold war where we talked harshly to each other, we condemned each other, we threatened one another. I don't think the United States and the Soviet Union ought to go back to the cold war circumstances that prevailed. But I reiterate, we can't expect every problem that comes up to be solved by it.

All we can do is work at it. And I can pledge to you and to others we will do our utmost to make sure that détente is mutually beneficial to each country at no sacrifice of national security in either case and of tremendous, immense benefit to the world as a whole. We will do the very best we can.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[9.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Bill Wainwright. I am a member of the World Affairs Council and also a registered Republican in the John Baldwin mode from Martinez, California. I have a question about the House select committee's investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency and their review

having publicly demonstrated certain mistaken intelligence assessments on the likelihood of a breakout of war between the Arabs and Israel in 1967. I am wondering if you intend to facilitate this committee's further investigation along these lines.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me make several comments, and then I will try to answer the precise question.

In the first instance, you must understand that all of the intelligence agencies—the CIA and the others—have responded to the Pike committee's request for classified information. There has been no reluctance on our part to give to that committee all of the requested intelligence information, and I think they recognize that.

I can assure you of a second point—that under no circumstances will there be any action by me or people working with me to use the classification process to prevent the exposure of alleged or actual criminal action by any Federal authority.

Secondly, there will be no action by myself or my associates to classify so that we protect errors, mistakes that were made over the last 28 years since the CIA was established by law.

The real problem is not their having this classified information. The problem is how they have to use it for the legislative purpose for which the committee was established. Since they have all of the information, it is not automatically necessary that they make it public. They can examine it in committee, and they can determine from such an examination all of the information that is needed for the legislative purpose for which the committee was established.

I have no reluctance at all, if we could just put a circle around the United States and give 214 million Americans all of the material as to sources of intelligence, techniques of intelligence, procedures of intelligence. I would have no reluctance whatsoever, if we could confine it to 214 million Americans. But I just don't think that is very practical. [*Laughter*]

Some of this information is so sensitive that a few years ago the Congress passed a law saying that any communications intelligence—that is a very technical term, but it is very significant—if divulged by any individual—it excepted Congress, and it should, and I am not alleging they are violating the law—but that kind of intelligence, its source, its techniques, its procedures, was made a serious criminal offense by Congress itself. And it is the judgment of a number of the technically qualified people in the intelligence area that there was an error made in the release of some information out of the stacks of classified

information we gave them, because it probably had the impact of making available some communications intelligence information.

What we have to do is to sit down, not with one committee of the Congress, not one subcommittee, because there are 300 subcommittees and full committees of the Congress. If every one of them established different rules on how we were going to handle with them this highly classified information, well, I think you would probably have 300 different rules of declassification.

So, what we have to do—and I can assure you, as others—we have to find a way of getting a uniformity in the handling of classified information by the Congress and the 300 committees and subcommittees and the executive branch so that what is essential can be made public and what is so sensitive that it should not—if we can't do that, after 200 years of cooperation between the executive and the legislative branch, something is wrong.

I am an optimist, but it is a very serious matter. I am not going to be a participant in destroying the effectiveness of a good United States intelligence agency, because that involves our national security, period.

Yes, one more, I guess.

#### THE UNITED NATIONS AND ISRAEL

[10.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Clark Maser. I am a member of the World Affairs Council and an elderly skier. [*Laughter*] What steps should the United States take if the State of Israel is expelled from the United Nations, which has been threatened by the so-called tyranny of the majority? Should we withdraw in that case all financial support to the United Nations or should we withdraw from the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT. I, as well as Secretary Kissinger, have strongly spoken out against the threats that primarily came from the nonaligned nations. The attitude that we expressed toward the nonaligned underdeveloped nations has, to a substantial degree, softened some of the prospective actions that were anticipated in the United Nations. You don't find that pushing quite as hard today as it was 6 months ago or a year ago.

Now, we believe in the universality of the United Nations. And I don't believe nations should be kicked out because the majority have a grudge or an adverse point of view. You can't make the United Nations do its job, perform its function, if a simple majority in the General Assembly can just arbitrarily decide that that nation ought to be kicked out.

I totally disapprove of that procedure. And this country, as long as I am Presi-



dent, will strongly, vigorously fight against any such action against any nation, and we have said this particularly in reference to Israel.

I believe our firm stand, our efforts through Secretary Kissinger at the special session has pretty well diluted the prospective action concerning Israel in 1975. If there is any reaffirmation of what appeared to be inaction, we will vigorously fight any action by the General Assembly, and we will take a strong stand, the strongest possible stand in the Security Council.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:28 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the St. Francis Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Scudder Mersman,

Jr., events chairman, and Diane Feinstein, president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

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## Interview With Television Reporters in San Francisco. *September 22, 1975*

### PUBLIC EMPLOYEES STRIKES

REPORTER. [1.] Mr. President, just recently this city went through a traumatic and somewhat extraordinary set of circumstances when the fire department and the police department all went out on strike at the same time. I am sure you were aware of that. This is somewhat of an indication of what possibly might happen in major cities across the country.

How do you, as the Chief Executive, feel about this, sir? Do you think that, number one, policemen should be allowed to go out on strike, and number two, if you feel they shouldn't, do you think there should be Federal laws prohibiting strikes by all municipal workers?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, the problem that you raise is 100 percent a local problem in that the Federal Government has no jurisdiction to enact legislation or to take executive action to force a procedure or a method for resolving disputes between local employees and the responsible city officials.

The situation in San Francisco ought to be settled by the people of this community. It ought to be settled perhaps as some States have, by enacting State legislation. That is within the jurisdiction of the State, as well as the local community.

The only area where the Federal Government has any authority is that involving Federal employees, and when a few years ago, I think it was 1970, the Congress established a postal service system in contrast to the old postal

department, the Congress approved a procedure for arbitration in case the Government and the employees couldn't get together. That does in effect provide, number one, for a procedure for a final determination, and it also includes a provision that prohibits a strike by postal service employees. I voted for that legislation.

#### GUN CONTROL

[2.] Q. Mr. Ford, on another topic, there are reports that a man was arrested and booked today here in San Francisco on suspicion of threatening you.<sup>1</sup> And also, following your own close brush with death in Sacramento a couple of weeks ago, I wonder if this has convinced you at all that we need tough gun control legislation in this country, or are public officials going to have to travel across the country with a bulletproof vest and a prayer?

THE PRESIDENT. I did recommend to the Congress early this year a rather comprehensive approach to crime control, a new proposal that would make it much more difficult for individuals to get what we call Saturday night specials, which are the cheap handguns that are used extensively for illegal purposes.

In addition, I proposed to the Congress that we have much more severe penalties for a person using a gun in the commission of some other crime and for mandatory sentences in order to get people who use guns in the process of committing a crime or alleged crime.

It seems to me that that approach is far, far better than the approach of some people who recommend that gunowners should be registered and that handguns and long guns ought to be registered.

I prefer to go after the person who uses the gun for an illegal or criminal purpose. That, to me, is a far better approach than the one where you require registration of the individual or the gun.

#### ISRAEL

[3.] Q. Mr. President, yesterday Secretary of Defense Schlesinger said that any new weapons that we introduce into the Middle East or Israel should not, to use his words, overawe Israel's neighbors. In the interim agreement we have signed with Israel, we are promising new weapons, and there is the prospect of the Pershing missile, which has the range that could touch just about all of Israel's neighbors. Now, aren't we creating the prospects of the seeds for a monstrous new arms race in the Middle East?

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<sup>1</sup> That morning, following his delivery of a note containing a threat to the President's life to the cashier of the St. Francis Hotel, Benedict Silicio was arrested at 10:40 a.m. in Union Square Park by Secret Service agents and local police.

THE PRESIDENT. Not if it is properly handled, Sid. The shopping list that the Government of Israel submitted to the United States Government included a very substantial number of weapons, most of which are defensive in nature.

The Pershing missile request we—the United States—only promised to study. We made no commitment that we would make that weapon available. And in the process of study, we will have some time to see how the peace efforts, the Sinai peace agreement proceeds along with potential other agreements in that area. But there is no commitment by us, except to study, for the delivery of a Pershing missile to the Middle East.

#### NUCLEAR POWERPLANT SITING

[4.] Q. Mr. President, today in a speech you said that you envision some 200 nuclear powerplants by the year 1985. Here in California enough citizens are concerned about the safety and disposal problems of these plants to have put it in issue on the ballot in June to ban the construction of them. How do you feel about the safety problem and about the disposal problem?

THE PRESIDENT. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which was established by the Congress last year and which is now in operation, and the energy research and development organization, which was likewise established by the Congress, both are in the process of studying safety, nuclear power development, et cetera.

So far, I believe that the overwhelming preponderance of the evidence indicates, number one, that we have a safe nuclear power capability and furthermore, that if there are any serious questions, that the further research and development will result in even a higher degree of safety, better safeguards.

I think in light of our serious, almost critical energy shortage, that it is unwise for any State to ban the development and the utilization of nuclear power in the future.

We expect to build 250 nuclear powerplants, as I recall, in the next 10 years. If 49 other States do it, I can imagine there could be a serious, adverse economic impact on the State of California. It would potentially—I don't say certainly, but potentially—interfere with the economic development of the great State of California. It would mean the loss of potential jobs as we need more jobs for the young people, for others.

I think there is a better approach than an arbitrary ban, because the safety record so far and the prognostications of responsible people indicate to me, at least, that the danger is not a serious one, and if there are any problems, they can be resolved.

## PRESIDENT'S TRIPS TO CALIFORNIA

[5.] Q. Mr. President, we are very glad to see you back in California again, and I understand you will be returning again next month. The question is, why three trips in less than a month and a half, and if this California blitz—if you will pardon the expression—is really just to try to sidetrack Ronald Reagan's shadow campaign for the nomination in '76?

THE PRESIDENT. Our plans to come to California 2 weeks ago and the plans for this current weekend were made a good many months ago. They were made because we have visited, or I have attended, a number of meetings of a variety of organizations.

I spoke at Pepperdine University on Saturday, at Stanford University on Sunday. I spoke at the AFL-CIO building and construction workers convention this morning, or on Monday. I spoke to the World Affairs Council in San Francisco.

It is a whole list of very diverse organizations that give me an opportunity to get acquainted with their interests and to indicate my policies. California is a big, it is an important State. We want Californians to understand their President, and I want to get to know Californians. It has really no relevance as far as the political campaign is concerned.

I am coming back in October for a purely Republican Party function. That is a different type of activity, and I think it is important for me, as the head of the party, to participate.

## FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

[6.] Q. There is one other Californian you did speak to. You spoke to Richard Nixon yesterday. Why did the White House wait until today to report that, and will you accept Richard Nixon's help in your campaign in 1976?

THE PRESIDENT. My relationship with the former President is a personal one, a personal friendship that has existed for 26 years. I don't think it is necessary for us to volunteer when I call him or he should happen to call me.

It is my understanding that if Ron Nessen was asked, he would say yes, I called the President, I am in the State where he lives, within a relatively short distance of his home. I think it is a perfectly natural thing for longstanding friends to talk on the telephone. His participation in 1976 is a matter for him to decide, and we will wait and see what he does decide.

Q. If he decides, would you want his help?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think you accept anything in the political arena. A person has to make a choice himself as to what he wants to do. We have no

plans to ask him, but if a person decides, it is a free country. He can participate in any way that he wishes, but that is a personal choice for him.

Q. So by that answer, Mr. President, without trying to put words in your mouth, you would not reject his help or whatever support he would give you?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a matter of semantics. What he does is his decision. We are going to run my campaign, as I said several months ago, on my record and on our program for the future. If people want to help, I can't preclude it. It is up to them to decide.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[7.] Q. I have a couple of questions, sir, on the Central Intelligence Agency, which has been in the news, as we all know, for the past year or so with mounting rapidity.

First off, are you frightened by the latest revelations of the CIA, namely, the Cobra venom stockpiled, the shellfish toxin stockpiled, the poison dart guns supposedly they have, and the latest story that broke over the weekend that alleges that E. Howard Hunt supposedly was supposed to kill columnist Jack Anderson. Do these allegations frighten you, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I think you have to go back to the charter that President Truman recommended to the Congress and the Congress in 1947 wrote into law in the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency. As I recall—I wasn't in the Congress at that time—that it was virtually unanimous that President Truman's proposed Central Intelligence Agency should be established by law, it was given a charter and given certain responsibilities. And the Central Intelligence Agency over this period of 27 or 28 years has carried out its responsibilities under the law.

Now, there may have been certain indiscretions or actions or programs that border on being outside of that charter, and that is what the Congress is in the process of examining. And I think it is a very proper responsibility for the Congress, in an oversight capacity, to examine, such as they have in both the Church committee and the Pike committee, the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned former President Harry Truman, and it was published in the Washington Post on December 22, 1963, a column that was written by the former President. In that he said, "The role of the CIA should be limited to intelligence; there is something about the way the CIA has been functioning that is casting a shadow over our historic position in this country and I feel that we need to correct it." That was 12 years ago. Do you

feel that there should be some limitations on the power of the CIA, and if so, what limitations?

THE PRESIDENT. The basic limitations come from the law. The operation under the charter comes from the people who have the responsibility. It is, I think, very proper for Congress to conduct an oversight operation, as they are, and it is very probable that there ought to be a greater control exercised through the executive branch over the operations of the CIA.

We have an organization, have had for a good many years, an intelligence advisory committee that has a relationship in a broad sense to the CIA and the intelligence community. There have been suggestions that this advisory group ought to be given more authority to actually supervise the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency and the others. There has been no decision by me as yet on whether that group or some other group—or in some other way we might have a closer control over the operations on a day-to-day basis of the the Central Intelligence Agency and the intelligence community. Those are possibilities.

Within the very near future, I expect to make administrative recommendations, I expect to make legislative proposals as far as the intelligence agencies are concerned.

I did not answer, Stan, one previous question you indicated concerning columnist Jack Anderson.

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. As I read the newspapers—I haven't gotten any further information on that—that was not connected with the Central Intelligence Agency. That was an alleged arrangement or program between certain people in the White House in the 1970-71 period. It did not involve the CIA. Therefore, I don't think the CIA should be connected or condemned with that allegation. They have enough troubles on their own.

#### GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[8.] Q. Mr. Ford, to get on the topic of energy for a second, it is obvious that Russia needs our wheat and we need oil. You have been quoted as saying that it is conceivable and quite possible that America would negotiate with the Soviets for oil in exchange for wheat. Getting out of the possible, the conceivable realm, is it going to become a reality?

THE PRESIDENT. We have made very substantial, encouraging, optimistic progress in a negotiation with the Soviet Union, for the Soviet Union on a 5-

year agreement to buy substantial amounts of American grain, a set amount as a minimum and potentially more on an option basis.

This would help to equalize the purchases over a period of time instead of the wide fluctuations where one year they buy very little, the next year they buy a tremendous amount.

We think that a firm, long-term wheat or grain agreement with the Soviet Union is good for the American agriculture, for the farmer, for the consumer. It also will increase the, I think, effectiveness of détente between the Soviet Union and the United States.

We hope to have an answer on this problem within the very near future, and I might add that if it is signed, we will also get an additional benefit, and this is important here in the Bay Area, the west coast, in that we will get a better freight rate for American ships in the delivery or the shipment of American grain to Soviet ports, which would mean that about 35 American ships would come out of lay-up and go into the trade and provide more jobs for American seamen.

So, it is a complicated but very intriguing and, I think, important negotiation. I am optimistic that it will work out.

Q. Yes, but are you going to push for the oil since we need that so desperately? Are you going to push for that?

THE PRESIDENT. That is another aspect, and there are discussions and there are potential negotiations going on between the United States and the Soviet Union, linking to some extent but not directly, grain and oil.

This is a much more complicated subject. We have plenty of oil today, and an agreement with the Soviet Union for oil would be sort of a good insurance policy in case there was an oil embargo from the Middle East.

If Russia has oil that it wants to sell, and we need some, which I think would be a good insurance, I think it makes sense to try and get both a grain deal and an oil deal.

#### GASOLINE PRICES

[9.] Q. Sir, on the subject of energy and oil, you fought long and hard for decontrol of domestic oil, indicating that the rise in price would somehow help us to conserve somewhat. How high are you willing to see the price of a gallon of gasoline go before reversing that procedure?

THE PRESIDENT. It is higher than I would like right now. [*Laughter*]

On the other hand, it has to some extent helped us to conserve; it has helped us to prevent the squandering of some of our energy sources.

I believe, however, that the price rise has gone sufficiently high, and if we

can get an energy program on line, it is my opinion that any further price rise will be minimal.

As a matter of fact, if the Congress had approved my phased decontrol program over a 39-month period, in the first 12 months of that phased decontrol program, energy prices related to oil would have gone down.

Unfortunately, the Congress wasn't wise enough to understand it or to take action to approve it. So, now that they have rejected a phased decontrol program, we are pretty much faced with total decontrol, which is not the best alternative. But even with total decontrol, I don't think you are going to have any significant increases in fuel costs.

Q. Wouldn't that, though, if it did happen, really hit at the poor, the working class more than anybody else, because they would be the ones who could not afford to pay the prices?

THE PRESIDENT. It would affect everybody, but I urge you to go back to what I said in January when I offered a comprehensive energy program. I said, if there are any energy cost increases, we would rebate to the American people \$12 billion for added energy costs by a reduction in income tax payments. We would give \$80 a person to the poor who had no income to compensate them for the added energy costs.

Again Congress has not acted on the rebate program that I recommended. I wish they had. We wouldn't be faced with a problem of, to some extent, adding energy burdens to the American people.

#### ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

[10.] Q. Mr. President, in your travels around the country, you have persistently launched an attack against the Federal Government and big government and the Federal bureaucracy, and at one point promised to get the Government off people's back and out of their pockets. Yet today here in San Francisco, you are proposing a \$100 billion Government corporation to be established subject to the approval of Congress to help find ways to develop our energy resources. This would include massive amounts of Federal money.

How do you square that with your comments about less government? Are we admitting that we cannot solve our energy problems in the private sector?

THE PRESIDENT. Most of our energy problems can and will be solved in the private sector, but there are some programs where we are in the process of exotic research and development—solar energy for example—where once the scientists and technicians have developed the capability for expansion of that



energy source, we do have to take the first step from research and development to an operational plan to prove that it will work.

That first plan, so to speak, has to be perhaps financed by this joint government private sector program. And that is what the energy resource corporation will be aimed at, not in a long-range financing of energy sources, but aimed at primarily—not exclusively—but primarily taking the position from completion of research and development to the first use where there is a hesitancy on the part of investors, because of the uncertainty to invest.

This is where I think we have to act. We did in the case of the synthetic rubber plant in World War II. We did it in the Manhattan Project with the atomic bomb. We did it in our effort to get to the Moon. We have done it with COMSAT. It is a procedure that has been used in the past, and I think it can be adequately used in the future.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[11.] Q. In doing so, you are leaving yourself open to a charge by probably your critics that you are going to have billions of dollars in Federal funding going to big oil and big business, and this leads me to the question: The public's perception of your Administration is one that is friendly to big business. I think in your relationship with labor leaders you would find that. And recently in a Gallup poll, Mr. Gallup said that of the adults who were questioned—and he addressed this nationwide—only 21 percent would own up to being Republicans. And then you have the results of New Hampshire. Would this indicate to you that you are in serious trouble in 1976 as a party and you as President?

THE PRESIDENT. I think any of the polls that have pitted me against a Democrat, with the exception of Teddy Kennedy—and even there, 1 month he is ahead and the next month I am ahead—but pitting my own candidacy against any other Democrat, every poll that I have seen for the last 6 months shows that I would win.

We have got 14 months to go before the election, and my Democratic friends have to pick a candidate first, and they are going to have a little trouble there. But I welcome whoever they pick. But I think it categorically inaccurate and unfair to say—and I don't think it is said by people who have thought it out—that this Administration is predominantly interested in big business. That is totally inaccurate.

We have increased our funding, for example, in a wide spectrum—education, unemployment compensation, the whole area of human assistance. We have

recommended in the budget for the current fiscal year more money than any administration in the history of the United States for social programs.

#### ADVICE TO YOUNG PEOPLE

[12.] Q. Mr. Ford, I am sorry to cut off, because I understand you probably want to go forth. We only have about 30 seconds left, and I wondered if you could in that time possibly sum up how you would talk to some of the young people of this country about their mounting fear of losing control of their country, what with the murder of a President, the murder of a candidate running for President, paralyzing of another, et cetera. It goes on and on, still even happening today with a threat against your life. What do you tell the young people of this country?

THE PRESIDENT. I tell them that, number one, we have a great country, they have got a great stake in it. They can decide what course of action, what aims, what visions we should have in this country, and I find a great and good response from the young people across the board.

I am optimistic about what they will do with America. I think they will make it a better place for them and those that follow.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The interview began at 2:56 p.m. in the MacArthur Suite at the St. Francis Hotel. It was taped for broadcast at 9:30 p.m.

Participants in the interview were Sid Davis of

the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, and Stan Borman, Belva Davis, Jenny Crimm, and Lynn Joiner of KPIX-TV.

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### **Remarks to Reporters on Returning From California. *September 22, 1975***

REPORTER. Mr. Ford, could you speak to us for just a moment please and tell us how you feel?

THE PRESIDENT. Can I have just a minute to look at all of you?

Q. Mr. President, what—

THE PRESIDENT. May I take just a minute. Obviously, Betty and I are delighted to be back here very safely, and we are most grateful that Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Rockefeller have met us. We have talked to our four children, and I guess they are kind of happy that we are back here all right.

But let me say most emphatically, I thank the Secret Service for doing a super

job again.<sup>1</sup> They really were tremendous in the things that they did that were necessary and essential. But equally, let me express my appreciation for the fine job that the San Francisco police force did. They were tremendous, and those that were associated with them, because they had the help of others.

But the most important thing is that I don't think any person as President or any person in any other major political office ought to cower in the face of a limited number of people, out of 214 million Americans, who want to take the law into their own hands. The American people expect, and I approve of it—in fact, I think it is right—want a dialog between them and their President and their other public officials. And if we can't have that opportunity of talking with one another, seeing one another, shaking hands with one another, something has gone wrong in our society.

I don't think these individuals who want to destroy our society and tear up our fabric of relationships represent America. The American people are good people—Democrats, Independents, Republicans, and others. Under no circumstances will I, and I hope no others, capitulate to those that want to undercut what's all good in America. The American people are strong, they're good, and they will reflect the leadership that comes from the people in public office. And the leadership must likewise be strong and good. And I am confident, whether that leadership is Democratic or Republican, it will be good and it will be strong. That's the way America can give the leadership to the world that is essential in these crucial times.

It's wonderful to be home. It's good to see our family. It's good to see the Vice President and Mrs. Rockefeller, and it's, I think, important that we as a people don't capitulate to the wrong element, a limited number, an infinitesimal number of people who want to destroy everything that's best about America. I won't. I'm sure the Vice President won't. I am sure Democratic leaders won't. We're going to stand tall and strong in this confrontation with a limited number of people who don't represent all of us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:55 p.m. in the Diplomatic Reception Room at the White House.

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<sup>1</sup>The President was referring to an incident which occurred earlier in the day, following his interview with reporters at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco, Calif. As he was leaving the hotel, an assailant in the crowd across the street fired a single shot at him. Sara Jane Moore was taken into custody by Secret Service agents and local police. On December 16, 1975, in the Federal Court in San Francisco, she pleaded guilty to the charge of attempting to assassinate the President.

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**Message to a Special Meeting of the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries. *September 23, 1975***

[Dated September 18, 1975. Released September 23, 1975]

THIS SPECIAL meeting of the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries takes up the most difficult problem in the Commission's twenty-five year history. I send my warmest greetings and good wishes to the participants.

It is imperative that the Commission succeed in establishing adequate conservation measures and enforcement procedures to rebuild the important fishery stocks of the Northwest Atlantic. If agreement cannot be reached on reasonable conservation and enforcement measures, the ability of the Commission to fulfill its stated purposes will be called into question. For our part, I pledge the full support of the United States to sound fisheries management and conservation practices, based on scientific evidence and implemented within the framework of internationally negotiated agreements.

I am strongly opposed to unilateral claims by nations to jurisdiction on the high seas. However, pressures for unilateral measures do exist, and will continue to mount, if international arrangements do not prove to be effective.

It is my earnest hope that the Commission will vindicate the trust we place in it and fully justify our mutual efforts to find cooperative approaches to fisheries conservation and management for the benefit of all mankind. In this spirit, I send you best wishes for a productive and rewarding session.

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: The message was read at the opening of the meeting in Montreal, Canada, on September 22 by Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance Carlyle E. Maw.

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**Remarks to Members of the American Chamber of Commerce Executives. *September 24, 1975***

*Chairman Brann, President Rumbaugh, members of the Chamber around the country:*

First, let me welcome you to the White House. It is more comfortable inside than outside with the kind of weather we are having. We only have it in Washington, but you never have it in your communities, I am sure. [*Laughter*]

But it is nice to see you all, and despite the fact you have been sitting here getting the answers to the questions from Frank [Zarb] and Paul MacAvoy and Jim Lynn, I think it is better for me just to make a few observations and comments and then we can retire to the State Dining Room for a few minutes.

First, I want to thank you very emphatically for the help and assistance so many of you have given us in the 12 White House Conferences that have been held around the United States, 10 of which I have had the honor and privilege to attend, to participate in what we try to describe as the listening and learning process.

We feel that those conferences are vitally important to give to a broad cross-section of your various communities the policies and programs that are in effect in the Federal Government or those that we propose and, at the same time, get a feeling, a sense from all of you and the many others that participate, the views from people at the grassroots.

This listening and learning process, from our point of view, is very helpful to me and to my associates. And I trust that the 12 have been equally beneficial as far as you are concerned.

We have some very serious problems. We are deeply concerned about the economy, energy, and deregulation as far as the Federal Government is concerned. I just spent about an hour and a half, as I recall, with a number of mayors from various parts of the United States.<sup>1</sup> They have a problem precipitated by the financial difficulties of the city of New York. These are serious, and it involves a wide variety of recommendations from them and from others as to what the solution might be.

It also involves a very serious potential change if certain actions were taken in the political fabric, not on a partisan basis, but on a structural basis, of the Federal Government, the State governments, and municipal governments. This is a very broad and serious problem. It is, of course, complicated by the immediate financial problems facing the city of New York.

But if I might, I would like to urge all of you to the extent that you can, help Frank Zarb and the executive branch of the Government get some movement in the Congress on really an effective, short-range as well as long-haul energy program. We cannot continue to be held at the mercy of decisionmaking by the foreign oil producers. They are meeting right now as to whether or not they are going to increase the price of roughly 40 percent of the oil that we buy as a nation. We have no control over it, and this is something that the United

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<sup>1</sup> The President met with the executive committee of the United States Conference of Mayors at 3:30 p.m.

States must do to escape that kind of potential stranglehold that they have on our economy and on 214 million Americans.

We have to conserve our energy. We have to produce more domestic sources of energy. And we hope and trust that the Congress will move affirmatively on a program that will conserve energy at home and produce more energy from domestic sources.

The economy—I believe that the record is clear by now that we have moved out of a recession and we are on the way to better economic times. The announcement last Friday of the lowest monthly increase in the cost of living, two-tenths of 1 percent, is very encouraging. If you annualize that—and I don't think you can in good conscience—that is an annual increase of 2.4 percent. But on a more realistic basis, from December of last year through the reported month that I just mentioned, the cost of living has gone up at the rate of about 5 percent, slightly under it, and that, compared to a year ago, it is substantially less.

We are not satisfied with 4.8 percent on an annualized basis of an increase in the cost of living, but comparatively speaking, it is far better than a year ago. We are going to continue the total effort on our part to make even more headway and better progress. The help that you can give us as far as the economy is concerned, energy is concerned, we appreciate and we know it will be effective.

In the area of deregulation—and I use it in the broadest sense—it involves regulatory agencies, which have an independent part in our Federal Government—they must respond.

On the other hand, the executive branch per se has to do its share of trying to lift the onerous burden that they have imposed on individuals, on communities, on society as a whole.

I wish Jim Lynn was here, because he got a figure of 5,200 forms that are filled out by people and organizations, businesses, imposed by the Federal Government. I have never seen them all piled up, but I am sure they would make one darn big pile. [*Laughter*] Because I was going to remind Jim again—I have done it several times—that a year from now we better have less than 5,200 such forms.

Just one personal observation. Back in the late 1920's my father had the temerity to begin a small paint and varnish manufacturing company. It never grew to any sizable proportions, although it kept us alive as a family. He used to go out and sell the paint and collect the bills. He never could have run that very small company if he had had to fill out all the government forms that small businesses have to fill out today.

So, even though it was a hard row for him to hoe, at least he was able to manufacture and sell it and to collect the bills. Today the onerous burden placed on comparable business organizations would preclude a person of that size, a business of that magnitude carrying on. You would have to hire two bookkeepers and a lawyer and I can't tell you how many other things.

So, what we have got to do is solve the energy problem, solve the problem of our economy, and in this third century that we are all looking forward to, the third century of our great country, is to free us as individuals from the octopus kind of society that has tended to develop—mass government, mass education, mass industry, mass labor.

We have got to make certain that 214 million people have a restoration of their privacy and their independence. I think we can do it. With your help it can be done a lot easier.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:15 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Lester W. Brann, Jr., chairman of

the board of directors, and Ronald R. Rumbaugh, president, American Chamber of Commerce Executives.

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## Remarks of Welcome to President Alfonso Lopez Michelsen of Colombia. *September 25, 1975*

*Mr. President, it is a great pleasure and privilege for me to welcome you to the United States for this state visit. The President of Colombia, His Excellency Dr. Alfonso Lopez Michelsen, and his wife, the distinguished First Lady of Colombia, Doña Cecilia:*

President Lopez is no stranger to the United States. As a young man he studied here briefly. Also, I am told he and Mrs. Lopez spent part of their honeymoon in Williamsburg, Virginia.

During his long and distinguished service in his country, he has frequently visited the United States in various important official capacities. His election as President was one of the largest votes in Colombia's history.

It is indeed a great personal pleasure for me to welcome him to the United States once again. This time the United States honors him as a Chief of State of Colombia, the first Latin American chief executive I have had the privilege of welcoming to Washington for a state dinner.

President Lopez represents a nation with a long tradition of democratic gov-

ernment. Colombia's friendship with the United States is characterized by the mutual respect each of our two nations has for the independent ideas and sovereign integrity of the other.

As a respected intellectual, author, and statesman, Dr. Lopez has been a champion of the idea that relationships between nations must be based on the rule of law, nonintervention, and respect for national sovereignty.

He voiced that conviction in an address to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, in January of 1974, when he said, and I quote: "For a country like ours, there is only one guarantee for survival: the effective application of international law, a deep sense of human solidarity, and the principle of self-determination of nations."

Your visit, Mr. President, is timely indeed. The nations of the world face pressing issues in international trade, in monetary policy, and the challenges of explosive scientific and technological progress. The problems of peace, justice, hunger, inflation, and pollution can no longer be solved by each nation alone.

Each of us now is caught in the same tide of world events—consumer and producer, rich and poor, powerful and weak. We must, therefore, work together for the solution of our problems. We must step up our efforts to modernize and strengthen our hemispheric relations.

The nations of Latin America share the same intricate web of social, political, and economic elements which comprise the civilization of the Western World. At the same time, they share the problems of developing societies elsewhere in the world.

All of these circumstances provide an important bond linking our two nations which have a long, long tradition of friendly relations based on respect for each other's sovereignty and independence.

That is why I have invited President Lopez to visit Washington. We have much to talk about. I look forward to our frank and candid discussions. We expect to examine carefully our bilateral relations and their probable future course. We will review together the issues of current concern in the inter-American system and the alternatives that open into the future. We will discuss world issues of particular concern to our two countries.

I know that the intellect and statesmanship of President Lopez will further our common quest for constructive solutions and mutual understanding.

And so, as you say, Mr. President, *bienvenido*.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:43 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. Due to inclement weather, President Lopez was given a formal wel-

come with full military honors at the North Portico. President Lopez responded as follows:



*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford:*

The warmth and friendliness of this welcome does not take us by surprise. It is a reflection of the nature of the relations between Colombia and the United States, which, during the last quarter of this century, have remained untarnished.

Of course, our points of view have occasionally been different on certain matters of continental interest. But this has only contributed to strengthen our friendship on the basis of mutual respect. We have become accustomed to the practice of agreeing to disagree—abiding by the rules in order to resolve our conflicts.

Our presence here on the same site so often visited by prominent statesmen, has a special significance on this occasion. The White House is not a palace. Its fame derives from its occupants, men who seek to interpret the will of the people they rule.

We evoke the memory of patricians, soldiers, statesmen, thinkers, and popular leaders who embody the collective aspirations of their times. Despite their difference in character and background, they have honored the North American tradition of democratic government without yielding to authoritarian temptations.

The system they have contributed to create has proven strong enough to withstand the most serious

crisis. In these troubled times, there is something both comforting and old-fashioned in your manner that is reminiscent of your very early predecessors. Even though you preside over one of the most powerful nations in the world, making daily decisions which bear on the destiny of mankind, you continue to be the same straightforward, unassuming citizen who, as a Congressman, won the respect of his colleagues, and who has earned the affection of the people of the United States, symbolizing today the essence of what the Founding Fathers of this country wanted their Nation to be. They wanted their leaders to be model citizens of a democracy, unencumbered by the false leader of royalty.

I am witnessing today in this place and surroundings that the wishes of the American people have been fulfilled.

President Ford's human touch greatly contributes to ensure that this meeting will be patterned as a sincere exchange between friends. This is the proper way to deal with common problems. The nature of the challenge confronting us today and the above-mentioned circumstances make me look forward to the conversations we are about to begin and the confidence that the outcome will be of mutual benefit for our two countries.

Thank you.

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## Toasts of the President and President Lopez of Colombia.

*September 25, 1975*

IN PROPOSING a toast to you, Mr. President, and to the great Republic of Colombia, I think it is fitting to note that your state visit to the United States coincides with the 150th anniversary year of the first treaty between our two countries.

Soon after Colombia won its independence in 1819, the great liberator, Simon Bolívar, sent one of his first diplomatic representatives to this country—Don Manuel Torres. As head of the Colombian mission, he became the first accredited envoy of a Spanish-American power in the United States.

As early as 1820, Mr. President, Manuel Torres was instructed to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States on the basis, and I quote, of "equality and reciprocity."

That treaty was proclaimed on May 31, 1825. Thus, Mr. President, the roots of our friendly relations are long and deep.

This relationship was furthered by an illustrious former President of Colom-

bia, Alfonzo Lopez Pumarejo, whose distinguished son honors us with his presence here tonight.

During his inaugural address in 1934, President Lopez Pumarejo said, and I quote: "Our foreign relations in the future must not be based on that formal reciprocity of soulless diplomatic notes that travel from chancery to chancery. We shall try to take advantage of every opportunity to invigorate the ties of cooperation and active friendship with all nations but, above all, with those of our hemisphere."

How well this distinguished leader—and permit me to add, Excellency, his distinguished son—have succeeded in that very high purpose. Our mutual relations today are born of a very precious common heritage forged out of the travail of wars of independence. Both of our nations paid with the blood of patriots to achieve the dream of freedom, both in your country as well as in ours.

That common experience, I think, gives us common aspirations. Both of our nations desire to see the rule of law apply to our relations and to those among all nations. Both seek equality and reciprocity among nations. Both share the common knowledge that in the complex world of today, nations bound in historic friendship and traditions must depend very directly upon one another.

Your country is renowned, Mr. President, for its moral and intellectual leadership, for its moderation, for its keen sense of justice, and for its dedication to greater progress and social justice for your people and the peoples of our hemisphere.

We of the United States admire those goals you have set not only for yourselves but we appreciate them as great objectives for all of your people.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in a toast to His Excellency, the President of Colombia, to Mrs. Lopez, and to the people of Colombia. May our two countries always walk together in a mutual confidence and respect, and may our historic friendship contribute to the achievement of these noble goals of mankind—justice, peace, and freedom.

To the President.

NOTE: President Ford spoke at 10:25 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Lopez responded as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Rockefeller, Mr. Secretary of State, distinguished Members of the Senate and the House, ladies and gentlemen:*

Six years ago, a few hours before man first set foot on the Moon, another President of Colombia, Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo, then the guest of President Richard Nixon, had the honor of speaking in

this very room. The dream cherished for centuries by poets and fiction writers was brought to reality by American science and technology. We had evidently reached a landmark in the history of mankind.

Today, when the United States is preparing the Bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence, it seems fitting to ask which of the two events constitutes a greater contribution to western civilization. The Declaration of Independence had a decisive influence on the process that led to the French Revolution. It carried the seeds of the

Constitution of Philadelphia, which has been so often imitated over the last two centuries.

The space feat, repeated later by other nations, is a source of controversy surrounded by ever-diminishing admiration. Few would disagree, however, that the Constitution of Philadelphia has been one of the key elements in the spiritual and material progress of this great Nation.

In the view of the distinguished English historian, James Bryce, the two outstanding achievements of the human spirit in the field of political organization are the written Constitution of the United States and the unwritten set of rules known as the British Constitution. Both have withstood the test of time.

In an era when people's imagination tends to be easily captivated by material accomplishments and much emphasis given to the gap between the pace of technological progress and the slow pace of social and human science, it is worth noting the foresight of the Founding Fathers. With profound insight into the legal matters of their day, they created the framework for the development of a different world which could not have been foreseen.

Those of us who believe in freedom and equality will be with you in spirit during the commemoration of the Declaration of Independence. A rendezvous—to be present on that historical occasion—would be perhaps out of order. The opportunity given to us by the encounter should transcend the formalities of protocol.

We should reflect upon the achievements of the past and meditate upon freedom in general and the state of freedom in our continent in particular.

The future of humanity is intimately linked to the question of freedom. The history of civilization as we have known it is one of continuous ascent toward attainment of that freedom: religious freedom, freedom of dissent, freedom to assemble, freedom to claim for better working conditions, and in recent years, freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom from unemployment.

These values, which have become commonplace, have ceased to be commonplace at a time when liberty suffers an eclipse within our own continent. By just listing them, we can see how difficult it is to disentangle the knot of very often contradictory rights. For economic freedom is not always compatible with the freedom from poverty or from unemployment, and an unlimited freedom to employ will tend to hinder labor's conquests.

Very often other economic systems lead people, particularly the young, to believe that freedom, as a value, must give way to the demands of economic life. Without forgetting the obvious difficulties, we must double our efforts to see that the next generation will not have to barter freedom of spirit for shelter from economic hardship.

This is at least the case of my country. Although

it is true that we don't cling to any specific form of social system, and even less to any foreign model, and that we are ready to seek a better redistribution of our income through the implementation of programs such as tax, agrarian, and educational reform, there is nonetheless something upon which we cannot compromise. That is the quality of our life and, therefore, the right to think our own thoughts and dream our own dreams.

I am confident, Mr. President, that this meeting will bring about a better understanding which I already anticipate between our two countries; also, that we will find a sense of partnership within a legal system based on impersonal and abstract rules, within which there will always be the right to dissent.

I have spoken on other questions about our own joint duties and responsibilities in this hemisphere. Going further now, I bring to your attention something that has been outlined in the past but which has recently acquired growing importance. Namely, that the responsibility for maintaining a world of spiritual freedom is a task which demands economic sacrifices. The sacrifices concern every one equally, but mainly those who can make them.

Colombia has recognized this not only with words but with deeds. We have given, for example, preferential treatment to Bolivia and Ecuador, relatively less-developed countries within the sub-regional Andean Pact. We have promptly approved the increase in our share of the capital subscriptions for the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. We have also made a contribution to the Caribbean Development Bank in order to provide financial support for the former European possessions in the area.

In every international forum we have sought an understanding between producers and consumers, trading off sometimes, as in the case of coffee and sugar, windfall gains for permanent stability.

As of the next United States fiscal year, we will forgo any further loans from the Agency for International Development. Considering the fact that our export earnings are sufficient for our balance of payment requirements, we feel that the resources released thereby can be more useful to needier countries.

This contribution, however modest, is in accordance with our means. It is, nonetheless, tangible evidence that Colombia is ready and willing to bear its share of its humanitarian obligations, following thus the example set by the United States in the postwar era when, for the first time in the history of mankind, massive resources from one nation were destined to benefit nonnationals.

The Marshall Plan turned the defeated into victors with the help of the country which, having suffered less material damages, was in a position, if so desired, to impose its will upon the rest of the world.

From a Latin American point of view, the new Trade Act of the United States is not without shortcomings, among other reasons, because of the discriminatory treatment given to Ecuador and Venezuela. Nevertheless, it contains positive provisions that favor a lowering of tariffs which should benefit the developing countries. Let's hope that it will be implemented in the spirit of liberalization of trade rather than that of narrow-minded protectionism.

Colombia has applied for membership to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and hopes, also, that these negotiations will provide a new scope for our foreign trade. Not in vain did we treble our sales of goods and services to the world in the last 5 years through the diversification of our own exports and widening of markets for Colombian products in Latin America, Europe, and the United States.

Although I am not here as a spokesman for other Latin American nations, this is an appropriate occasion to underline some of the conclusions which we have reached at so-called summit meetings among neighboring countries and add a few of my own vintage.

In the past, the relationship between our two subcontinents has tended to reflect an American campaign slogan or a unilateral definition of policy suitable perhaps for domestic political purposes, but totally unrelated to Latin American aspirations.

Neither "the big stick," nor "the good neighbor," nor "the low profile," nor "the benign neglect" satisfy us because of their one-sided connotation. What is required is a new relationship between the United States and Latin America jointly formulated by both parties according to their needs and aspirations.

For this we already have a forum at the Organization of American States and an organization to present coherently our common points of view through the recently established Latin American Economic System, SELA.

We are convinced that a nation which, through the years, has been capable of organizing the American Union, starting with States so dissimilar in their origin as were the Thirteen Colonies and late-comers such as Hawaii and Alaska, must have an equal capacity to conciliate with the inter-American system, a community of forces, without disregarding the particular features of each State and their freedom to select their own economic structure.

It would be a tragedy for our continent that while Europe is creating instruments of economic cooperation that don't imply political obligations, such as the Lomé Convention,<sup>1</sup> we should still stumble on the same difficulties, or perhaps more

serious ones than those we encountered 40 or 60 years ago.

This is the reason why Colombia sponsored the lifting of the embargo against Cuba, regardless of our ideological differences. The record of failures of this type of measure is still fresh in our minds—Ethiopia, Spain, Rhodesia, and others—while we cannot recall any example which has been successful.

In the case of Cuba, where the sanctions were not applied, neither by European nations nor by some countries of this hemisphere, we would have been fooling ourselves if we pretended to continue believing in their effectiveness when the United States itself was allowing its multinational corporations—located in countries which were not pledged to sanctions—to supply the Caribbean island with the capital and the know-how for products which we ourselves were already producing.

It has been a realistic step on the part of President Ford's Administration to adopt its own line of conduct towards Cuba, while abstaining from the attempt to influence the decision of others on this matter.

A treaty that binds Colombia and the United States guarantees free passage through the Panama Canal to the warships and supply vessels of our Navy. We don't overstep any boundaries when we raise the issue of the isthmus here or elsewhere. Colombia has a vital interest in the area based on geographical as well as historical considerations, which have been recognized both by the United States and by Panama.

Taking a long-term view, we consider the canal question as something of continental and worldwide interest. The far-reaching policy of understanding at the hemispheric level cannot survive if permanently jeopardized by transit incidents, military maneuvers of one side or the other, student protests, and symbolic gestures that could very well one day start a bonfire in the continent.

With due respect for the position of the United States, it is necessary to recognize realistically and impartially that the considerations that prevailed at the beginning of this century are irrelevant in 1975.

The preservation of unjust situations can never be our ideal. We are conscious of the spirit which moves the American Government to remove causes of friction. In 1972 we reached an agreement concerning the Roncador and Quita Sueño and Serrana outcroppings in the Caribbean, thus putting an end to the *modus vivendi* established between the United States and Colombia in 1928.

Recently Under Secretary of State Rogers has insisted before the United States Senate on the ratification of this treaty. If the intention is to terminate this *modus vivendi*—admitting that reason assisted Colombia, owners of Spanish titles, before the argument of a so-called exploitation of guano invoked during the American Civil War—we cannot see the

<sup>1</sup> Signed in Lomé, Togo, February 28, 1975, by representatives of 56 countries to facilitate economic cooperation.

reason for consulting the International Court of Justice to determine if third party rights exist.

Transitory *modus vivendi* is ended by defining the claims of subscribing parts, not by having one of these become a spokesman for the interests of third parties which, not having been part of the initial pact, are not affected by the new one.

We have noted with satisfaction that the need for a consensus in international relations is now being discussed. This is also our policy. This consensus may seek to maintain the status quo or to help to bring about a new order. We don't believe that under the present circumstances the first of these alternatives could be conceded. At present, countries which only 5, 10, or 15 years ago were politically dependent, now have their own seats at the bargaining table. They come either on their own behalf or on behalf of other countries afflicted by similar problems.

Is there anything improper in the emergence of this new bargaining power? Colombia does not have atomic weapons, exportable fuel supplies, or large stockpiles of grain to enter national negotiations. Yet we are not surprised when nations that dispose of such assets such as these, use them to increase their bargaining position.

Certain historical similarities exist between the postwar era in which we live and the period of reconstruction of Europe after the Napoleonic wars. The French Emperor had been at war with a coalition of powers dissimilar in their ideologies, populations, economic and military strength. Two European statesmen brought forth different view-

points in their attempt to build a lasting peace. Whereas Metternich endeavored to maintain the status quo through the "Holy Alliance," Canning moved in the direction of change by recognizing the independence of the newly created Latin American republics and their right to self-determination.

Am I wrong in assuming that the great turn we are seeing in American foreign policy leans towards Canning's philosophy? His experience of liberalization didn't turn out to be so unfortunate. Its aftermath coincided with the Victorian Era which marked the epitome of the influence of the British Empire.

On the other hand, the Austrian Empire, soon after Metternich was gone, became the sick man of Europe. And his policy of the spheres of influence and balance of power began to crack down, giving way to the coming crisis.

Mr. President, the whole world, and America in particular, is eager to see whether the great powers are willing to undertake or accept new initiatives without freezing past injustices under the name of peace.

Colombia, with its modest resources, is ready to support the United States in sponsoring changes and in acknowledging new realities. Let's preserve what is worth being preserved, and let's recognize that obsolescence of what has to be replaced. For these we claim our rights, but at the same time, we are ready to undertake our responsibilities and our commitments.

A toast for the prosperity of the United States, Mr. President and Mrs. Ford.

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### Statement on the Death of Bob Considine.

*September 26, 1975*

BOB CONSIDINE was a great reporter, whose beat was literally the world. His perceptive reporting and the quality of his writing made him a great newsman. His personal integrity and courage, his gentle good humor, and his outstanding character made him a great person. He will be missed.

Mrs. Ford joins in this expression of sympathy to Bob's wife, Millie, and to his family. In words Bob was fond of quoting: "May the angels lead thee into paradise and may the martyrs receive thee at thy coming."

NOTE: Mr. Considine, a reporter with Hearst Newspapers, wrote the syndicated column "On the Line."

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**Joint Communiqué Following Discussions With President Lopez of Colombia. *September 26, 1975***

THE STATE Visit of President and Mrs. Alfonso Lopez Michelsen to Washington at the invitation of President and Mrs. Gerald Ford provided an opportunity for serious discussion and exchange of views with respect to international, regional and bilateral topics of interest.

Accompanying the President during the September 25–26 visit to Washington were Colombian Ambassador and Mrs. Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala, Minister of Finance Rodrigo Botero, Minister of Agriculture Rafael Pardo, Minister of Economic Development Jorge Ramirez, Minister of Public Works Humberto Salcedo, the Mayors of Bogotá and Cali, and the President's two sons, Felipe and Alfonso Lopez. Several of these officials were accompanied by their wives. The visit provided an opportunity to meet with their United States counterparts for discussion of problems of mutual interest.

President Lopez, in his conversations with President Ford, Vice President Rockefeller, and Secretary of State Kissinger examined world economic and political issues in detail. They discussed prospects for improved international economic cooperation in light of the achievements of the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly. They discussed the special problems faced by Colombia and other developing countries in the hemisphere, which, because they are in a more advanced stage of development and are integrated into the world economy, are also greatly affected by changes in the international economic conditions. They agreed that representatives of their governments would consult further as the initiatives stemming from the Seventh Special Session unfold.

The Presidents also reviewed global problems of security and opportunities for peace.

Western Hemisphere issues were examined in depth and with equal frankness. President Lopez explained to President Ford the position of Colombia on a number of points. He emphasized his interest and that of Latin America in general in a favorable outcome to the present Panama Canal negotiations. President Ford assured President Lopez of the desire of the United States to pursue the negotiations now underway with Panama in good faith in an effort to reach an agreement which would accommodate the interests of both countries in the Canal. President Ford confirmed U.S. recognition of the validity of

Colombia's rights in the Canal under the Urrutia-Thomson Treaty. He expressed determination to consult with Colombia at an appropriate point in the negotiating process regarding the future status of those rights.

The two Presidents and their advisors also discussed the United States Trade Reform Act of 1974, noted that technical discussions were recently held on the Act in Washington, and that further high-level conversations will take place in the near future with regard to the implications of the Act for Colombia and for Latin America in general. President Lopez stressed the importance to Latin America of greater access to the United States market.

With regard to ratification of the Quita Sueño Treaty, the two Presidents noted that the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee has just held public hearings, and President Ford assured his visitor of continuing Administration support for early ratification.

Multilateral negotiations looking toward an international coffee agreement were discussed by the two Presidents and they agreed as to the importance of continuing efforts in this direction.

The AID program of bilateral assistance to Colombia was also discussed. The substantive achievements of the collaborative program over prior years were noted with satisfaction. It was mutually agreed that, as Colombia has become less dependent on concessional external financing, the AID bilateral program could be brought to an orderly phase-out, and that appropriate agencies of the two governments would work out a plan for such an orderly termination of AID assistance.

The visit provided an opportunity for review of the status of completion of the Inter-American Highway through construction of the Darien Gap segment in Colombia. Progress toward related control of hoof-and-mouth disease in Northern Colombia was examined and attendant problems were reviewed. It was agreed that a high-level consultative group would meet shortly to consider questions related to the Inter-American Highway in the region of the Darien.

International narcotics control was also discussed, with both Presidents emphasizing their recognition of the menace posed by international trafficking. The leaders of both countries committed themselves to reinforced joint efforts to combat and eradicate this evil.

President Ford informed President Lopez that funds have been requested to reestablish a United States Consulate at Barranquilla on the North Coast of Colombia and that he would pursue this matter as necessary with the Congress. President Lopez expressed his agreement and pleasure.

In conclusion, the two Chiefs of State and their advisors noted the increasing

degree of interdependence which characterizes our modern world and agreed that Colombia and the United States—two democratic nations which share many values and goals—should seek means of ever greater cooperation on the bilateral, regional and international planes.

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**Remarks at the Career Criminal Conference of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. September 26, 1975**

*Mr. Attorney General, Attorney General Tyler, Mr. Velde, Mr. Work, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am delighted to be here this afternoon and to give my personal encouragement and help and assistance to a program that I feel very strongly about.

Last September, as was mentioned by Mr. Velde, I directed the Department of Justice to develop a program to deal with the career criminals throughout the country. Its goals, as all of you know, are quick identification of those who repeatedly commit serious crimes, priority of prosecution of those cases, and the assurance of appropriate sentences upon conviction so that they could not return immediately to victimize the community.

And speaking of victimizing the community, it of course means the victimizing of the individual. And in a speech that I gave at the Yale Law School this past spring,<sup>1</sup> where I sought to lay out some guidelines and some further direction, we used two phrases that, in my opinion, ought to be the direction in which we go—concern for the victim of crime and concern for the domestic tranquillity of our country.

Now, this program that you are a part of has been funded with LEAA grants—and I commend each of you from your respective 11 communities for your participation—to prove that a program can work in this field. I am enough of an optimist to believe that this kind of well-directed, well-funded—with the right personnel, will result in success.

I am told that it will be operational in all 11 cities in a relatively short period of time. And although we recognize it as experimental in nature, I personally have very great expectations for its success.

All of you, through your various responsibilities, know far better than myself the toll that crime exacts from our fellow citizens—a toll measured in blood, treasure, and peace of mind.

<sup>1</sup> See Item 217.



Unfortunately, the statistics prove that crime is on the rise. Since 1960—and this is hard to believe—reported crime has more than doubled. Last year we saw the annual crime rate increase by 17 percent—the largest yearly increase since the FBI began statistics in their department some 44 years ago.

This crime epidemic threatens the very foundation of our society, for it is law which makes human society possible. Each of us has taken an oath to uphold and to defend the Constitution which charges us with the duty, the very solemn obligation, of ensuring domestic tranquillity.

But there can be little domestic tranquillity when increasing numbers of citizens are robbed, mugged, raped, murdered. Each of us has a very unique opportunity to do something about this.

As you know, again far better than myself, a very large percentage of serious crimes are committed by a very small number of offenders. The career criminal program aims directly at solving this specific problem. And the success of this program will pave the way for a far greater effort, a far sharper focus on career criminals by our criminal justice system.

The good part about this program, as I see it, is that it is a grassroots program. The Federal Government, through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, has awarded some \$5 million in grants together with equipment, technical assistance, and evaluation. But the day-to-day planning, the conduct, and the decision-making are fundamentally yours at the local level.

I happen to believe that is the way it should be. With few exceptions, the prosecution of serious crimes in this country is solely within the jurisdiction of State and local authorities.

I gather from talking with the Attorney General and with others, you have all had a very productive day even though the weather of Washington interfered to some extent with your starting on time. Let me assure you we were a little late getting started in the White House this morning for reasons that were obvious, because of the weather.

If I might close with this observation. Even though Disraeli once said, "It is with words we govern men," I might add my personal belief that it is with words we also wear men down.

So, let me end by thanking you for coming here, for working so hard in the preparation for this new operation and with the work that you will do when you get back to your local communities. I think it is a program with a very bright promise. And may God speed you as you proceed.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. in the Great Hall at the Department of Justice. In his opening remarks, he referred to Harold R. Tyler, Jr., Deputy Attorney General, and to Richard W. Velde,

Administrator, and Charles R. Work, Deputy Administrator, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

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## Remarks on Greeting Local Officials From Hopkinton, Rhode Island. *September 27, 1975*

CHARLES J. HAMMOND, JR. President Ford, I have here a letter that was drafted and it reads: "Dear Mr. President, we, the undersigned residents of Hopkinton, Rhode Island," and we have written in, "and vicinity"—[*laughter*]"—"joined a Happy Bicentennial America delegation to the White House in wishing you and your family good health and happiness. Respectfully yours . . ."

We have circulated this through our schools, and if you look through just a couple of pages, we have some very small children that did quite a job on this. But there are about a thousand signatures in here, and I would like to present this to you as a token from the town of Hopkinton and thank you very much for this day.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Mr. Hammond, and I also thank Senator Pastore and Congressman Beard and all of you for coming down here. You brought the sunshine this morning. For that we are very grateful. But also, Mrs. Ford and myself, as well as the children, thank you very much for this expression of good health and best wishes.

I had the opportunity of being in Rhode Island about 3 weeks ago, and the people of Rhode Island were extremely hospitable and friendly. And for that I will thank them through you, if you don't mind.

You are all dressed here in the costumes of earlier days of our great country. Rhode Island played a very significant part in making this country what it is today. Your predecessors were among the early settlers, and the year-to-year contribution of Rhode Island has been very meaningful in making America a great country.

I have always enjoyed the opportunity to visit in Rhode Island. I can't honestly say I have been to Hopkinton. [*Laughter*]

MR. HAMMOND. Not many people know where it is. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. But obviously it is a great community with a wonderful spirit and fine people. I think it is a great idea that you are thinking Bicentennial and

making it something meaningful to the young people as well as a couple of older ones.

The Bicentennial should be a great year in the United States. We have to show what we have done for 200 years in order to give inspiration to the young people to do what they have to do in the third century of this country. They have an obligation, just as their forefathers had, and I have great faith in the young people today represented by this group that they will do as well, if not better, than we did.

MR. HAMMOND. I hope so.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very, very much.

MR. HAMMOND. Now, this is Mr. Nathan Kaye. He is connected with the Hopkinton Bicentennial Commission. As a matter of fact, he is the one that contacted our office and made this day possible.

MR. KAYE. Mr. President, the Hopkinton, Rhode Island, Town Council and its Happy Bicentennial America Committee are greatly honored to present to you this song, "Happy Bicentennial America." Thanks to you and anticipating the help of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, we hope that this song will be sung by our citizens loudly and proudly. Happy Bicentennial America.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, sir. Can I hear the song?

MR. KAYE. Yes, sir. They are going to sing it.

[*At this point, a group of Hopkinton schoolchildren sang the Bicentennial song.*]

MR. KAYE. Mr. President, he has a tape recording of the song.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, thank you very, very much, sir. Can I have my picture taken with all of these children?

MR. KAYE. Sure.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much. It has been a pleasure. It is a nice way to start a Saturday morning.

NOTE: The exchange began at 8:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Mr. Hammond was president of the Hopkinton Town Council, and

Mr. Kaye was secretary of the Hopkinton Bicentennial Commission.

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**Statement Following Announcement of an Oil Price Increase by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.*****September 27, 1975***

I STRONGLY regret the price increase announced today by OPEC, even though it reflects a moderating influence by some oil-producing countries. While the increase was not as large as some expected, nevertheless it will have a significant impact. It will worsen inflation throughout the world, and it will hamper the fragile process of economic recovery. It will hit the poorer countries the hardest.

In my State of the Union Message in January, I warned the Members of Congress that we would become more and more vulnerable to oil price increases imposed on us by other people in other countries unless the Congress acted quickly to approve my program to free America from its dependence on foreign oil suppliers. And today's action by OPEC demonstrates vividly that my warning was accurate.

The American people should realize that Congress has refused to take any step to reduce our vulnerability to such whims of the OPEC oil cartel. So long as Congress refuses to enact a program which will allow America to produce its own energy with its own workers and to set its own prices, we will find ourselves increasingly vulnerable to OPEC.

We will continue to be vulnerable to arbitrary OPEC price increases, which will take away billions of American dollars and thousands of America's jobs, until Congress faces up to the energy problem and makes the hard decisions for Americans to regain their energy independence.

Those Members of Congress who refuse to adopt an energy program would like the American people to believe they are trying to hold energy prices down. They are wrong, as today's OPEC decision demonstrates.

During the 4 years of so-called controls since 1971, our bill for imported oil has gone up more than 700 percent. Inaction or wrong action by the Congress means higher prices and increased dependence.

Every day, we are forced to buy more and more oil from OPEC at higher and higher prices.

Congress must adopt an energy program which will permit us to control our own supply and set our own prices.

Until Congress acts constructively, we will continue to lose American dollars

and American jobs to foreign energy producers. I hope that today's OPEC action will finally get the message through to the Members of Congress that we cannot afford to remain vulnerable and without an energy policy.

NOTE: The 10-percent oil price increase was announced in Vienna, Austria, where the Organization was meeting.

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**Remarks Upon Making a Contribution to the 1976 Combined Federal Campaign. *September 29, 1975***

FRANK, I appreciate your undertaking this responsibility, with your other minor chores, as far as the executive branch is concerned. And I am deeply grateful to Mike and John Anderson. I guess John couldn't get here. We even have Alan over here to handle all the financial affairs.

But from my own point of view, I got interested in what we call the United Fund out home when I was right out of law school and worked on our program, Lew, through many years. I happen to feel very strongly that in each community throughout the country, there has to be a total effort by management, labor, professions, all segments of our society, to make a campaign truly representative of what needs to be done for those less well-off than ourselves.

When you look at the wide range of community organizations for youth, for the aged, for those who are ill, those that need recreation, the United Fund or the organization, the combined Federal effort is essential if we are going to make it go here in Washington.

It is a different kind of a campaign here than it is in many other communities. And so, the Federal Government participation—the many, many people who work for Uncle Sam have a special responsibility. We don't have the big industries in some communities that can make a maximum contribution. We don't have some of the other sources that are easily available in many communities. So, what we do in the executive branch and what is done in the Congress will make or break this campaign.

And as I look around the room and see those who have assumed the responsibility, I know we can make it go. And I always like to pay my bills promptly. So, Frank, I will give you—I guess it is sealed and you hadn't better open it—[laughter]—my own personal contribution to get it kicked off in the right way.

MR. ZARB. Thank you, Mr. President. I think we ought to give you a CFC button to wear.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you all. And I appreciate, Mike, your doing it on the Senate side. I know it will be successful there, and John Anderson will do equally well in the House. And with Frank and everybody else, I am certain the executive branch will do its full share.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. Frank G. Zarb, Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration, was Chairman of the 1976 Combined Federal Campaign for the National Capital area.

In his remarks, the President referred to Senator

Mike Mansfield, Representative John B. Anderson, Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Lewis A. Engman, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, four of the eight Cochairmen of the Campaign.

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### Remarks Upon Signing the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act of 1975. *September 29, 1975*

I AM today signing H.R. 9524, a bill extending until November 15 the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act, which expired on August 31.

This extension of controls on domestic petroleum for 47 days carries out my part of an understanding with the leaders of the House and Senate and will provide more time for the Congress to act on a sound and mutually acceptable plan for phased decontrol or, alternatively, to pass the emergency legislation necessary to cushion the effect of immediate decontrol on certain elements of our domestic economy.

Last week's decision by the OPEC foreign oil cartel to raise their prices to American consumers by 10 percent provides beyond any further argument the urgent need for the United States to reduce its growing dependence on imported fuel at prices arbitrarily set by others.

Since my State of the Union Message last January, I have been constantly urging the Congress to move rapidly on a comprehensive energy independence program for this country's future security and prosperity. I have offered to compromise again and again.

A majority of the Members of this Congress thus far have refused to do anything that will increase domestic energy production. Price controls on domestic oil production have been in effect for 4 years. During that time, our domestic oil production has declined and our expenditures for foreign oil have increased more than 700 percent.

We are now sending more than \$25 billion a year out of the United States

to import foreign oil, enrich foreign producers, and provide foreign jobs. This dollar outflow will grow larger and larger under the latest OPEC price hike.

If spent at home, \$25 billion would employ 1 million American workers and speed our economic growth. Letting the OPEC oil cartel dictate America's economic growth is absurd. Yet a majority in the Congress does nothing to reverse our growing oil dependence and increasing vulnerability to this obvious threat.

When the price of gasoline goes up at the service station, I want the American people to know exactly where the blame lies. Until Congress acts, there is nothing this country can do about arbitrary OPEC oil price hikes, and there may still be another fuel price increase next June.

The rhetoric of those in the Congress who are delaying action on long-range energy independence asserts that they are trying to hold fuel prices down to protect the American consumer. This is nonsense.

Obviously, the Congress cannot hold OPEC oil prices down. They are going up. And we are already dependent on foreign oil for about 40 percent of our total needs in the United States. The only way Congress can really protect the American consumer is to enact a long-range energy program that encourages Americans to produce our own energy with our own workers from our own resources and at our own prices.

By going along with this temporary extension of the expired controls law, I am giving Congress another 47 days to take its first significant step in solving our energy problem. The Congress has two immediate choices: first, to enact a mutually acceptable plan for phased decontrol of domestic price controls on crude oil; or, two, to pass the cushioning legislation I have recommended.

I propose to protect propane gas users, including farmers and millions of people who live in rural areas and in mobile homes. I propose to protect independent retail service station and heating oil dealers from arbitrary curtailment and cutoffs. I propose to protect independent refiners from loss of their supplies of crude oil at reasonable prices. And I propose to protect all consumers from undue loss of purchasing power through a windfall profits tax on domestic oil companies with a consumer refund provision.

If your Congressmen and Senators cannot take one or the other of these commonsense courses before November 15, then a majority in the Congress will have failed their responsibility to the American people.

I am serving notice as I sign this temporary extension that a majority in the Congress have already temporized far too long.

If the latest OPEC price increase hasn't awakened them to the peril our country faces, only an aroused citizenry will. Congress must face up to the hard, tough decisions which will restore America's energy independence, reinvigorate America's economy, and save American jobs before it is too late. They have failed thus far. I stand ready to cooperate fully to make this long overdue start in the right direction.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:18 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His remarks were recorded for later use on radio and television.

As enacted, H.R. 9524 is Public Law 94-99 (89 Stat. 481).

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### Statement on the Privacy Act of 1974.

*September 29, 1975*

THE PRIVACY ACT of 1974 took effect on Saturday, September 27, 1975, a date marking a milestone in the protection of individual privacy for every American.

The reason this act is important became apparent to me when I was Vice President and Chairman of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy. Last January, I was pleased to sign this bill as President because it represents a major first step in safeguarding individual privacy.

The need for a privacy act is manifestly clear: Over the years, Federal agencies have amassed vast amounts of information about virtually every American citizen. As data-collecting technology increased, it made administrative sense to combine much of this information in computerized data systems where it could be retrieved instantly at the push of a button. This fact in itself raised the possibility that information about individuals could be used for purposes outside the constraints of law and without the prior knowledge or consent of the individuals involved.

The worthwhile programs of human assistance for which this individual information is collected are vital to millions of Americans. They cannot be ended. But at the same time, we have a clear responsibility to erect reasonable safeguards to ensure that information collected is used solely for the purposes intended.

The Privacy Act, though experimental, makes a long overdue start to erect these safeguards. It requires Federal agencies to:



- allow individuals to examine records pertaining to them and establish procedures for correcting those records;
- take steps to ensure the accuracy, timeliness, and security of records that concern individuals, and to limit records-keeping to necessary and lawful purposes.

This act also provides special safeguards whenever the rights of citizens to free speech and expression are involved.

Before this act, even the Federal Government did not know what information it kept about individuals. The act, therefore, required Federal agencies to first inventory their records-keeping systems and identify those which contained information about individuals, and to publish a listing of these systems in the Federal Register. That task is now complete.

The magnitude of Federal records-keeping has been far greater than anyone imagined. There are more than 6,000 Federal record systems containing personal data about them.

Compliance with this act will involve many people. Every Federal official who either creates, keeps, or uses personal data has responsibilities under this act. I urge every member of the executive branch to reexamine the record systems in their custody and determine if all are necessary. Keeping only an essential minimum of these records is the most effective protection we have against further incursions by the Federal Government into the private lives of Americans.

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**Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies for the J. Edgar Hoover  
F.B.I. Building. September 30, 1975**

*Mr. Attorney General, distinguished Members of the House and Senate, my former colleagues, Al Cederberg, John Slack, Senators Eastland, Pastore, and Hruska—and I see in the audience some others—it is wonderful to see you all here on this occasion—along with the distinguished Director of the FBI, the Administrator of the General Services Administration, ladies and gentlemen:*

Obviously, I am tremendously pleased to join all of you in the dedication of this truly magnificent building. It symbolizes the role of the FBI as the bastion of Federal law enforcement under the Department of Justice. It honors the memory of a pioneering public servant who served as Bureau Director for nearly 48 years.

J. Edgar Hoover served under eight Presidents—Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lydon B. Johnson, and Richard Nixon. All had high praise for this man and his professional achievements—praise which I am pleased to join in here on this auspicious occasion.

In presenting the Medal of Merit to the FBI Director for his wartime services, President Truman commended him for his able leadership, which made the Bureau, in Mr. Truman's words, "a powerful instrument of law enforcement in both war and peace."

President Eisenhower awarded Mr. Hoover the National Security Medal, which carried a citation praising the Director in these terms: "He has established the highest ideals of Federal law enforcement and directed them to realization."

J. Edgar Hoover earned such praise and such admiration from eight Presidents because, under his direction, the FBI became the superior professional organization it is today—and will continue to be under the able leadership of Clarence Kelley—with the very best scientific crime detection facilities to serve the Federal Government and the American people.

But it is more than leadership and technology that makes the FBI so successful. It is the spirit of the men and women who work for this unique American institution—the special agents, legendary symbols of American justice for decades—the thousands upon thousands of professionals who back them up and, I add hurriedly, their understanding families. Although history records the names of very few, it is the excellence of the many who make up the success story of the FBI.

In my 25 years in the Congress and subsequently as Vice President and as President, I have had the personal opportunity to work intimately with many of you here today, and as a result, I developed a great admiration for your professional competence and your tireless dedication. These are the characteristics of the entire FBI team.

The Bureau is a success story because of the strength and spirit which you bring it. Your dedication, your discipline, your courage are all ingredients all Americans admire and respect. Your fellow citizens are proud of the FBI, and we who are honored to serve with you in Government appreciate your efforts.

In dedicating this new FBI headquarters, I call for a renewed commitment to the rule of law in America and to the legal system that perpetuates freedom and justice. For without law, we have neither freedom nor justice.



With Mrs. Ford on the South Grounds of the White House.



*Above:* Following his arrival in Warsaw, Poland, on July 28, 1975.



*Above:* Luncheon meeting with British, French, and West German leaders at the British Embassy in Helsinki, Finland, on July 31, 1975.



*Above:* Question-and-answer session with reporters on board Air Force One en route to Romania, August 2, 1975.



*Above:* Departing from Bucharest, Romania, August 3, 1975.



*Above:* Briefing in the Cabinet Room for the bipartisan Congressional leadership on the Egypt-Israel agreement, September 4, 1975.



*Right:* Oval Office news conference, September 16, 1975.



*Above:* In the Oval Office with Liberty.

*Below:* Touring the livestock exhibits at the Oklahoma State Fair in Oklahoma City, September 19, 1975.





*Above:* Following arrival ceremonies at the White House for the Emperor and Empress of Japan, October 2, 1975.





*Above:* With West German and French leaders at the Economic Summit Meeting at Rambouillet, France, on November 16, 1975.



*Above:* Conversing with British Prime Minister Harold Wilson at the Economic Summit Meeting, November 17, 1975.



*Above:* At the banquet honoring Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping in Peking, December 4, 1975.



*Above:* Meeting with economic advisers in the President's private office at the White House, December 31, 1975.

Just before he died, J. Edgar Hoover had these prophetic words to say about the rule of law in America, and I quote: "The tests of time and challenge in our Nation's history have more than proven the majesty of the law."

Mr. Hoover was so right. The continued dedication of the men and women of the FBI to the preservation of the rule of law and the protection of citizens' rights will be a monument even more enduring than this imposing building.

In a very real sense, we are gathered here to dedicate not merely a structure of concrete and steel but to rededicate ourselves to the principles of equal justice and liberty under law, which must motivate all the actions of the Federal Government.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:18 a.m. in the courtyard of the building.

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**Letter to Congressional Leaders Urging Approval of United States Participation in the Early Warning System in the Sinai Peninsula. *September 30, 1975***

[Dated September 29, 1975. Released September 30, 1975]

I AM writing to emphasize the importance of a Congressional decision in the coming week on U.S. participation in the Early Warning System which is an integral part of the Agreement signed between the Governments of Egypt and Israel on September 4 in Geneva.

Over the past two years, our Government has played an essential role in helping defuse the tensions in the Middle East. We have chosen this course because we recognized, as has every American Administration over the past 30 years, that the issues involved in that troubled area are central to the American national interest.

The September 4 agreement, like the two preceding disengagement agreements, was negotiated with the assistance of the United States. The parties themselves have described it as a significant step towards peace in the Middle East. It will reduce the risks of war, create new opportunities for negotiating peace, and help provide a stable environment in which global economic dislocations can be avoided. This Agreement is in the overall national interest of the United States.

There would have been no Agreement without provision for American par-

ticipation in the Early Warning System. That System is designed to reduce the danger of surprise attack, and the parties to the Agreement were able to agree to entrust the System only to the United States. The special American role was the only one in which both sides had adequate confidence.

I want to be certain that the leaders of the Congress fully understand the consequences of further delay in acting on this important matter.

The first step in the implementation of the basic Agreement under the timetable negotiated and agreed to by Egypt and Israel in Geneva on September 22 is scheduled to be taken October 5. This process will not begin, however, until the Congress has acted on the proposed United States role in the Early Warning System. Delay in Congressional action will, therefore, delay implementation of the basic Agreement. It will risk causing the lengthy and difficult negotiations on the entire five-month implementing timetable to be reopened. It will prevent a lessening of the risks of war. If for any reason the agreement should fail, the responsibility would be heavy indeed.

The issue before the Congress now is whether the Congress will approve acceptance by the United States of the role that has been proposed for it. There are other issues which the Congress must eventually consider in connection with our continuing relations, policies, and programs in the Middle East—particularly our programs of military and economic assistance there. The Congress will want to consider those carefully at the appropriate time, but they are not integral to the implementation of the Agreement between Egypt and Israel. Voting in favor of the U.S. role in the Early Warning System will not commit anyone to take a position one way or another on these issues.

In summary, I met with the leadership three weeks ago to describe what was involved in the new Agreement between Egypt and Israel and to request urgent approval of U.S. participation in its implementation. This question has been under intensive discussion in the Congress for nearly three weeks. All relevant papers and all U.S. commitments related to the Agreement have been submitted to the appropriate committees of the Congress. If action is not completed in the coming week, the United States will be in the position of holding up implementation of an Agreement which two key Middle Eastern countries have signed as a significant step towards peace. The Middle East is an area where American policy has long had broad bipartisan support. The issue presently before the Congress offers an opportunity to reaffirm that tradition and to demonstrate how the Executive and Legislative branches can work together on a foreign policy matter of high importance to the national interest and for the

benefit of world peace. I, therefore, urge strongly that action be completed as early as possible and no later than Friday, October 3.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters sent to Speaker of the House Carl Albert, House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott,

and the chairmen and ranking Republican members of the House International Relations Committee and Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

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**Remarks in Chicago at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner.  
September 30, 1975**

*My former colleagues in the Congress—Chuck Percy, Bob Michel, John Anderson, Robert McClory, George O'Brien—Bill Scott, your fine State official, Don Adams, Jerry Millbank, from the National Finance Committee; Harold Smith, my good friends, Les Arends and Marguerite Church, and of course, my good friend and great helpmate, Dick Ogilvie, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

This has turned out to be a rather unusual evening for me tonight. One of your newspapers suggested very strongly that I not come to Chicago, and Mayor Daley suggested very strongly that I do come to Chicago. I hope you good Republicans don't mind if on this occasion I come down on the side of Mayor Daley. [*Laughter*]

In the short time that I have been here this evening, I can assure you from the very bottom of my heart that I am especially pleased to be in Illinois when the outlook for the Republican Party in Illinois is so very bright.

I have had the opportunity of meeting and talking with many, many of those who are becoming or hope to become a part of your State ticket, and obviously it is going to be a very strong State ticket in 1976. You have excellent candidates for local and State offices, and I certainly get the impression that we will have some good, strong, new candidates for the Congress.

But what pleases me the most is the fact that I find a tremendous enthusiasm among your State leaders. And so I come to this great State with a new sense that in the heartland of the Middle West—literally the heartland of our country—in Illinois we have good reason to be enthusiastic, and I urge you to multiply your efforts between now and November 2, 1976.

Let us remember just this: As Republicans we have one powerful resource which our Democratic friends lack. The majority of Americans—Republicans, Independents, and discerning Democrats—believe in the same basic principles that we do, and therefore, I think we can go on a tremendous sales campaign between now and 13 months from now.

And the net result will be success for these kinds of principles. These individuals who cut across the political spectrum want fiscal sanity restored to our National Government. They want the free enterprise system freed from the shackles of overregulation. We all know it is overregulated.

This tremendous part of the political spectrum want a strong national defense which they know is the best assurance of peace in the months and years ahead. And then they want local people to handle local problems, because those people know the solutions as well as the problems the best.

But almost more important than anything—fiscal sanity, strong national defense, the free enterprise system, local control—literally millions and millions of Americans want to preserve and want to expand the dignity and the freedom of the individual that is basic to the progress and the liberty that we so cherish in America.

You know, the French have a saying that the more things change the more they are the same. The platform adopted by the Republican National Convention in 1860, held right here in Chicago, attacked in these words, and I quote: “the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government.”

It commended at this great convention the private enterprise system, advocated local control over local affairs, and stressed individual freedom as basic to the preservation of our republican institutions.

And I stand here tonight proud to advocate these principles on which Abraham Lincoln campaigned in 1860. And I invite everybody in 1975 and 1976 who believes in them to join us in the Republican Party and to fight for them in the months ahead.

This is one of the most important off-year political eras in the history of the Republican Party. This is the year we must organize to elect Republicans at every level—Federal, State, and local—next year. And I, having gone through 13 political campaigns in my State, know that party organizations will play a very vital role in Illinois, in Michigan, and 48 other States.

Through such projects as Task Force 1975–1976, which was headed by Bill Duvall, inspired by Chuck Percy, you are laying the foundation for the victories of 1976, victories which will mean so much to so many after that historic elec-

tion. Successful registration drives this fall in every section of this State and across the country are absolutely essential.

I know it is hard work. I know it is drudgery. I know it seems not very exciting. But we must find party workers from new elements in our society. We must identify our strengths, our weaknesses, and be frank where we must improve. We must fine tune our party's organizations for the campaign ahead. We must demonstrate that our party is determined to select and elect the best possible candidates at the local, the State, and the national level.

And we must be cognizant that no candidate who can be a part of the implementation of the philosophy in which we believe can be successful over the years and even in this next election if we don't have a responsible, effective party organization.

Not many people realize that in 1976 we are going to be operating under a new Federal campaign law which just by the language and its interpretation we will require a stronger working relationship between party organization and candidates. The ability of Republicans to win elections at every level will depend on the success of our registration drive and our determination to literally go from door to door asking people who may not have voted before, who may have voted differently, who may be disgruntled, who may be unhappy, to join us in what I honestly think could be a great crusade for the next 13 months.

We have to find a party organization—and you obviously have it in Illinois—and we must depend upon good financing. And this dinner tonight is the best example of that kind of participation. Whether it is in the organization or in the funding, our results will depend upon what you can do and have done and will do.

Since taking office as President some 13 months ago, I have gone to 38 States to let people know what this Administration is trying to do in Washington and, more importantly, to learn what our fellow Americans want us to do. This includes the broadest possible spectrum. Before the end of the year, I hope and expect to visit the remainder of our States.

Now, obviously I can't discuss in the time allotted all of the issues and all of the problems that I hear from people as I travel. I can't try to analyze and give you what we think are the right answers to the problems, both at home and abroad.

So, if I might, let me concentrate on several that are very pertinent, are very important to us right now. It has some significance here in the great State of Illinois.

I speak at this point concerning agriculture, farm prices. We recognize that agriculture is a great industry. It participates very significantly in making our economy strong or weak. Of course, we feel a great debt of gratitude in this country to the 6 percent of our people who produce so much food and so much fiber for all of us and literally millions around the world.

Last year, just about this time, the American farmers responded to my call for full production, literally from one fence to another, and every plot of ground that they could find—full production.

This year, they have harvested a record wheat crop, and they expect a record corn crop by the end of the harvest year.

Obviously, American farmers want—and they have every good reason to expect—to sell all they produce, either at home or abroad. And I intend to see to it that they do—in a free market and at fair prices.

Profitable and steady grain trading relations have been built with buyers in Europe, Japan, and elsewhere, and we can count in advance on regular and significant purchases by those foreign customers.

But there is a new element. With the Soviet Union a relatively new customer, we do not yet—and I underline “yet”—have that assurance. Soviet grain purchases have fluctuated greatly in the last 5 years. And let me illustrate the peaks and valleys that we have had in this relationship.

In 1971–72, the Russians bought 182 million bushels of grain from the United States. In 1972 and '73, the figure soared to 524 million bushels. In 1973–74, it dropped to 252 million bushels, and then fell sharply, precipitously to 74 million bushels in 1974 and '75. During this crop year, the Russians have already bought 399 million bushels and are anxious to buy much more.

Now, these wide fluctuations disrupt our markets and make it much more difficult for our farmers to plan properly. Furthermore, these peaks and valleys, these wide fluctuations, have an undesirable impact on our overall economy.

Now, to achieve a better result for the farmer, the consumer, yes, our economy as a whole, I am giving, personally, priority attention to an agreement with the Soviet Union that will put agricultural trade on a far more certain and a far more predictable basis—an agreement along the lines of the one which we are now concluding with Poland to assure grain sales over the next 5 years at levels considerably higher than in the past and with far less deviations and fluctuations.

I am confident that in a relatively short period of time we will reach an agreement with the Soviet Union to facilitate the sale of this year's bumper crop with firm assurances of similar sales of considerable magnitude in future years.



This, in my judgment, will meet all of our needs at home and keep food prices at a fair and reasonable level, but more importantly, it will give to us as a nation the opportunity to use our great resource—agriculture—for humanitarian purposes, for other national interests.

It is something that can be used effectively and beneficially for all of us, and for that we should thank every farmer who has produced and produced and produced.

Let me speak for a moment, if I might, about the status of our economy. Tonight, I can tell you this with firm conviction, without any hesitancy or reservation: The recession that we have gone through—and it has been tough—unemployment much too high, inflation much too great—this trend that started in the late fall of 1974 and was accentuated by serious problems in the early spring of 1975, this trend has been reversed. Virtually every indicator that is valid and reliable, significant, gives us the encouraging news. We are getting some good news also from the supermarkets and even our retail stores throughout the country.

Let me take you back, if I might, just a moment, to a year ago, September 1974. The cost of living at that time was rising at an annual rate—almost unbelievable—of 15 percent. For all of last year, 1974, the rate rose by more than 12 percent. Yet the figures just in for August, just a week or so ago, show the cost of living rose only two-tenths of 1 percent by any standard and, particularly compared to 1974, that is encouraging news.

But let me assure you, this bit of information doesn't mean that the battle against inflation has been won—far, far from it. We must continue to apply restraint, particularly on inflationary spending by the Democratic controlled Congress. With the Republicans in the Congress outnumbered better than 2 to 1, my Presidential veto is often the only weapon available to defend fiscal responsibility against the assaults of the big spenders. And if I might interject a personal note of appreciation, I had the privilege of serving in the Congress with the Members of the House and Senate who are here. It was a great experience. I loved every minute of it, primarily because I enjoyed the association with the people who are here representing you from Illinois.

You in this great State have one of the most outstanding delegations of any State in the Union. They were strong in their support for me when I was privileged to be the minority leader, and believe me, they have been staunch and steadfast and discerning and articulate since I have been President.

And I can't thank them enough on your behalf, on behalf of our fellow Americans. But I want to express to them my deep gratitude for their great

cooperation and the wonderful job they are doing. I thank you all very, very much.

I would be remiss if I didn't express the same feelings, even though they are not there, for Marguerite Church and Les Arends. I indicated just a moment ago that these were the kinds of people who were the bulwark against the inflationary policies of big spending in the House as well as in the Senate, controlled, as I indicated, by better than 2 to 1 by the opposition. Under these circumstances, the veto must be used, will be used, and ought to be used to maintain America's Federal fiscal integrity.

Let me emphasize this, if I might. The exercise of a Presidential veto is a positive action, as the framers of our Constitution intended it to be. For one thing, the legislation I vetoed so far will save the taxpayers between now and the end of calendar 1976 more than \$6 billion. I happen to think that is a fairly positive result.

Furthermore, when these vetoes were sustained—and most of them were—the Democratic majority was forced to come back with reasonable legislation which Republicans in good conscience could support in the House as well as in the Senate.

And that is positive action, because you start with a bill that calls for too much spending and it is vetoed and the veto is sustained, and then, after the Congress has had a little time to reconsider, it decides that a more reasonable figure makes far more sense.

For whether it is in some other legislative area, our forefathers, when they drafted the Constitution, decided that a President ought to have the power under the Constitution to make the Congress take a little more time to think. And the net result this year has been constructive and positive.

Now, let me say this: The utilization of the veto is not a long-term answer. The long-term answer is for Republicans in Illinois and in every State to elect more Republicans to the House as well as to the Senate. I would rather be in the position of advocating affirmative legislation to help us deregulate business and individuals, to get the Federal Government off your back. And the only way you are going to get that is a Republican Congress.

I don't have to repeat the admonition and the urging that I gave you earlier, that we need more locally elected, sound, responsible Republican officials, or statewide, or federally. You can do it by hard work, by organization, by concentrating our resources in defeating those Democrats whose philosophical views are totally contrary.

I think we should emphasize our differences with the opposition rather than discrediting other Republicans. Let's start winning elections rather than winning arguments.

You know, I have read a lot of columns and articles lately about the future of the Republican Party, and many of them, you might say, gleefully pessimistic. They cite the dwindling percentages of voters registered by both major parties and the increasing number of Americans who prefer to call themselves Independents. They conclude that the two-party system is just about dead. And I don't believe that. I think it has worked so well in America. We darn well better preserve it for the good of the country.

For my part, I believe our Republican Party will bounce back dramatically in '76 as we did in 1966. And some of the Members here, or former Members, know how tough it was January of '65, how, by hard work, organization, good financing, we came back and made tremendous gains in the House as well as the Senate 2 years later. I say this not because we possess any monopoly of political wisdom and virtue, but because we are moving to meet the deeply held desires of the American people.

For fiscal responsibility in government, for firm but restrained leadership in foreign policy, for domestic tranquillity at home, for freedom in personal decisionmaking, for practical commonsense solutions to long-range problems facing us across the spectrum, the American people are not only good people, the American people are very smart people.

Neither the Republican Party nor any other party can repeatedly sell them a bad bill of goods. They won't buy it. They may be fooled once, but they will learn. If they get the simple truth and the plain facts, they will make the right decisions.

I think we can say that regardless of where we go in the city of Chicago, or in the suburbs, or in downstate Illinois, or in my State of Michigan, in Detroit or the Upper Peninsula, or elsewhere, the American people won't buy political doubletalk forever.

Now, I have been traveling around this great country trying to talk straight to the American people. I have also done a great deal of listening. If I were an orator, perhaps I could say more eloquently what I foresee for America. If I were a poet, perhaps I could sum up more movingly what I hear. Being what I am, I can only say that two-way communication with my friends and fellow Americans is, for me, an essential part of doing my job properly.

I intend to keep my communications open, not in any foolhardy spirit, but by every prudent and practical means. I have complete faith in the good will

and good sense of America and in the ability of our competitive political system to produce responsive and responsible leadership for our country's future.

That future will be far brighter than our past if we all pitch in and if we all work at it. I know that Illinois, with your leadership, will set the pace.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:20 p.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to William J. Scott, State attorney general, Don W. Adams, Illinois State Republican chairman, Harold B. Smith, Jr., Illinois State Republican finance

chairman, Leslie C. Arends and Marguerite S. Church, former Representatives from Illinois, and Richard B. Ogilvie, Governor of Illinois 1969-73 and chairman of the Illinois President Ford Committee.

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### Remarks on Arrival at Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska.

*October 1, 1975*

*General Dougherty and all of the wonderful military and civilian personnel here at Offutt:*

First, let me thank you all for coming out and giving me such a warm and wonderful welcome. For that, I thank you very, very much. It has been my good fortune to come to Offutt on a number of occasions in the past, and I am delighted, of course, to be here on this occasion today.

But the more important thing, as far as I am concerned, is that I and 214 million other Americans appreciate and recognize the important function, the great responsibility that all of you have as a part of our Strategic Air Command. We are deeply grateful for the alert professionalism that SAC performs, and of course, your headquarters here is the heart of this great organization.

I commend you and compliment you for this superb work that you do to ensure the peace and maintain our national security.

Of course, it is good to be in Nebraska. This is where I was born. So, I have a special affinity and a very personal relationship with Nebraska. Nebraska is the heartland of our country, just as SAC is the heart of our strategic defense.

So, it is nice to be with all of you. I wish I could shake hands with each and every one of you and give to you individually my best wishes for a good day and a very happy life.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:32 p.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to Gen. Russell Dougherty, Commander in Chief, Strategic Air Command.

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**Interview With Reporters in Omaha.***October 1, 1975*

## FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SALES

REPORTER. [1.] Mr. President, I have been talking with some grain farmers who are very upset because your Administration has urged full production, your Secretary of Agriculture talks about a free market, and yet, when push comes to shove, they feel that their sales are being blocked by the grain embargo.

THE PRESIDENT. We have to look at that problem in the long range and still be very cognizant of the short-term difficulties. What we want are stable, substantial markets abroad. We have one with Japan. We are in the process of negotiating one with Poland. We have others that are in being with European countries.

But the big potential market on a long-range basis for substantial annual sales is with the Soviet Union, and we are very close. I believe that we will end up with at least a 5-year program that will mean firm, sizable sales—5 million tons or more per year—with a possibility of more sales, and all at free market prices in the marketplace in the United States.

Now, the problem in the past has been in the last 5 years. One year we sold to the Soviet Union 74 million bushels of grain. Another year we sold 550 million bushels. This year, so far, we have sold 320 million bushels.

Well, these wide fluctuations, peaks and valleys, they aren't good for the farmer; they aren't good for the country. So, we are trying to stabilize a huge market on a firm basis over a period of time. And if my good farmer friends will just be a little patient, I think we will do something they will be very happy with.

## TAX REDUCTION

[2.] Q. Mr. President, John Dunlop says that he now favors extending the tax cut. What will you recommend, and are you prepared to at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. We are in the process right now of finalizing my recommendation in that area. I cannot on this program tell you what the decision is, but we are trying to coordinate a potential tax reduction program with a rigid restriction on expenditures.

I think this combination, if we can come up with the right formula, will give our taxpayers a greater opportunity to spend their own money and will

cut down Federal expenditures so that we will have a better fiscal situation for the Federal Government.

Now, that is one possibility, and hopefully within the next week or so I will be in a position to submit a specific recommendation to the Congress.

Q. Now, to follow up, how does Alan Greenspan feel about that at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I ought to reveal his recommendation to me. Until we finalize this whole package and the timing of it, I don't think I should indicate how any one of my advisers do feel.

John Dunlop, of course, as Secretary of Labor, was in a position to publicly state his view because he is Chairman of our labor-management advisory committee, and that Committee, under his leadership, did recommend that these tax reductions that were put into law earlier this year should be extended. So, that is why he was in a position to indicate his personal view.

#### SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE BUTZ

[3.] Q. Mr. President, on the grain deal, you indicate that if the farmers will be patient, that they will be happy. They have, to a great degree, been patient with Secretary of Agriculture Butz, and they have been calling for him being taken out as Secretary and many times saying he might be, and there has even been talk of former Nebraskan Clayton Yeutter being put into that office. Can you give us any indication of whether there is any offing in the future of replacing the Secretary, and could you also tell us the value of the Secretary in that position?

THE PRESIDENT. First, let me indicate that I selected Clayton Yeutter,<sup>1</sup> who I think is an outstanding individual, to be one of our top people in our foreign trade negotiations. I think that is an indication of my great feeling for Clayton Yeutter.

I happen to believe that Earl Butz has done an excellent job of defending the interests of agriculture across the board. He has been a great exponent of the free marketplace. He has fought Government restrictions so that farmers can run their farms as they see fit.

I think Earl Butz has done a fine job, and I asked him to stay and he has agreed to stay until the end of this term. I think most farmers support him. I fully back him.

#### CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[4.] Q. Mr. President, recent disclosures about the Central Intelligence Agency seemed to have weakened our entire intelligence-gathering and inter-

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<sup>1</sup> President of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

preting apparatus and as a result also weakened our defense posture. If this is true, what is being done to shore up our intelligence and our defense?

THE PRESIDENT. I am disturbed about the actions that are being taken by some to expose some of the past operations of the Central Intelligence Agency and our intelligence-gathering capability generally.

On the other hand, I think the Congress has a responsibility in a proper way to investigate the intelligence community of the Federal Government. I have been disappointed in some respects.

On the other hand, you may have heard that this morning I came to an agreement with Chairman Pike on a method by which we can handle declassified material. The vote was 10 to 3 in that committee, which shows that we are working together to handle these delicate matters together, in a proper way.

Now in the meantime, or prior to that, I appointed the Rockefeller Commission that investigated the allegations of improper domestic spying by the Central Intelligence Agency. They made some recommendations to me. The Murphy Commission did the same.

The net result is, sometime in the very near future I will make specific recommendations to improve the internal workings of the Central Intelligence Agency and the other intelligence groups, and they will not only be administrative but legislative proposals.

In that way, I think we can restore confidence in the public for the CIA and at the same time lift the morale of the CIA, which unfortunately has suffered in the last few months.

Under no circumstances—and I want to be very clear on this—will I permit the dismantling or the destruction of an intelligence agency or community, because that does involve our national security.

#### FOOD EXPORTS

[5.] Q. Mr. President, do you believe that the United States should ever consider a position of using food as a weapon or at least as a bargaining agent against oil cartel countries in order to lessen this Nation's dependence on those countries?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't put it that way. I think the great agricultural productivity of this country can be used affirmatively, one, for humanitarian purposes, and if my recollection is accurate, we, over the past 10 years, provided some \$20 billion of P.L. 480 to help many nations in a humane way.

In addition, we can use discretely and properly our surpluses for other reasons—and I don't want to expand "for other reasons"—but it is better to put it

that way than to come out and say, yes, we are going to do it as a hardline bargaining principle. We can use it effectively, and we have and will.

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE BUTZ

[6.] Q. Mr. President, you voiced your support for Secretary Butz and pointed to his support among the farm community. There has been some concern among farm people in connection with that, that the Secretary has not been sufficiently involved in these grain negotiations as compared to State Department people. What input does Secretary Butz have?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a grain subcommittee of the Economic Policy Board, and on at least three occasions where I have attended those meetings, Secretary Butz has been present, and I have had several meetings with him personally.

I can assure you that Secretary Butz is an affirmative spokesman for agriculture in these areas. On the other hand, he does recognize that we have to look at it in the long range, and I am sure that when the results of these negotiations are published, Secretary Butz' part in it will be a big plus for agriculture as well as for the department.

Q. As a follow-up on that, if I may, a large grain exporter in the upper Midwest the other day contended that a mid-October lifting of the moratorium on the grain shipments will come too late, that the Russians will have gone elsewhere. Is this being taken into consideration in your planning?

THE PRESIDENT. It certainly is. We keep a daily check on world grain supplies. And from our point of view, fortunately, we are about the only grain supplier left in the world. And if anybody really wants to buy sizable amounts of grain in the future in 1975, they will have to come to the United States.

ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

[7.] Q. Mr. President, I am told that 100 years ago today President Grant visited Omaha. I don't have a question related to that, but I thought you would like to know that.

THE PRESIDENT. That is interesting. And as you all know, I was born in Omaha—not quite 100 years ago. [*Laughter*]

Q. My question is this: You have adopted Vice President Rockefeller's plan for an energy independence authority, which involves about \$100 billion over a 10-year period. Now, this is a mammoth Federal intervention in the capital marketplace, which is the exact opposite, really, of what you have always said—as a governmental policy, you wanted hands off. Now, does this mean you have



given up on the idea that the oil companies can come up with alternate sources if you decontrol oil prices?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that authority is primarily for the purpose of undertaking the financing of the synthetic fuel programs which are new, where there could be some failure, where there is a certain degree of uncertainty as to whether they will be productive, whether they will be financially responsible. You have to have, in my opinion, this kind of authority to get those synthetic fuel programs underway.

And there are some other areas in addition to synthetic fuels, but it is basically an instrument like the RFC [Reconstruction Finance Corporation] back in the '30s and '40s—for example, the synthetic rubber program which was financed by RFC. This is not an attempt to take over the private financing of ordinary and regular programs and projects, but it does aim at helping us exploit breakthroughs in the scientific world so that synthetic fuels can be more readily made available to the public.

Q. I don't think anybody would disagree with that goal, but my question was more to the point of, won't this really create another huge bureaucracy, whereas your whole thrust has been to shrink the bureaucracy?

THE PRESIDENT. This is an exception. But if you will recall my State of the Union Message, I said I would advocate no new programs except those related to energy. So this falls within that exception.

#### EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT

[8.] Q. Mr. President, you have been urging the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to report out on the Sinai agreements by Friday. What is the rush? Is Sadat beginning to waver?

THE PRESIDENT. The problem there is that the two parties—Israel and Egypt—had agreed by, I think, early next week to sign the necessary documents and start the implementation of the withdrawal and the change of lines and so forth. Israel has said that it won't start the implementation until the Congress approves the utilization of up to 200 American technicians.

So, we want it through by the time of the signing so that Israel and Egypt will both sign. Egypt has already signed, but Israel has this reservation. So, time is of the essence, so we can get both of those parties to move toward the actual implementation.

#### NUCLEAR POWER

[9.] Q. You have said that you would like to see the orderly development of nuclear power, and this would certainly be a help in gaining our independence

as far as energy is concerned. But right now, going toward nuclear power looks anything but orderly. What do you see in the future for getting it straightened out so that we can look at it as a hopeful sign?

THE PRESIDENT. We have had too many plant cancellations of nuclear power in the last 12 months—very few if any for safety reasons, most of them for financing reasons. We expect there will be a resurgence of these projects in the months ahead. In the meantime, of course, we are spending vast amounts of money in the Federal Government to make even more certain the safety of nuclear powerplants.

It is interesting to point out, however, of all of the nuclear powerplants in operation today in the United States, there has never been one fatality—not one. But that doesn't mean we shouldn't continue to find safer and better ways for the development of nuclear power. And I am optimistic as we try to make ourselves less vulnerable to foreign oil cartels, that nuclear powerplants will come on the line in greater numbers.

Q. Kind of scary in that situation. But they are starting to question what the amount of uranium is at this point, while we are talking about millions and millions going into these plants, and then question the shortage already.

THE PRESIDENT. I have recommended to the Congress what we call a uranium enrichment program which will take care of that contingency. That problem will not arise for 4 or 5 years. But we have to get underway with this supplementary program—through either the diffusion process or the centrifuge process—so that we can take care of that difficulty when it arises in 5 years or thereabouts.

#### STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

[10.] Q. Mr. President, your airplane landed today just a short distance from the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command. Fifteen years ago, this country's strategic superiority stood unchallenged in the world. Today, instead of superiority we talk of equivalency. There has been a slide on our side at the same time the U.S.S.R. has become more and more powerful and is continuing to do so. Do you expect to see the trend stopped and perhaps reversed?

THE PRESIDENT. Either through the Vladivostok agreement, where we set the 2,400 limit on launchers and 1,320 limit on MIRVing, either through that process, setting a cap which will provide equivalency, or through us maintaining our program to meet the challenge of the Soviet Union, we will maintain, I can assure you, as far as I am concerned, an adequate equivalency in strategic capability.

I would prefer to do it through a SALT II agreement if we can get one. That is fair to both sides and sets a cap. But if we can't, I can assure you that I will recommend whatever the budget requirements are—adequate fundings for SAC operations and for all other related strategic programs.

#### THE B-1 BOMBER

[11.] Q. Do you believe that the B-1 will continue at full speed in spite of the problems in Congress with the budget?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't guarantee what Congress is going to do. I can only doubly guarantee you what I will do.

We are going to keep the B-1 program going to the maximum capability productionwise, trainingwise, deploymentwise. I get very upset when the Congress slows it down for one reason or another. I think it is wrong. But we are going to keep after them because it is vitally important.

#### WELFARE PROGRAMS

[12.] Q. Mr. President, is your Administration proposing any new means to lessen the welfare redtape and expenditures in this country?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we are, on an almost daily basis, trying to do it in HEW. I have got my Domestic Council now working on a way to try and remedy some of the defects in the food stamp program—and there are many of them, not only cost but bad management.

In the meantime, we hope to—well, we are, we are not hoping—Vice President Rockefeller is going to have a series of meetings around the country where all people, those who want more or those who want less in the field of welfare, can come in and testify and make specific recommendations so we will have the benefit of people at the local level.

But in the meantime, we are working—I mean literally working—to try and improve, cut down the mistakes and the cost of welfare so that we can get more deserved welfare to the people who ought to have it and cut out those that shouldn't qualify.

#### THE MISSING IN ACTION

[13.] Q. It is my understanding, Mr. President, you will be meeting with Mrs. Caroline Stenderwick, a local representative of the MIA organization, before your departure from Omaha. The families of these missing men tell us they are seeking a more aggressive attitude from your Administration, especially from Secretary Kissinger, in determining the fate of their husbands and fathers.

Is there anything especially hopeful you will be able to tell Mrs. Stenderwick when you meet with her today?

THE PRESIDENT. I have met at least once as President and once as Vice President with the representatives of the MIA. In addition, on several occasions, in other communities—Dallas, for example—I have met with either parents or widows of MIA's.

I can assure you that the Defense Department, the State Department, and myself have made every possible effort that we can to get the North Vietnamese to permit us to move in and check on the sites or the locations where we understand there is some possibility a crash might have occurred or a person might have escaped.

But the North Vietnamese have totally violated the January 1973 accords by failing to permit us to carry out these investigations. Now, the House of Representatives has just approved and appointed a committee to investigate the whole subject. We will give that committee, under Congressman Montgomery of Mississippi, our full cooperation, lay out in detail what we have done and what the problem is which, in this case, is North Vietnam. I can assure her, as I am saying here, that we have made and will continue to make a maximum effort in this regard.

#### ENERGY

[14.] Q. I was going to ask a very light question, Mr. President, but now I am afraid to after that heavy answer. Some people feel that there is a lack of leadership or perhaps I should say a lack of inspirational leadership from the top in the energy crisis situation, and I will tell you what I mean by that.

All of the accent seems to be put on how can we become independent of foreign sources—and obviously we have to do that—but shouldn't more emphasis really be put on conserving, because this is probably only the forerunner of a number of world shortages and we don't have any feeling of crisis about it. Now, do you really think, for instance, this country should continue to use 30 to 35 percent of the world's energy?

THE PRESIDENT. We have always said the answer to the energy problem for the United States is, one, stimulation of new sources and conservation of the energy we have. Every document I have ever sent to the Congress, every statement I have ever made, emphasizes both new sources of energy and conservation of those that we have.

In my energy program that I submitted in January of this year, we put a considerable amount of emphasis on conservation. The United States has

squandered energy; we squander energy today. And we have to convince people they should drive less, they should use less energy in their homes, not quite as cool in the summer or hot in the winter.

We have urged the automotive industry to build automobiles that have a higher degree of efficiency. And I am glad to report—you may have seen—the new models, I think, increase the energy use or they will cut back on gasoline to an average of 13 percent. This is a response which is good.

I couldn't agree with you more, but you know it takes a crisis sometimes to get people to do what they should.

Q. But we are really in a crisis, are we not?

THE PRESIDENT. We certainly are.

Q. Then what I was trying to find out is, don't you really think a direct appeal to the people—I think people would sacrifice; I really do.

THE PRESIDENT. We have tried it. We have made some headway, obviously, because the use of energy is down, whether it is gasoline, whether it is heating oil, whether it is any of the other sources of energy.

But it is not enough, and I continue to urge it, and of course, the increase of price by the OPEC nations ought to make people more conscious of our vulnerability and make Congress more responsive to passing a better—or any—legislation.

#### CANDIDACY IN 1976

[15.] Q. Mr. President, in the wake of the recent attacks on your life—in some cases maybe an alleged attack on your life—has it caused you to take second thoughts or your family ask you to take second thoughts about running for reelection, and are there any conditions under which you would not seek reelection next year?

THE PRESIDENT. I can foresee no circumstances that would preclude me from seeking election in 1976. My family fully supports my candidacy. They are enthusiastic about it. My wife thinks I ought to be a little more careful and cautious as I travel around the country, and she isn't the only one, obviously.

But we are using, I think, greater discretion and prudence, and on the other hand, for me to sit in Washington and just go through papers, making decisions when I can do that, and at the same time come to Omaha or to Chicago or other places, I think it is important.

The American people ought to have an opportunity to see firsthand or to listen more directly with their President, and we aren't going to let unusual circumstances deter us from a responsible effort to travel in this country.

## CRIME

[16.] Q. Many Presidents lately have made declarations concerning crime and the problems of crime and that something has to be done about it. Certainly, this is an area you must have given a lot of thought to lately. If you could point out the biggest need you think needs to change today to help stop the pattern that crime has taken in the Nation, what would it be?

THE PRESIDENT. I set that forth in a crime message to the Congress where I said, "Our concern today ought to be for the victims of crime." The crime message that I sent to the Congress calls for mandatory sentences for those that participate in a crime of violence using a gun, and we have urged the courts to increase their confinement of convicted criminals.

Too many criminals today, after they have been convicted, are put off on probation. There ought to be a penalty for the committing of a crime, and that means confinement. Whether it is 6 months or some other term, I believe mandatory sentences are required in certain crimes.

I believe the courts have to be firmer, and I think they—you know, it is unbelievable, but a very, very high percentage of crime today is done by a very limited number of people, professional criminals, and they ought to be behind the bars.

## THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET

[17.] Q. Mr. President, there has been—from time to time there have been reports of controversy between Dr. Schlesinger and Dr. Kissinger, the latest being the question of the Pershing missile for Israel. Is there indeed disharmony in your Cabinet in that regard, and if so, what are you doing about it?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think there is any disharmony. On some occasions two very able people have some disagreements, but there is nothing that has seriously jeopardized the execution of our foreign policy or the carrying out of our national security program.

In the case of the Pershing missile, the shopping list that was given to us by Israel was known to the Pentagon. There is no question about that. Whether Secretary Schlesinger saw it or not I can't guarantee it, but the Pentagon had that shopping list, no question about it.

But that was only a minor incident, really. I have two fine Secretaries, and if there are any differences, I make the choice. And sometimes it is healthy to have a different viewpoint as long as somebody can make a decision.

Q. On that note, we say thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. It was a pleasure, and I appreciate it.

Q. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The interview, which was taped for broadcast that evening, began at 2 p.m. in the Wyoming Room at the Omaha Hilton Hotel. Participants included Terry Forsberg of KMTV, Steve Murphy of

WOW-TV, Joel Fowler of Nebraska ETV, Mary Jane O'Dell of Iowa PBS, Sam Stewart of KETV, and Howard Silber of the Omaha World Herald.

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## Veto of a Bill To Increase Price Support Levels for Tobacco.

October 1, 1975

[Dated September 30, 1975. Released October 1, 1975]

### *To the House of Representatives:*

I return herewith, without my approval, H.R. 9497, an Act "To amend the computation of the level of price support for tobacco."

Although I am concerned about the hardships that many U.S. tobacco growers have encountered this year due to adverse weather conditions and lower-than-expected export markets, the long-range interests of the grower will be best served by a vigorous domestic tobacco industry which can compete successfully in international markets. H.R. 9497 would be an obstacle in achieving this goal. In the face of slackening world demand for United States tobacco, higher prices would make our product less competitive, thus endangering the \$1 billion net trade surplus we now enjoy in this commodity.

At a time when we are attempting to reduce the inflationary pressures in the economy by holding down the size of federal deficits, H.R. 9497 would increase budget outlays during this fiscal year and the transition period by an estimated \$157 million.

In summary, I believe this bill would adversely affect our tobacco exports, lower farm income in the long run and increase federal spending at a critical time in our economic recovery.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,

September 30, 1975.

NOTE: The House of Representatives reconsidered H.R. 9497 on October 1, 1975, and the bill was referred to committee.

The text of the veto message was released at Omaha, Nebr.

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**Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Omaha.***October 1, 1975*

*Governor Exon, Senator Curtis, Senator Hruska, Mr. Kenefick, my old friend President Woody Varner, members of the Cabinet, your good mayor, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a great privilege and a very high honor and a particular thrill to come back to the town where you were born and meet with such friendly and a warm reception from all of you.

Although I do have to admit I couldn't help but notice that ad in this morning's World Herald, the one that offered to trade eight tickets to this White House Conference for standing room at the Nebraska-Miami game tomorrow. [Laughter] If I had the time, I think I would make the switch myself. [Laughter]

I am here today to listen and to learn. As a native of Omaha, it is good to be back. Although I left when I was extremely young—I don't really remember much about it—it is a privilege to be in Omaha. And I like what I see in 1975.

**ECONOMIC AND ENERGY PROGRAMS**

[1.] I am particularly pleased to be in the heartland of the United States. And in this heartland of the United States, the American farmer has produced a miracle of abundance which is the envy of the rest of the world.

Think of it. Less than 5 percent of our country's population feeds the remaining 95 percent, with enough left over to significantly supplement the food needs of much of the rest of the world—the free world and that behind the Iron Curtain.

Last year alone, the United States exported, as many of you know, nearly \$22 billion worth of various agricultural commodities. Without these exports, our country would have had a huge balance-of-payments deficit, our dollar would have been weakened abroad, and we would be paying far higher prices for all the imports that we get from many, many countries.

The American farmer not only raises crops but the facts are he raises the overall standard of living of all Americans—214 million of us.

Yet, the American farmer has too often been made the scapegoat of many of



our economic problems. The price of meat goes up, blame the farmer. The price of milk goes up, blame the farmer. Well, you and I know the farmer is not to blame for the high prices that we have today.

Fortunately, we are making some substantial progress in the battle against inflation. The latest figure shows that the cost of living rose only two-tenths of 1 percent, the smallest monthly increase in more than 3 years. Contrary to the fingerpointing at our farmers, food prices held relatively stable. The small rise was accounted for by other commodities and other services.

But let me emphasize this, if I might: The good news of 1 month does not mean that the battle against inflation has been won. It does mean we can and, more importantly, we will win this fight against inflation if we keep the pressure on.

Let me assure you the victory will not be achieved at the expense of America's farmers. Nor will farmers suffer on the international grain market from actions of my Administration.

I know there has been some criticism by some for a temporary halt in grain sales to the Soviet Union. If I might, I would like to bring you up to date.

Last year, in a visit to Lincoln, Nebraska, I urged farmers of this State, as well as farmers throughout the country, to plant full crops. I advocated a policy of agricultural production across the board, full production for the entire Nation. I am here to tell you that your crops will be sold—and at fair market prices. But just as important, we must get the farmer off that roller coaster of up-and-down purchases which has been the Russian pattern for the last 5 years.

The United States enjoys fruitful and relatively predictable grain-trading relations with Japan and many European countries. Farmers under those arrangements know approximately how much will be sold and can plan for it. Stable trade helps the farmer as well as the consumer. That is precisely why we are in the process of negotiating a long-term agreement involving agriculture with the Soviet Union, an agreement along the lines we are now concluding with Poland. We must and we will bring stability, predictability to the planning process of the American farmer.

Let me illustrate: Soviet grain purchases from the United States have fluctuated considerably in the last 5 years from a low of about 74 million bushels in one crop season to a high of 524 million bushels in another.

So far this season, the Soviet Union has purchased 399 million bushels. And I can say to you that Russian sales will be increased beyond that figure, and I think it will be a good figure.

Under the agreement that we seek, fixed minimum grain purchases each season by the Soviets will be established for a 5-year period at the going market price. More importantly, these agreements will be in the long-term best interest of the farmer as well as the consumer. Having said that, let me turn to another subject.

I am determined that our energy crisis in America will be solved in the long-term best interests of the farmer and of all Americans. The damaging effect of continued delay in achieving energy independence were dramatically headlined just the other day when OPEC oil-producing cartel nations raised oil prices by 10 percent. The arbitrary and excessive OPEC price increases of 1973 and 1974 seriously depressed economic productivity and accelerated inflation, not only here in the United States but throughout the world, in industrial nations as well as underdeveloped nations. The latest prices, the price increases announced over the last several days, will worsen inflation and hinder economic recovery on a worldwide basis.

There is absolutely no economic justification for this latest price increase. It proves beyond any doubt whatsoever that we as a nation must move quickly and we must chart our own energy program. And there has been too much delay already.

Time after time, starting last January 14, I warned Members of Congress that the United States was becoming more and more and more vulnerable to the price increases imposed by other nations. I have appealed to the Congress to approve my program or come up with its own program, to free America from dependence on foreign oil suppliers.

I offered to compromise again and again and again. Two days ago I agreed once more to such a compromise, to the decontrol of domestic oil prices, by signing a bill extending for another 47 days, to November 15, the control of domestic oil prices. And in that period of time, Congress can either arrive at either a sound and mutually acceptable plan for phased decontrol or, as an alternative, pass emergency legislation that I have recommended to cushion the immediate impact of decontrol on certain of our domestic aspects of the economy.

If they won't pass a phased decontrol program that is acceptable, then I propose that they move with speed as follows: I propose to assure adequate propane gas for the millions of farmers and others living in rural areas and in mobile homes; I propose to protect heating oil and independent retail gasoline dealers from arbitrary curtailment and cutoff from suppliers; I propose to assure independent refiners of adequate crude oil supplies at reasonable prices; and I propose to

protect the purchasing power of consumers through a consumer refund provision in a windfall profits tax on oil companies.

That claim by some procrastinating Members of Congress that they are trying to hold down consumer prices, in my judgment, is just plain nonsense. Obviously, the Congress cannot hold oil prices established by OPEC down. That is beyond their control. Those prices are going up, and they produce or sell to us approximately 40 percent of our oil consumed in the United States.

As I see it, the Congress is merely postponing very hard and unpleasant choices that must be made and is attempting to blame high fuel prices on everybody but themselves. This is almost unbelievable. Since controls on domestic oil went into effect in 1971, our bill for imported oil has increased more than 700 percent. Yet a majority in the Congress does nothing to reverse our growing oil dependency and increasing vulnerability to the whims of foreign oil producers.

The American people should recognize—if the Congress will not—that the real issue over price controls on oil is not between cheap energy and expensive energy. There is no cheap energy anymore.

The real issue is twofold: first, whether we will achieve energy independence to provide us in the long run as a nation with the lowest possible competitive-priced energy; and second, whether we will keep America's wealth in America or send it overseas in ever-increasing amounts.

In 1971 the United States paid out roughly \$3 billion to foreign oil producers. In 1974, just 3 years later, this figure jumped to \$25 billion—about \$360 for every single American family. This could top \$32 billion within the next 2 years if the Congress does not act. And it is estimated that the 10-percent increase that was announced a few days ago will add approximately \$2 billion to the present outflow of American dollars to foreign oil producers.

Now, if this money was spent at home in the United States, this \$25 billion would employ roughly 1 million American workers. It would obviously speed our economic growth. These are American jobs and American salaries that I am talking about. But that is what American energy independence will achieve for this country. Letting the OPEC oil cartel dictate America's economic growth is absurd. When the price of gasoline goes up at the pump, I want the American people to know exactly where the blame lies. Until the Congress acts, there is nothing this country can do about arbitrary OPEC oil price increases, and there may still be another increase in 6 months or thereabouts.

So far, I have met with literally thousands of Americans at the various Presidential town meetings, meetings which have been characterized as functions to listen and to learn. They have been invaluable to me and to my asso-

ciates. During today's meetings you have covered a lot of issues in the good spirit of give-and-take and you have heard from a number of members of my Administration.

It is now my privilege to listen to you and seek to respond to your inquiries. And I understand the first question is to be asked by Mr. Kenefick.

## QUESTIONS

### REGULATORY REFORM

[2.] Q. Mr. President, I am John Kenefick, representing the Omaha Chamber of Commerce. On a number of occasions you have indicated a desire to reduce the degree of government involvement in the affairs of business, particularly small business. In light of the tendency of government bureaucracy to perpetuate and enlarge itself, what concrete steps can be taken to accomplish this regimen?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Kenefick, a number of things can be done. Every department and agency of the Federal Government can survey its requirements that are imposed on business, on individuals, and seek to eliminate the multitude of forms that require everybody in one form or another to fill out, and this goes to the people who have to fill out forms when they apply for welfare, to somebody who has to fill out a form for a direct Government loan.

The head of the Office of Management and Budget estimated there are roughly 5,200 such applications or forms now required by various agencies. I told Jim Lynn that he has got to cut that down, and 12 months from now I want a report showing at least 3 to 400 less of those.

Now, there are some other requirements. Various independent agencies—the FCC, the CAB, the ICC, the Federal Trade Commission—they also are on the backs of individuals and businesses. We have sought to work with them in conjunction with the Congress to get them to eliminate some of their outmoded, outdated regulatory requirements. I must admit, it is harder to achieve than what it appears to be.

But let me give you an illustration of how ridiculous Government regulations can become. I understand there is an individual who owns one of these large retail marketing places. He was told by one Federal agency that he had to smooth out the surface that people walked on. The next agency came along—in this case, an occupational safety and health organization—and said he had to make the surfaces rougher so people wouldn't slip.

Now, it is just ridiculous to have two agencies of the Federal Government telling the same person, the same organization, to do things differently. We are trying to straighten it out. The Congress has promised to help. I can assure you, we are going to keep the pressure on.

Woody Varner, a part-time Michigander. [*Laughter*]

#### EDUCATION

[3.] Q. Mr. President, I am a full-time Nebraskan now, I can assure you. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. A has-been Michigander. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, as you know, I am president of University of Nebraska. Let me first, on behalf of the educational community, tell you how pleased we are with your choice of David Mathews as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. As president of the University of Alabama, he had a distinguished career, and we are satisfied that he will bring those same great skills to your Administration and to the service of this country.

Let me add on a personal note this has been a very satisfying day for me, because this is the first time since the Nebraska-Alabama football game in the Sugar Bowl that Dave Mathews has spoken to me. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. He had a bad Tuesday after that first Monday. [*Laughter*]

Q. I understand the timing of his resignation at the University had something to do with that Missouri football game. [*Laughter*]

Mr. President, I think all of us are impressed with your response to John Kenefick's question about helping in the regulatory end of the business community. We have similar problems in the educational community. We did a survey at our institution a few days ago and were shocked to discover that by what we think is a conservative estimate, we are spending between \$200,000 and \$250,000 a year in manpower in filling out Federal forms and reports.

While we recognize there must be some surveillance from the Federal partner in education, we wonder if it might not be in the interest of efficiency and the educational community and good government to give some consideration to, not in the spirit of proliferation, but in the spirit of consolidation, consider the creation of a separate department of education to deal with our problems?

THE PRESIDENT. I know there have been a number of recommendations in that regard. And since the formation of HEW, back about 1954 or '55, if I recall correctly, the amount of money and the responsibility of HEW has just exploded. As a matter of fact, David Mathews' department spends more money than

the Department of Defense, and it is probably over the years going to have increased financial as well as administrative responsibilities.

I am not yet convinced that we should split it up, but if the problems get greater, if the responsibilities increase, I think we ought to take a look at it.

At this point, I am not convinced there ought to be a split-up, taking education out from health and welfare, but as time goes on, I don't think we should just hold on to something because it was good when it was started 20 years ago. But for the moment, I wouldn't go any further than to say we will take a look at it, and we will reserve the judgment until the survey comes in.

#### FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

[4.] Q. Mr. President, William Brennan, the president of the Nebraska AFL-CIO. I am glad you got to wheat before I did. I am afraid we might get Mr. Butz back in the act again. Have you and Mr. Burns about given up on the idea that tight money will slow down inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, sir, the Federal Reserve Board is an autonomous, independent agency of the Federal Government. They do control the supply of money, and they have an impact, a significant impact, on interest rates by way of the decisions they make.

Our responsibility in the Federal Government and the executive branch in conjunction with the Congress is to attack the problem of inflation by responsible fiscal policy.

Now, I think both monetary policy, under Mr. Burns and his associates, and fiscal policy, under the executive and Congressional branches, must go hand in hand. If we are going to have an irresponsible fiscal policy, I think Mr. Burns, or Dr. Burns, has to try to moderate it with decisions that the Federal Reserve Board makes.

At the present time, they have a policy of monetary expansion of roughly 5 to 7½ percent. And I was talking to knowledgeable authorities the other day, and in the last few days there has been some tapering off of short-term interest rates, which has to indicate that the Federal Reserve Board is trying to judge the circumstances on almost a day-to-day or week-by-week basis.

I do believe the Federal Reserve Board has to have a role. We want them to expand money. We want them to be cognizant of the interest rate problem, but we can't just push them aside and tell them not to do anything affirmatively or negatively, because the history of economic conditions does show that they can play a constructive role.

I honestly believe that they are in tune with the problems that we face in the

economy in America, and I think you will see a policy that will provide for an adequate expansion of the supply of money and a responsibility as to interest rates themselves.

GRAIN, SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[5.] May I, if I can now, gratuitously answer a question that you alluded to.

At the time that we were initiating negotiations with the Soviet Union for the substantial sale this year and the substantial sales of grain for the next 5 years, it was important to get the delivery of the 10.3 million tons of grain already sold transported and shipped, and my negotiations with Mr. Meany and others resulted in an understanding that those shipments would be made.

As you know and others know, Teddy Gleason's group is loading the ships, the grain is going out, and this assurance is helpful in the sales that will be made this year because there will be a dependability of delivery. That is important, as well as price, as well as the sales overall.

1976 VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

[6.] Q. I am Ricky Salisbury, Nebraska Women's Political Caucus. First of all, I would like to ask that you relay a message to your wife when you return to Washington. This message comes not only from the National Women's Political Caucus but the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, and the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women. Please express our appreciation to her for her efforts in behalf of the equal rights amendment.

THE PRESIDENT. She must be doing something right. There was a poll taken in Pennsylvania a few weeks ago, and it showed her with a 77-percent job performance approval—and mine was about 51 percent. [*Laughter*]

Q. My question is this: During the deliberation and selection process for your Vice-Presidential choice, it was reported by the media that several women were considered for this high office. Is this true, and would you identify these women?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can tell you that among those that were considered for the Vice-Presidential nomination by me there were several women, but I don't think that I should identify them.

I would like to add, however, we have a very able, as well as attractive, member of the Cabinet, Mrs. Carla Hills. She is really doing a fine job in the Department of HUD, but I really would take executive privilege if I could—[*laughter*—in not naming the women that were on the list and were considered.

## GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, I am Fred Rose, representing the Nebraska Press Association. I think as members of the Press Association, we would be remiss if we did not commend you and your staff for these conferences, which certainly indicates an openness in government. Our Governor, Jim Exon, Nebraska's number one sage—and second nationally only to the Secretary of Agriculture—[*laughter*—this morning asked Mr. Butz when the embargo on new grain sale exports would be lifted. Do you have a timetable on this subject, which you discussed earlier?

THE PRESIDENT. I have our top negotiator and a staff in Moscow now. They went back on Monday. We have made considerable progress. I am optimistic, but I have learned a long time ago, until we get something in hand, it is always premature to make any specific announcement.

We are pushing hard. It looks very favorable for something that is good for, as I said, farmer as well as consumer, but I would hesitate to tell you a precise date.

I have learned also that in negotiating with the Soviet Union it is better to remain flexible than to pick a deadline. You have a better chance of getting a better deal if you just negotiate from strength rather than binding yourself to a date certain. So, I can't give you a date. I hope it is very soon.

Q. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. I wish I could announce it today, but I, unfortunately—we can't.

## BUSINESS INVESTMENT

[8.] Q. Mr. President, John Nelson, president of the Council Bluffs Chamber of Commerce. In light of the need for high productivity among our industrial workers and the fact that relative to many foreign basic industries that we compete with, the productivity per worker is considerably below, making it difficult for us to compete, what specific policies can be brought to bear in order to encourage investment versus consumption and governmental spending in the private sector to modernize our industry?

THE PRESIDENT. I have been encouraged in the last 2 months. I think the Department of Commerce, or the Department of Labor—I don't recall which—indicated that we are now beginning to show clear signs of increased productivity of the American worker, and that is very encouraging.

That is one of the best ways to beat inflation. But in addition, I firmly believe that the investment tax credit, which was approved or expanded—not approved,



as we had it at 7 percent, it is now up to 12—it is really 11, but there is another added 1 percent—investment tax credit, if properly used, can permit us to modernize our industrial capacity so that we will have better equipment, better plants to challenge the modern European industrial capacity, and particularly the Japanese industrial capacity.

So, we depend upon new machinery, new plants, plus increased productivity of the individual worker. That, in my judgment, is the best way for us to compete abroad with the products of other countries, plus one other thing.

I am sure you noticed that for the last 5 or 6 months we have had an excellent favorable balance of trade. In other words, we have shipped far more than we have imported.

One of the reasons is the fact that we have managed our problem of inflation better than almost any other country. Our products today are selling better because of our improved handling of the problem of inflation.

A year ago, prices were at the annual rate of 14 percent, the inflation rate. Today, for the last 5 months, it is about 4½ percent. If we can make that kind of progress, we will compete, we will increase our exports and have a much better economic situation in the United States.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Jim Evans, executive director of the Urban League of Nebraska. In Nebraska, over 20 percent of the minorities—blacks, Indians, Chicanos—are unemployed, and amongst the minority youth, the figure is closer to 50 percent. Local business, industry, government have not been able to provide an adequate number of jobs and opportunities for minorities. As a result, we have a disproportionate number of young minorities in our prisons and a disproportionate number of young minority mothers on welfare. What plans does your Administration have to try to bring the level of minority unemployment down to that 6-percent level we talk about for the Nation?

THE PRESIDENT. Number one, it is vitally important to improve the total economic circumstances, lowering unemployment to a figure between 4 and 6 percent. We are not there yet by any means, but I think we have made some headway and we will make some more in the months ahead. And that will come about as we improve the general economic situation in America.

In the meantime, we do have programs such as the summer youth program where I recommended and Congress approved roughly \$450 million for this past summer to give jobs to the youth of America who were unemployed.

We have a number of manpower training programs that seek to train an indi-

vidual for a specific job in industry or in the service area. We have a number of programs that help particularly the less well off continue in the field of higher education. I am sure you would agree with me that the better educated minorities are, the better prospects they have for better jobs.

So, we have to get more of them into the mainstream of higher education, and we are making headway there. Those are the kind of programs that I think, maybe not tomorrow, but in the relatively long circumstances, will provide better jobs and more meaningful jobs than the circumstances are today.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President, but for our minority youth, you know it has been a long time already.

THE PRESIDENT. I agree, but the quicker we get our economy back on its feet—and we are making headway—that is the best way to get most of them in those circumstances taken care of.

#### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

[10.] Q. Mr. President, Tom McFarland, Teamsters Local Union Number 544. We would like to ask, what are the tentative plans of this Administration to erase or modify the conflict of agency rule between the National Labor Relations Board and the Equal [Employment] Opportunity Commission as it relates to organized labor application of the seniority provisions of their contracts?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let me just say this: The NLRB is an independent commission or board, and the last thing I think you would want me to do is to tell them, if I could, what they should do, because the interference in those independent boards and commissions by a President should not be tolerated. In fact, any such direct interference should be condemned.

I must say that if there is a conflict, it ought to be resolved by a commonsense approach by the NLRB on the one hand and the other agency on the other. We will look into it.

I frankly confess I am not an expert on this, but we will look into it and see what we can do to straighten it out without interfering with the independent status of the NLRB.

#### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

[11.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Steve Kampfe, and I am representing the Nebraska Future Farmers of America. Mr. President, with the demand and need for well-qualified personnel in agriculture and agribusiness occupations and the decreased number of farm-reared youth, what role is the Federal Government going to play in dealing with this issue in a financial way through vocational education?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my understanding or reaction that in the vocational education program overall, in recent weeks or months there has been an order issued that permits the Future Farmers of America and five other comparable organizations as active participants in organizations that will get financial assistance in the handling of vocational education.

This will be implemented. I think it is a right step, and I am sure that the Future Farmers of America as well as the other five organizations will carry out a very constructive and appropriate role in teaching young people who are interested to be good farmers so we can produce a better crop and a larger supply. But that is my understanding of what we are doing with the six organizations such as the Future Farmers.

#### MEDICAL AND DENTAL EDUCATION

[12.] Q. Mr. President, I am Dr. Holthaus, dean of the School of Medicine at Creighton University. I am sure you know, Mr. President, that in the State of Nebraska we have two schools of medicine and two schools of dentistry. Together we produce 255 M.D.'s every year and 142 dentists. This represents 176 physicians per million population and 97 dentists per million population. This is by far and away in excess of the rate of production of any other State in the Union. We have done this in response to the Federal mandate and in response to the demands of the American public for more physicians and dentists.

In order to continue to do this at this rate, it is absolutely essential that we continue to receive Federal support either directly to the institution or in the form of Federal dollars available for student loans. Recently the Federal support of medical and dental education has tended to trail off. My question to you, Mr. President, is: What position will you take in regard to current Federal legislation which is being designed to support medical and dental education?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't recall the precise figures, but we have had a substantial program that, number one, added to or built new facilities for medical schools. We have had programs that permit student loans to medical students. We have had programs in the Department of Defense where a person can get rather substantial financial aid if he is going to medical school, provided he agrees to take 2 or 4 or 5 years, whatever the number is, and stay in the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marines. I can't quote you the precise figure, but it has been substantial both in buildings and financial support to the universities or the medical schools and as to students.

I don't want to kid you that we are going to recommend a substantial increase in this area. I think I have to be very honest and very frank with you. We have

had a good program. We will continue a responsible program. But I don't think it is fair to you or to any other medical school or dental school to say that we are going to substantially increase the ratio of Federal support. We will continue, but I think States have to be active participants, as they have in many cases. But we have got a serious financial crisis in the Federal Government with a deficit this fiscal year of better than \$60 billion, and the probability, if Congress has its way, of it being over \$70 billion.

So, the likelihood of any expansion of any Federal programs is not encouraging. We will do our best, as I think the Federal Government has in the past, but I can't stand up here and promise there will be an expansion when I see the overall fiscal problems facing the Federal Government.

#### FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SALES

[13.] Q. Mr. President, I am Morris Miller, representing Ak-Sar-Ben, the Midwest's largest civic organization. We specialize in support of all types of agribusiness activity.

My question is this: Do you contemplate negotiations with nations other than the U.S.S.R. for long-term contracts covering our sale to them of agricultural products?

THE PRESIDENT. As I indicated, we are also in the process of negotiating with Poland. The Secretary of Agriculture had their comparable agricultural leader in the government here last week, or this week, and we are making very substantial headway with them.

Of course, they have not been as large a buyer and don't potentially have as large a purchase program as the Soviet Union, but we believe that the more agreements we make with countries such as Japan, the Soviet Union, Poland, and others, the better it is for agriculture over the long haul. It is easier to do it with states such as Poland and the Soviet Union, because they buy as a government, and if you make such an agreement, I think it is a good investment. And we will do it with any government that will give us a long-term purchasing agreement so that they take our agricultural products at fair market prices in the marketplace, and we have some great prospects in the relatively near future.

#### FEDERAL SPENDING

[14.] Q. Mr. President, I am Carl Spelts, president of the Nebraska Association of Commerce and Industry. There is no doubt that the big concern of the business and industrial community in Nebraska is inflation, excessive inflation, and it is the consensus of opinion that the cause of this inflation is excessive

spending at the Federal level. The question is: What can you and your Administration do to convince Congress that continued Federal spending will be the ruination of our economy, and also, what can we as an association do to help?

THE PRESIDENT. I feel very strongly that the excessive spending at the Federal level is a basic cause of inflation. A \$60 billion deficit of the Federal Government this year, this 12-month period, is bad. It will be that much worse if Congress forces us to spend another 10, which will make it \$70 billion, or another 20, which will make it \$80 billion.

Now we are making some headway. I vetoed 38 bills since I took office about a year ago. All but several have been sustained, sustained by one-third or better. Those that have been sustained have saved roughly \$6 billion.

And I am going to veto some more if they keep sending them down with excessive spending. It just has to be done if we are going to preserve any fiscal integrity.

I have found recently in the Congress a greater realization of this problem. First, in 1974 they passed a new budget act which sets a spending ceiling by April 15 every year on expenditures. And I think both Senator Curtis and Senator Hruska would agree with me that that requirement has made the Congress considerably more responsible at least in the recognition, if not in the action, on how to handle spending.

But how we educate the American people—I think this has to be done in our schools, in our various civic organizations, through the news media. A \$60 to \$70 billion deficit this year and another one of \$30, \$40, or \$50 billion next year—that is not healthy as we try to combat the problems of inflation.

So, I just hope everybody understands it is not that we want to be penurious, because virtually every program this year got as much or slightly more than they got last year as required by law. And we just can't go on without taking some firm, tough action.

#### PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Jim Wengert, secretary-treasurer of the Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO. I think you have touched on my question by one of the other gentlemen that have asked it. So, I will kind of rephrase my question. Because we just got over the State AFL-CIO convention in Iowa here a couple of weeks ago, and I think the State of Iowa, at least from our membership standpoint at that convention, was that we don't want handouts in this country. We want jobs. Along that kind of a theme, could you support a program in this country that the Government of this country would become the employer of last resort so our people can get jobs?

THE PRESIDENT. I might say Dr. Arthur Burns just recommended that. So, let me put it this way: It all depends on how you define it. Dr. Burns—and I talked to him about it the other day—his thought of the Government being an employer of last resort—and he spelled this out in a speech down in Atlanta—is that you hire people at less than the minimum wage, but you give them a job on the theory that if they are working at less than the minimum wage, that is an incentive for them to go out and find a better job. I don't think that is what you are thinking of.

Q. No, I am not. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. So, that is why I think you have to define what you are talking about as the Government being an employer of last resort. I was about to say earlier I was glad to see the Iowa AFL-CIO and Arthur Burns agreeing.

Q. No, that isn't true.

THE PRESIDENT. But obviously in this case you don't.

I think that the present programs of unemployment insurance with the extended material we have, which is enough incentive to get people to look for jobs, is better than a massive program.

Now, I am not saying we don't have massive programs to some extent. We have public service employment jobs now that cost us about \$4 to \$5 billion a year. Now, that employs roughly 350,000 people who are not otherwise employed, and that is done primarily through your city and State agencies.

For us to undertake a job to hire everybody, I think, is not the right approach. We want jobs emphasized in the private sector. And if we handle our affairs properly, we won't have to resort either to extended unemployment compensation or employment with the Government as that agency of last resort. That is an easy phrase, but I just think there are enough problems in it that we ought to find other answers primarily in the private sector.

#### AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES PRICES

[16.] Q. Mr. President, Wendell Gangwish, one of the farmers that you referred to a number of times earlier, speaking on behalf of the members of the Nebraska Farm Bureau Federation. First of all, I want to commend you and your Cabinet for bringing the conference to Omaha, and Secretary Butz did more than a commendable job in setting the tone for the conference. Now, in Nebraska we have a little bit more than above-average football team. We think——

THE PRESIDENT. We thought we had one at Michigan, too, but they had a little trouble. But they are going to do all right. [*Laughter*]

Q. When our boys come on the field to play, the referees officiate the game and call the plays by the same rules for both teams. You have taken a strong stance in the decontrol of oil which, to me and to us, is saying that the marketplace is the place to establish price.

Now, some 2 to 3 years ago we saw, we were witnessing price controls. We saw these controls lifted with one exception—beef. Now we are currently witnessing some restriction in feed grains. My question is, Mr. President, we would like to be one of the teams and have the game called by the same rules. We kind of look at this as somewhat of a bending of the rules. We would like to see the marketplace the determining place for the price of agricultural products.

THE PRESIDENT. Before answering your very appropriate question, wouldn't all of you like to have Michigan beat Missouri on Saturday? [*Laughter*]

Q. No, no, no. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, now I have said, and I will repeat it here, I do not think that wage and price controls are the right remedy for a healthy economy in the United States, period.

I am not familiar with any controls we have on the price of agricultural commodities, including feed grains. We have a temporary suspension of world sales to the Soviet Union, but for a purpose of making the market for agricultural products—corn, wheat, feed grains—better. And I think a 4- to 6-weeks delay at the most is the best way to get that assured market.

In the meantime, as I recall grain prices—what is it, wheat is about \$4.20; corn is about \$3.05; I have forgotten what soybeans are; \$5-something, is it?—we are going to see that the farmer gets a good price, fair price in the marketplace, but we are also interested in having him an assured market over a long period of time from a buyer that will buy a lot of corn and wheat, et cetera.

If we can just be a little patient for this interim where we haven't had any precipitous drop in wheat and corn prices in the last month—have we, Earl?

SECRETARY BUTZ. They have increased.

THE PRESIDENT. As I say, I think they are in pretty good shape. But we want a big market, and that in the long term is in the best interest. And a little time, if you are a little more patient, we will get a good deal for you.

#### NEW YORK CITY

[17.] Q. Mr. President, I am Paul Amen, representing the Lincoln Chamber of Commerce. Here in the Midwest we sense that pressure is building in Washington to have the Federal Government rescue financially New York City. What is the Administration's position at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. How many here would urge that the Federal Government bail out New York City? [*Laughter*] Here is one gentleman.

Well, New York is in terrible shape. Even after the indications that they were going to straighten out their problems under a 3-year program, they are going to have a deficit between income and outgo this year of \$1 billion.

That is unbelievable. They won't get to a balanced budget even under this program of austerity until 3 years from now. They are in a fiscal bind caused by bad management for the last 10 or 12 years.

Now, Mayor Beame is not totally responsible for it. His predecessors were contributors. They have got a tough problem. There is, at the present time—and I see no prospect of any change, any Federal bailout.

We, I think, have to be cognizant of what might happen in financial markets. Not only the banks in New York City but banks all over the country hold bonds and paper from the city of New York.

But I think there are remedies within existing law that can ameliorate many of those problems. I don't think that the Federal Government ought to step in and, in effect, begin to manage the city of New York. I didn't recommend that the State of New York move in, but they did, and now they may have compounded the problem.

But nevertheless, I find little sentiment in the Congress—and obviously I found very little here—[*laughter*—]for the Federal Government to come in and bail out bad fiscal management over a period of time in the city of New York.

#### THE THIRD WORLD

[18.] Q. Mr. President, Beverly Evertt, representing the American Association of University Women.

I would like to shift gears, if I may, and get us a little bit into international economics. I would like to ask, that of the demands, six or seven of them, made by the Third World countries in regard to the new economic order, which do you see as being of benefit both to the United States and to those nations? I am speaking of the release of debt. I am speaking of the sovereignty over natural resources, and that list of six or seven that has been brought out in the United Nations of late.

THE PRESIDENT. Well of course, at the Seventh Special Session that took place a month ago, Secretary Kissinger made a very broad speech in response to the demands of the underdeveloped nations. They, of course, talk about a new world order. We don't think their problems, the sale of their natural resources, necessarily argue for a new world economic order. We would rather talk in



terms of taking each one of the commodities and handling them on a case-by-case basis—zinc, tin, bauxite, coffee, et cetera.

So, we are not going to be a part of any scheme to establish a new world order, a new world economic order. I want that crystal clear. But we will work with those nations, as Secretary Kissinger said, on a case-by-case basis of trying to assure them of adequate income from their natural resources.

The approach that we took with Secretary Kissinger's speech has created a totally new and a very beneficial attitude by these countries vis-a-vis the United States. Instead of just slamming down our foot and saying we won't talk with you or we won't try to solve the problems—and that hard-line attitude was exacerbating our relations in the United Nations—we now are really in an exceptionally good position to work with, deal with, and get support from these underdeveloped nations.

I think the best example was our agreement that we would sign and become a part of the tin agreement. That gesture on our part, which won't have any adverse impact on the United States, has helped in a very constructive way our relations with these underdeveloped countries.

So, rather than talk about some theoretical new world economic order, we are going to talk about how you solve your problem, and that has produced some good results for us in the United Nations.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Bill just tried to cut you off, but I will be the good guy.  
[Laughter]

#### FEDERAL SPENDING

[19.] Q. Being number 17 and last, it was a question of whether we would make it or not. Mr. President, I am Charles Wilson of Red Oak, Iowa. I am the chairman of the Iowa Manufacturer's Association. We are concerned with the apparent lack of public understanding of the fiscal economies and of the very great importance of fiscal responsibility. This is leading us to, we believe, or is the cause of, many detrimental effects, for instance, very massive welfare programs, which are very expensive and which lead inevitably to lower productivity. Another example would be the expensive overregulation of industry and of the country in general, the cost of which must be passed on to the consumer.

Our question: We would like to know what steps are or can be taken, or what we can do, to improve the public understanding of the fiscal responsibility of our Government?

THE PRESIDENT. To some extent, I may have answered that question earlier.

I think it is an educational process, and the sooner we start, the better, with the youth of America. They really have a bigger stake in the future of this country than some of us older folks.

If they can be taught that the United States, by any standard of comparison, has produced more freedom, more material goods, and more benefits than any other country throughout the world, present or past, then I think they will get an enthusiasm for it.

But it has to start in the school system. It has to start in the home. It has to start in various organizations, through the Future Farmers of America, et cetera.

I think we are making some headway, and we can't quit just because it is slow progress. When I travel—I don't care where in this world—I come back and say how lucky I was that I was born in the United States and I am a citizen of this country.

Sure, that doesn't mean that we solved all our problems—far from it. It doesn't mean that we can't do better. It doesn't mean that we should be complacent and satisfied. But when you take a look wherever you go, we have more opportunity, more freedom, more material benefits, and we should just thank our good Lord that we are Americans.

We should continue to work at improving the situation, and we can through the educational process. I don't have a pat formula, but I sure have faith that it will happen.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:35 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Omaha Hilton Hotel. He was in-

troduced by William J. Baroody, Jr., Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

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## Remarks of Welcome to Emperor Hirohito of Japan.

*October 2, 1975*

### *Your Majesties:*

It is an honor for me to extend to you, on behalf of the American people, a warm and heartfelt welcome to the United States.

Mrs. Ford joins me with the greatest personal pleasure for both of us in greeting Your Majesties here today.

This first state visit for an Emperor and Empress of Japan to the United States is an historic occasion with profound importance. Japan and the United

States have had a special and unique relationship since the days when Commodore Perry sailed to Japan more than 120 years ago.

Our early relations were marked by many memorable events. The United States was the first country to establish a treaty relationship with Japan, the first to station a consul in Japan, and the first to receive a diplomatic mission from Japan. That mission was received by President Buchanan in 1860 here in the White House.

During the illustrious reign of your illustrious grandfather, Emperor Meiji, Japan chose the United States as the first stop for the Iwakura mission. Japan's special envoys were received by President Grant.

After President Grant left the Presidency, he visited Japan and met the Emperor. This was in 1879, almost a century ago. Emperor Meiji said, "America and Japan, being near neighbors, separated only by an ocean, will become more and more closely connected with each other as time goes on."

These prophetic words symbolized our mutual desire to establish a sound and lasting friendship. What was a century ago a visionary goal has now become a reality for millions of Americans and Japanese.

Our peoples are bound together by a multitude of institutional and personal ties. The constant flow of knowledge, ideas, and cultural influences between our two countries enriches the depth and meaning of our ties each year. It is this broad public involvement which fulfills the hopes of our early leaders.

The greetings of friendship which we exchange today represent the deep sentiments of both nations.

At a time when the benefits of cooperative relations between our two countries are mutually acclaimed, Your Majesty's visit symbolizes and strengthens the ties of friendship between our two peoples.

The warm memories of my trip to Japan last fall remains vivid. Mrs. Ford and I have happily anticipated Your Majesty's visit. We earnestly hope that your stay in Washington and your journey to other parts of the United States will be as pleasant to Your Majesties personally as they are important to the history of our two great nations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:55 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Emperor Hirohito was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

Emperor Hirohito spoke in Japanese. His response was translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen:*

Thank you most sincerely, Mr. President, for your gracious words of welcome. It has long been my wish to come to the United States, and the

Empress and I deeply appreciate your kind invitation to pay this official visit.

We are indeed delighted to be here at this historic moment on the very eve of the Bicentennial of American Independence when the American people reflect on the past and look to the future.

For me, also, this visit is a valuable opportunity to reflect on the past relationships between Japan and the United States and look to its future. Our peoples withstood the challenges of one tragic interlude

when the Pacific Ocean, symbol of tranquillity, was instead a rough and stormy sea, and have built today unchanging ties of friendship and good will.

I feel immeasurably gratified by this happy development and look forward with great anticipation to the future of our relationship.

Mr. President, you visited Japan last year as the first incumbent President of the United States to do so and impressed us deeply by your eagerness to meet and mingle with our people.

I know that your visit has contributed greatly to

the mutual trust between our two peoples. Although our stay in your country is for but a brief 2 weeks, we hope to meet with Americans from every walk of life and to glimpse a variety of American sights.

We will be happy if we, too, can contribute to everlasting friendship between our two peoples through our visit.

May I thank you again, Mr. President, for your warm hospitality. Permit me, also, to extend to all the citizens of your great country my best wishes for continued prosperity.

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### Letter Accepting the Resignation of Stanley S. Scott, Special Assistant to the President. *October 2, 1975*

*Dear Stan:*

I have received your letter of October 2, and it is with sincere gratitude for your many years of dedicated public service that I accept your resignation from the White House staff upon a date to be determined. You have served very effectively as Special Assistant to the President and before that as Assistant to the Director of Communications of the Executive Branch. I know the work has been demanding, but with your ability, candor and energy, you have made significant contributions in the important field of minority relations. I am sorry to lose you.

I fully understand your desire to accept a new assignment at the Agency for International Development. The appointment will provide you with a larger opportunity to lend your well-deserved reputation and your expertise in government to helping alleviate some of the difficult and complex problems facing Africa. The United States is committed to helping to solve those problems and your appointment reaffirms that commitment.

In departing the White House you may be sure you take with you my best wishes as well as my deep appreciation for a job well done. As you join AID I am confident that you will continue to provide the leadership needed for your important new responsibilities.

Warmest personal regards,

**JERRY FORD**

[The Honorable Stanley S. Scott, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500]

NOTE: Mr. Scott's letter of resignation read as follows:

*Dear Mr. President:*

It was more than four years ago that I was asked to join the White House staff as Assistant to the

Director of Communications, and later as a Special Assistant to the President.

Mr. President, as I discussed with you earlier, I would now like to pursue other challenging responsibilities in government, and hereby submit my resignation effective at a date to be determined.

I will always be grateful for the trust and confidence you placed in me when you asked me to continue in my position when you became our President. I shall remember fondly our personal relationship when you were Vice President.

We are fortunate to have you as our President. We badly need your ongoing leadership to restore confidence in government. I believe, as you do, that there is much to be done to make the American dream a reality for all Americans. Equally important, I agree with your remarks stated to me more than a year ago when you said: "We can make the American dream a reality if we all pull together as a people for the common good."

Serving my country has always been of the highest importance to me, and the opportunity to participate at the highest level of government will always be

among the most meaningful and rewarding experiences of my life.

Mr. President, my decision to seek new challenges was not an easy one. My years here, while hectic and always active, have also been personally very rewarding.

I consider it an honor and a privilege to have been able to work with you. Let me assure you that I shall do my best to represent my Country ably and well in whatever task lies ahead.

Warm best wishes to you and The First Lady,

Sincerely,

STANLEY S. SCOTT

*Special Assistant to the President*

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500]

605

### Message on the Observance of Ramadan.

*October 2, 1975*

AS OUR fellow Americans of the Islamic faith look forward to the celebration of the special feast days at the end of Ramadan, Mrs. Ford and I express our greetings and best wishes to each of you.

For you it is a time of renewal and remembrance. It is an opportunity to rededicate yourselves to your religious heritage and to its timeless principles.

For all your fellow Americans it is a chance to reflect with pride and admiration on the way in which the Islamic heritage enriches all of us.

Mrs. Ford and I hope that this year's holidays will be especially satisfying and happy ones for each of you.

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### Toasts of the President and Emperor Hirohito of Japan.

*October 2, 1975*

*Your Majesties, our distinguished guests from Japan, ladies and gentlemen:*

This first state visit to the United States by an Emperor and an Empress is an occasion of great, great importance to all of us. It symbolizes the very unique and the very close ties of friendship between our countries as well as our people.

My Nation, Your Majesties, has looked forward to this happy occasion for a long, long time. Four years ago, it was a great honor for Americans, for you,

Your Majesties, to stop in Alaska at the beginning of your first foreign travel as an Emperor and Empress. On that occasion, your stay was much too brief.

Last year, I had the great honor of being the first incumbent American President to visit Japan. And I am grateful, deeply grateful, and was obviously most impressed with the wonderful reception that I received from you, as well as the people of Japan.

The first official visit to the United States by a Japanese Emperor, occurring as it does during my Administration, is another source of great personal satisfaction. It was my profound pleasure earlier today to welcome you officially to the United States on behalf of all of our people.

While the cultural heritages of our two countries are quite different, our people share a very common aspiration and a similar commitment to democratic freedoms and institutions.

Your Majesties, we confront together the challenges of an advanced industrial society and seek a very peaceful world in which all nations prosper and all people pursue fulfilling lives.

Because Americans and Japanese have patiently nurtured these very fundamental bonds, our cultural differences have been a source of mutual enrichment rather than a barrier to friendship and to understanding.

Through the interaction of our peoples, Japan has very profoundly influenced America. Japanese cherry trees, as we all know, are well known to Americans because of their very prominent place in the heart of our National Capital. These very beautiful cherry blossoms symbolize the profound cultural influence of Japan on modern America.

Japan's art, its architecture, its pottery, its prints, its gardens, and almost above all, its graciousness, all have enriched American life and American thought. The Japanese emphasis on consensus and harmony in human relations also influences the life as well as the work of the American people.

Because Japan's influence upon America has been very subtle, it is not always easily recognized. Therefore, Your Majesty's visit provides Americans an opportunity to pause and acknowledge your country's contributions to our national culture.

Your Majesties, I can assure you that America places the highest possible value on our distinctive and mutually beneficial relations with your nation. Americans are determined to preserve, Americans are determined to strengthen our ties of friendship and cooperation with Japan.

Ladies and gentlemen, in that spirit, I ask all of you to join me in a toast to Their Majesties' continued good health and to the perpetuation of the sincere

friendship between the American and Japanese people, which this historic visit symbolizes.

Your Majesties.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:21 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Emperor Hirohito spoke in Japanese. His response was translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen:*

I wish to offer my sincere appreciation for your most thoughtful words. I am deeply moved by your warm expression of good will toward Japan and the people of Japan.

Your visit to Japan last fall, Mr. President, brought a bright and happy page in the 120-year-long history of Japanese-American relations. Ever since your visit, the Empress and I have been looking forward to this moment when we might be with you again, Mr. President, and with Mrs. Ford for the first time.

We also thank you cordially for your gracious hospitality this evening at the White House. We are mindful that in this house great leaders of your country have presided since the early years of the Nation, making their indelible marks on national and world history.

Our first night in the United States we spent at Williamsburg, resting from our long journey and savoring, in the calm atmosphere of that picturesque town, historic reminders of the birth of this Nation. Those associations are deepened for us tonight, in your company and in this historic house.

I recall the wise counsel which your first President, George Washington, gave the American people upon leaving the Office of the Presidency in 1796: "Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all."

This precept is still valid in today's world. It is an idea shared by the Japanese people in their continuing efforts to cultivate peace and harmony within the international community.

It has been my wish for many years to visit the United States. There is one thing in particular which I have hoped to convey to the American people,

should my visit be materialized; that is, to extend in my own words my gratitude to the people of the United States for the friendly hand of good will and assistance their great country afforded us for our postwar reconstruction immediately following that most unfortunate war, which I deeply deplore.

Today, a new generation with no personal memory of those years is about to be in the majority in both our countries. Yet I am confident that the story of the generosity and good will of the American people will be retold from generation to generation of Japanese for the rest of time.

The United States has made extraordinary contributions to the well-being and progress among mankind during the past two centuries. Today, on the eve of your Bicentennial and amidst the shifting tides of history, the United States continues to stand for the high ideals which gave this Nation birth.

The American people are still contributing to further development of this most vigorous and creative society and to the building of peace and prosperity in the world.

Mankind is now engaged in a common endeavor—the creation of a just and peaceful international community. For this lofty objective, it is my hope that Japan and the United States, as two powerful and stable nations, will cooperate actively on the basis of even better understanding of each other through further dialog, drawing strengths from the richness of our past histories and traditions.

Ladies and gentlemen, I propose a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Ford, and to the American people on the threshold of your third glorious century as a nation.

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## Special Message to the Congress Reporting on Budget Deferrals. *October 3, 1975*

### *To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith transmit ten supplementary reports which extend previously reported deferrals of

funds provided by the continuing resolution for fiscal year 1976. Eight of the deferrals are for programs of the Department of Agriculture and two deferrals are for programs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The supplementary reports reflect an addition of \$76.4 million in budget authority deferred when compared with their original reports.

Generally, the Congress considers the funds appropriate to each program only in the regular appropriations bill. The continuing resolution establishes certain categories and sets standard temporary appropriation levels that apply uniformly to the many programs within each of these categories. I am proposing—for the programs included in this message—levels that differ from the general levels allowed in the continuing resolution. The Congress is now in the process of considering, through the regular 1976 appropriations bills, my specific proposals for each of these programs. The deferrals I am reporting preserve the possibility of conducting these programs in 1976 at the levels I have recommended.

The details of each deferral are contained in the attached reports.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
October 3, 1975.

NOTE: The attachments detailing the deferrals are printed in the Federal Register of October 8, 1975 (40 FR 47439).

## 608

### **Statement on Passage of a Bill To Improve United States Relations With Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus. *October 3, 1975***

I WELCOME the passage by the Congress of S. 2230, which provides for a partial lifting of the embargo on U.S. arms for Turkey. This action is an essential first step in the process of rebuilding a relationship of trust and friendship with valued friends and allies in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Congressional vote reflects a cooperative effort with the Senate and House of Representatives on the difficult question of Cyprus and the vital task of restoring stability and security along NATO's strategically important southern flank.

With the partial lifting of the embargo, I intend to take action in four broad areas in the weeks ahead.

First, we will seek to rebuild our security relationship with Turkey to underscore that Turkey's membership in the Western Alliance and partnership with the United States serve the very important interest of both nations.



Second, we will make a major effort to encourage resumption of the Cyprus negotiations and to facilitate progress by the parties involved—Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus—toward a peaceful and equitable settlement of this dispute. In this connection, we will fulfill whatever role the parties themselves want us to play in achieving a settlement acceptable to all. In accordance with S. 2230, I will submit to the Congress within 60 days of enactment a report on progress made in reaching a solution to the Cyprus problem.

Third, the Administration will intensify cooperation with appropriate international humanitarian agencies to find ways to alleviate the suffering of the many people displaced as a result of the 1974 hostilities. The plight of these unfortunate people makes progress towards solution of the Cyprus problem all the more important.

Finally, the Administration intends to provide support to the democratic Government of Greece. In that regard, we will pursue efforts to help that country overcome its current economic and security problems. Also in compliance with S. 2230, I will submit within 60 days my recommendations for assistance to Greece for fiscal year 1976.

Our goals in the Eastern Mediterranean in the months ahead—to help the parties involved achieve a Cyprus settlement, to rebuild a relationship of trust and friendship with both Greece and Turkey, to alleviate the suffering on Cyprus, and to meet Greece's needs for assistance—are objectives on which we all can agree. Let us now join in working together to achieve them.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 2230, approved October 6, 1975, is Public Law 94-104 (89 Stat. 508).

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### **Veto of the National School Lunch Act and Child Nutrition Act of 1966 Amendments of 1975.    *October 3, 1975***

#### *To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning without my signature H.R. 4222, the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Act Amendments of 1975.

If this bill provided food for children truly in need, as I proposed in March, I would give it my wholehearted support and approve it immediately. Children of families living in poverty who need help in raising their level of nutrition should receive that help.

It was with this in mind that I recommended early this year a reform of the

Federal Government's existing child feeding programs. My proposal would have provided assistance by the Federal Government for all infants and children from families below the poverty level. It would have halted the steady expansion of Federal child nutrition subsidies to increasing numbers of non-needy children. By so doing, it would have concentrated more funds on feeding needy children, yet saved the taxpayers of this Nation almost \$4 billion over the next five years.

I recommended one block grant be made to States to provide them with greater flexibility to tailor food and nutrition programs to their own conditions and preferences. At the same time, States would have been relieved of much administrative and costly red tape. Such an approach would eliminate the wastefulness of present overlapping programs which often subsidize the same meal.

I recognize that H.R. 4222 would enlarge our present efforts to feed the needy children I am concerned about. But it would go far beyond that and greatly expand Federal subsidies to children from families which do not need Federal subsidies.

By extending aid to families not in need, this bill would add \$1.2 billion to my budget proposals for the current fiscal year. I cannot accept such fiscal irresponsibility when we face the real danger that the budget deficit could reach \$70 billion instead of the already high limit of \$60 billion I set earlier this year. As Congress keeps adding to the deficit, Congress adds to inflationary pressures which could push us back into recession.

We should not expand subsidies to families with incomes above the poverty level. I believe the way to help most American families is to take actions to hold down inflation and reduce their tax burdens.

The consolidated food and nutrition program I proposed in March for needy children would have greatly improved our existing programs. The program sent to me by the Congress with disproportionate subsidies for the non-needy is worse than the programs we now have.

I propose to the Congress two choices: (1) Extend our present programs at this time, or (2) reconsider and act favorably on my proposal for needy children. Either course would be in the best interests of needy children, the Nation's economic health and the taxpaying public.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
October 3, 1975.

NOTE: On October 7, 1975, the House of Representatives and the Senate voted to override the President's

veto. As enacted, H.R. 4222 is Public Law 94-105 (89 Stat. 511).

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**Toasts of the President and Emperor Hirohito of Japan at a Dinner Honoring the President. *October 3, 1975***

*Your Majesties:*

Mrs. Ford and I are deeply honored to be your guests this evening. Japanese hospitality is always warm and most gracious, as I can testify from my visit last year to Tokyo and Kyoto.

Your kind and very thoughtful words have made a deep impression upon Mrs. Ford, myself, and the American people, and it is an honor for me this evening to have an opportunity to respond.

Your Majesties' visit to Washington has been pleasant, as I have gathered from our discussions, but all too brief. Tomorrow, you leave for a journey across America. Many Americans you will meet and the places you will visit have longstanding and important connections with Japan.

I am very pleased that Your Majesty will see some of our small towns as well as our great cities. The farm you will visit in Illinois is symbolic of the importance of agriculture as well as trade in American and Japanese relations.

I am particularly happy that Your Majesties will visit the oceanographic research centers in Woods Hole, Massachusetts, and La Jolla, California, where some of America's leading marine biologists will have an opportunity to discuss matters of mutual interest.

Your Majesty's personal role in scientific research symbolizes the contribution that international scientific exchanges have made to the advancement of knowledge in our two nations and to their mutual benefit.

Mrs. Ford and I are very pleased that time has been found for Your Majesty, the Empress, to meet Americans who share her artistic interests and humanitarian concerns. We are glad that you will also have time to relax and enjoy other aspects of American life, such as football on Sunday, Disneyland later, and the tropical beauty of Hawaii.

Your visit, of course, draws attention as well to the place Americans of Japanese ancestry occupy in our national life. While their numbers are not large, their contributions to American life have been most significant.

Through quiet and very diligent endeavor, Japanese-Americans have attained highly respected places in the most exalted ranks of every profession, in the arts and sciences and, of course, in public affairs. The cultural heritage that they have given us has enriched American life. They are actually a living bond between our two great countries.

Your Majesty, when you assumed the throne in 1926, you chose the Japanese words *showa*, meaning "enlightened peace," as the name of your reign. Those words expressed an exalted ideal, and now in the unprecedented 50th year of your reign, the Japanese people's accomplishments and their place in the world have fulfilled your early hopes.

Your Majesties' historic visit has enhanced Japanese-American relations with a new dignity, and it has made us even more aware of the benefits of peace as well as friendship between us. It has also reinvigorated our shared determination to encourage even closer ties and greater cooperation between the Japanese and the American people.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask that you join me in expressing appreciation for Their Majesties' hospitality this evening as I propose a toast to Their Majesties, the Emperor and the Empress of Japan.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:45 p.m. at the Smithsonian Institution Building in response to a toast by Emperor Hirohito.

Emperor Hirohito spoke in Japanese. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen:*

The Empress and I are greatly honored to be with you this evening, Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, and distinguished great guests representing the broad spectrum of the American people.

May I take this opportunity to impress on you our sincere appreciation for the cordial hospitality extended to us by the President and the people of the United States.

The Japanese-American relationship began some 120 years ago when Commodore Matthew Perry reached our shore to begin the process of opening Japan to the outside world. Five years later Japan dispatched its first delegation to the United States on the mission of exchanging the instruments of ratification of our Treaty of Amity and Commerce. It is recorded that the delegation visited this Smithsonian Institution.

One of Japan's leading intellectuals at the time of my grandfather, the Emperor Meiji, was Yukichi Fukuzawa. He accompanied the delegation to the United States aboard the escort ship *Kanrin Maru*. Upon his return, Fukuzawa wrote a book entitled "Seiyo-jijo" or "Things Western." In this volume Fukuzawa described how the United States, under

the "purest form of republican government," had been living up to the ideals of its Founding Fathers, and included a full Japanese translation of the Declaration of Independence of the United States. His enlightening suggestions were a source of inspiration to the Japanese people of the time, who were just beginning to emerge out of centuries of isolation into the age of modernization.

Succeeding generations of Japanese and Americans have built on those early interchanges, establishing in our time a relationship of extensive cooperation in political, economic, industrial, academic, cultural, and many other fields.

Today, as the United States is about to celebrate its Bicentennial, Japan and the United States have become the nearest of neighbors, despite the vast reach of the Pacific Ocean, which separates our two countries, and despite the great distances between our respective histories, traditions, languages, and cultures. Never before in history have two such distant and different peoples forged such close bonds of friendship.

I am confident that friendship, so well tested through a number of trials in the past, is an enduring one which will withstand whatever vicissitude there may be in future history.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in a toast to the continued health of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Ford and to the prosperity of this great Republic.

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**Remarks at Elkins, West Virginia.***October 4, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Harley. Senator Randolph, Senator Byrd, Congressman Slack, Congressman Hechler, Mayor Herron, all of you wonderful people from the State of West Virginia:*

It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to be in Elkins and in Randolph County.

Let me say it was a special privilege to fly from Washington with your two able Senators and my very good friends, Jennings Randolph and Bob Byrd, and it was also delightful to have in the plane with me—or in the helicopter—my former colleagues in the House, John Slack and Ken Hechler.

Let me add, if I might, Harley Staggers, your Congressman, and I—he and I came to the Congress together in January of 1949. We served together until a year or two ago, but our friendship has existed for a good many years. And although we have had some differences—and those are understandable—our friendship has transcended any partisan differences that we might have had.

If I might add just a note on that point, one of the great, great strengths of our political system is the fact that we can have differences. And as a former great Speaker of the House of Representatives once said, “We can disagree without being disagreeable.” In America we can make our system better by competition in the political arena, as we make our system better by competition, whether it is on an athletic field, whether it is in business or in the professions or in education.

Back in 1936, the late Franklin D. Roosevelt came to Elkins. And at that time in his remarks he emphasized the need and necessity for conservation. In a State like West Virginia where you have roughly 75 percent of your State covered by beautiful forests, as we saw in the flight from Washington, conservation is an extremely important project and program that we must carry out.

We are making substantial headway in the better utilization of our resources, the management of those resources which are so essential to a better America for the young people that I see here.

But as history moves along, we run into other problems. And at the present time in the United States, we have a serious energy problem.

But again, West Virginia can play and does play a tremendous role. You have great coal resources here in West Virginia. You have natural gas, and as we

move along to try and find the keys to preserve these beautiful forests and to properly utilize your coal and natural gas, we have to find the balance that will give to America the strength in the future that it had in the past.

It is my firm conviction and belief that in your State under Governor Arch Moore, that in your National Capital under the Congress as well as the President, we can find that very important narrow line that permits us to save America's resources and at the same time to use them to keep our economy moving forward, that will keep us strong and invulnerable against any outside forces.

I am confident in the days ahead what we have seen in the past can be outdone, can be outshone, that we can keep America beautiful and strong at the same time.

When I first came to the Congress back in 1949, Harley Staggers asked me to come up to a town in West Virginia. I was flattered he asked me to come and make a commencement address at a local high school. And, Harley, I look back at that experience in Berkeley Springs with great nostalgia. It gave me an opportunity for the first time to meet some of the people from West Virginia, to see firsthand on the ground these natural resources and the beauty of your great State.

Lots of history has passed since that June of 1949. We have had problems both at home and abroad. But the goodness of your people and the tremendous resources that you have are still the strengths of West Virginia. And I am told that you in West Virginia say that your great State is almost heaven. I think it is a very good description of your people and of your country.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:58 p.m. at the Elkins High School football field prior to participating in the Mountain State Forest Festival parade.

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### Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in Newark, New Jersey. *October 4, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, Ed Forsythe.*

May I reciprocate by thanking you for the many times that you were helpful and cooperative and for the fine leadership that you have given in the House of Representatives as the senior delegate in the New Jersey delegation.

May I also express my deep appreciation to Senator Cliff Case, who I have

known both as a House Member and, subsequently, while I was Vice President and now President.

Cliff, I am most grateful for your help and assistance and understanding. New Jersey is most fortunate to have you as United States Senator.

Of course, I am delighted to see Millicent Fenwick and Matt Rinaldo here, who I learned to know in the days that I was a Member of the House. And I am grateful to them, as all of you should be grateful to them, for their contributions for good government in representing you in the House of Representatives.

I got a bit nostalgic as I saw Bill Widnall, Frank Osmer, Charlie Sandman, Joe Maraziti, John Hunt, Bob Kean, former Members of the House that I served with, who I know from past performance and their contributions to good government, not only from the point of view of New Jersey but from the point of view of the country as a whole. We miss each and every one of you, and your contributions will never be forgotten. We thank you very, very much.

Of course, Web Todd represents the best in party leadership, and Web, New Jersey should be indebted to you from our side of the aisle for what you have done and especially in giving us the kind of people like Jack Ewing, Steve Dudiak,<sup>1</sup> and all the others who have worked so hard to make this party a success.

Let me say with great emphasis and the maximum of sincerity that Betty and I are delighted to be here in New Jersey and especially in the city of Newark. Thank you very, very much.

Speaking of Newark, Mayor Ken Gibson, it is delightful to see you with us this evening. I have had the privilege over a period of time to learn of the problems that Ken has had in the city of Newark and the monumental efforts that he has made to handle those difficulties that are presented to a mayor of a city such as Newark.

I applaud your efforts to revitalize the city, Ken. Your new container ports, your commercial buildings, your educational institutions—I think these testify to the commitment that a person is making to make this city, a great city in the history of the United States, a better place in which to live. I thank you very much.

Before discussing several national issues, which I would like to give you my views and observations on tonight, I would like to take just a minute to tell of a very important political issue that I think transcends—whether it is Republican

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<sup>1</sup> Webster Todd, New Jersey State Republican chairman; John H. Ewing, State assemblyman; and Steve Dudiak, chairman of the dinner.

or Democrat—one of the key ingredients in making our country great is the existence of a two-party system.

Competition in the political arena is healthy, whether it is in the Congress of the United States or whether it is in your State legislature. An evenly balanced legislature or a House of Representatives or a United States Senate is good.

When we compete with views, with programs, with words, we inevitably work out better answers if there is no overwhelming numerical advantage on one side of the political aisle or the other.

And I understand you have a great election coming up here very soon in the State of New Jersey. And it is my understanding out of the 80 members of your assembly, the Republican Party is, unfortunately, limited to some 14.

They are all quality, they all survived, they are doing their best. But when you have 14 out of 80, your ability to make significant contributions are very, very limited, considerably handicapped.

What you need in the State of New Jersey is a competitive political situation in your assembly. And each and every one of you have, in my judgment, an opportunity, as well as an obligation, to right that balance so that in your assembly you will have the kind of political competition which is good for this great State.

So, I urge each and every one of you to maximize your efforts, forget your interparty differences, work together so that when the election is held this fall, you can say that you made your individual contribution to having a competitive situation in your assembly.

You have good candidates. You have good principles. You have a real challenge. And I just hope for the benefit of your great State you can elect about 27 more good Republicans in your assembly in the State of New Jersey.

As Cliff Case said to me the other day, the great thing about our party here in New Jersey and, frankly, across the Nation is that we have within our ranks Republicans of every ideological stripe. We have conservatives. We have moderates. We have liberals. We have all the variations from one shade to another.

I happen to think that this diversity is good, and this is what gives the Republican Party the vitality that we have had since its formation over 100 years ago.

Let me add a postscript, if I might. Unity is what gives a political party its victories. And if we are to accomplish what we have to do, whether it is in the executive branch or the legislative branch, victory gives us the tools with which to achieve those principles from which we build and for which we stand.

I understand from every source, whether it is in one part of the political spectrum or the other, there is a growing and necessary unity in the Republican



Party in the State of New Jersey. And with all the conviction that I can give, I say it must be done if we are to achieve the principles for which we stand.

I think you have to concentrate on beating Democrats, not discrediting Republicans. That is the way to win elections, and to finish second best in this league doesn't pay off very much.

What are some of the principles that I think all of us believe in, whether we are in one part of the Republican spectrum or another? Fortunately, I believe very sincerely that most Americans—the Independents, certainly, and a good many discerning Democrats—have the same views that we have. They want fiscal restraint and responsibility by your Federal Government. They want unnecessary regulations, limitations removed from our free enterprise system so that the individual or the collective judgment of people to make our country better for all of us can move ahead.

The heavy hand and the overwhelming burden of the Federal Government in too many instances hurts rather than helps. And so we must work together to lift this unnecessary, uneconomical, inefficient, heavy hand of the Federal Government.

But let me say, in addition, we have an objective of making Uncle Sam live within its means. And this requires restraint and responsibility on how your Federal Government spends your money.

I think most Americans believe that we have wasted too much, we have spent things in the wrong way, and we have to husband our resources in Washington, like you try to do it in your home or your church or your school.

If we do, it is my judgment that we can attract many, many others in our society who have the same reaction to the problems that we face and they face. You know our basic philosophy can be attributed to a great statesman of another era. And even though it was better than 100 years ago, those principles espoused by Abraham Lincoln are equally applicable today.

Let me quote from Abe Lincoln, over 100 years ago. It has a sound and responsible ring today. He said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot do so well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities."

That is the responsibility of government—to free the individual and to let government take over if that individual or those associated with him cannot accomplish it for the common good.

Let me take, for just a moment, a specific issue that we face in this country today—the problem of energy, which demands Federal action, basically, if we are to solve the problem.

If we are to deal effectively with this problem, we must act with boldness and with a truly national commitment. More than 9 months ago, I sent to the Congress legislation to start this Nation on the road to energy independence. So far, we have had a minimum amount of action and very little, if any, results.

Just last week, I proposed the establishment of an energy independence authority to help finance the development of this Nation's resources and to meet our goal of energy independence in 10 years or less. Time is running out.

If Congress acts on these programs that I have submitted, we will be on our way to this era of independence. This time it is not independence from foreign rule, but from foreign oil. We suffer the consequences today that when OPEC raises prices, we have no counterweapon to use.

Do you realize that in the last 4 years, we have had a 700-percent increase in our payments to foreign nations for the oil that we import from them. And today we are the victims that we have to use 40 percent of the oil we consume coming from overseas sources.

When they raise oil prices, as they did 10 percent or thereabouts, we have no counter. And we won't have until we develop more and more domestic energy capability on the one hand or more effective conservation measures on the other.

Time is passing, and every day that it goes by we become more and more vulnerable. May I say the energy independence authority that I have requested can help in stimulating the public as well as private efforts to achieve energy independence for our country.

It is not our goal that government replace private enterprise in the energy field. Far, far from it. But it can be an active partner in this great national endeavor. The endeavor is great and as urgent as those which saw America two or three decades ago produce synthetic rubber in the heat of World War II, harness the atom with the Manhattan Project, and to put the first man on the Moon just a few years ago.

We must, as a nation, have an adequate supply, a dependable resource of energy if we are to keep our economy moving forward, producing jobs and profits so that people can live a happy and a successful life.

No national goal today in the domestic area is more important than this one. Yes, energy does mean much more than operate machines of industry or heat our homes or power our automobiles. It fuels our total economy. Energy means jobs. If we increase our energy capability or capacity, there will be more jobs for New Jersey and for every one of our States, including my State of Michigan, which is in a somewhat comparable situation to all of you in this great State.

If our domestic source or supply continues to diminish as it is and our dependence on high-priced foreign oil increases, there will be fewer and fewer and fewer jobs and higher and higher unemployment in America.

To put it very practically, we must stop exporting American dollars and American jobs. We must keep those jobs in America, in New Jersey, in Michigan, and we must create more and more jobs in this country.

Let's talk about specifics, if we might. This State—and it is a great State—is one that faces a potentially serious problem in getting enough natural gas supplies for this very winter, particularly if we should happen to have a cold winter, an abnormally difficult winter.

New Jersey gets 90 percent of its natural gas deliveries from two major pipelines. One of these pipelines will curtail supplies to southern New Jersey by 52 percent. The other will curtail supplies to northern New Jersey by more than 20 percent. What do these curtailments mean for some industries? The answer is very simple. They could mean cutbacks in production or worse. And that could mean many, many of your fellow citizens out of jobs.

Yes, I admit that because of advance planning New Jersey does have some alternative sources of energy to fall back on, like synthetic gas. Yes, with a mild winter, New Jersey could probably pull through. But we have been very lucky for the last two winters. It wasn't as cold; the snow wasn't as bad.

But can we gamble in the future for the security of jobs in New Jersey and in the eastern seaboard and in the United States on the variables of the winter? I don't think so. We have to have a program, a source of energy. We can't tolerate a lack of effective action, affirmative action in the Congress of the United States, in legislative means and methods.

I hope and trust that the Congress will respond to give us deregulation so we can get more energy, more gas from the States that have it to the States that need it. A dependable source of natural gas is vital for this energy source, is crucial to you here in New Jersey.

Why is there a shortage? Let me be quite practical: because the Federal Power Commission, under existing legislation, has artificially set very low prices at the wellhead for natural gas sold in interstate markets.

The net result has been that gas producers sell as much of their product as they can locally or inside their own borders—within their own State borders—to the extent they can. They can get a better price within their State than they can by selling it to Michigan or New Jersey.

My State and your State are going to have less and less natural gas unless we deregulate the price at the wellhead and for transmission. I have listened to all

the arguments, and I listened to them when I was a Member of the House of Representatives, but you know what is happening? Not only do they have the capability of turning off the spigot so you won't get the gas, but in my State, because the natural gas—which is a great source of energy for industry, for jobs in their States—they are taking plants from Michigan and taking them to Texas and to Oklahoma and to Louisiana.

Does that make sense? It sure doesn't.

So, I say to you, it is important, in my judgment, that we deregulate natural gas on the short haul as well as the long term so that you will have a source of supply.

You may have to pay a little more, but isn't it better to have it and to have jobs and to have income and to have industry than to end up with your plants closed and the door with a big sign on it saying, "I am sorry, we don't have the energy." That is what it could be. We don't want that. We want jobs and industry because we have the sources of energy.

Now let me speak for a moment, if I might, about another matter. If we are going to keep our economy going, we have to have energy. If we are going to keep peace in the world, if the United States is going to be a power for peace, it has to be strong militarily.

The United States, ever since the end of World War II, has done a magnificent job of trying to work through the United Nations, through bilateral negotiations, through extra third-party efforts to not only achieve peace but to maintain it, and we have been extremely helpful. We have had some disappointments; we have not entirely been successful. But basically, if you travel around the world today you find that the United States is respected, they know we have no ulterior motives, they know we have no designs on people or territory, they know that the good American people are anxious to solve problems and to make it a better world for everybody.

We have the right motives, but we also, over the years, have had sufficient military power so that we are respected as a nation that can maintain the peace if we are challenged by those that would seek to seize some country or some nation by affirmative, aggressive action.

In January of this year, I submitted a military budget, which, on the basis of the total expenditures by the Federal Government, was the lowest percentage for the last 30 years. Out of the total expenditures of your Federal Government, the budget that I submitted for the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marines was 27 percent out of all the money we spend. And the expenditures for domestic programs for people, for cities, was about 44 percent.

Five years ago the percentages were just about reversed, about 40-some percent for the military and roughly 28 or 29 percent for domestic programs. So, we have been putting a greater and greater emphasis out of our total resources in recent years for people, for cities, for States, for programs. And we have been cutting back a percentage of what we utilize for our national security as we protect our own interests and seek to help others as they are challenged throughout the world.

Now, I don't say the Army and the Navy and the Air Force and the Marines spend every penny the most economically and the most efficiently, but as I look around the room, I bet a good percentage of the people and men in this room served in one or more of the services. We know basically we should be very proud of our Armed Forces, because they have done a great job. And they have a responsibility for all of us to maintain the peace. And they will if we give them the resources to do the job. We cannot slash the appropriations and cut their programs and limit their weapons systems if we expect them to do a job.

You know it never pays off to be second best in any military conflict I have ever read about or participated in. That is about the worst experience for a country or for a service. And if I have to err, I would rather err on being a little more generous rather than seeking to destroy their capability.

I am disturbed, for example, that the House of Representatives this last week cut roughly \$7 billion to \$9 billion in our defense appropriation. I think they went too far. I hope the United States Senate will restore some of the reductions that were made, because we cannot seek to have an influence and an impact for good, for peace in this world if we are not respected, not for aggressive action, but because they know we have the capability to ensure the peace.

What we want in this world is peace. We want to help those nations less well-off than ourselves. We want to make sure that there is negotiation rather than confrontation between us and those nations that have different ideologies than we do. I think we are making headway and progress, whether it is in the Middle East where Secretary Kissinger has done a superb job in achieving something that no other foreign minister could possibly have accomplished.

We are more respected and have a higher degree of respect in the United Nations today than we have had for a long, long time, because we are negotiating rather than confronting. And yet we are doing it with firmness and strength.

The United States has a unique opportunity to make some real headway. Yes, I happen to believe that SALT I was progress, and we should work strongly to put other limits on strategic arms between the Soviet Union and ourselves.

Détente is a policy of relaxing tensions for the good, not that it means a solution to every problem. But if we can negotiate rather than confront, and everything is a two-way street so that no one gets an advantage, and we slowly but successfully and constructively lead to peace, I think that is good for us at home and for the world as a whole.

But I come back to what I said a moment ago. We must have the kind of military strength—programs, policy, people, leadership—so that we are respected.

May I simply close by saying to you that it is always an inspiration to come to New Jersey because you have a great challenge here. You have the peaks and valleys of this great State, whether it is in the State legislature, the Governor's office, or the Congress. New Jersey now, not only this year with your State assembly elections, has a tremendous challenge to make some kind of a balance, but next year you have the opportunity to add to the three fine people you have in Ed and Millicent and Matt. We must have, this year and next year, a resurgence that will overcome the defeats that we took in 1974.

I have such faith in America, in its people, its policies, its dedication, and conviction. And what we do in the political arena is so meaningful as to what we do to help our economy or to direct our foreign policy.

So, I urge you, I plead with you to make your contribution with your neighbor, your friend, your community, to make 1975 in New Jersey a bellwether for what it can be in the United States in 1976.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:55 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Robert Treat Hotel.

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**Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports on  
Highway, Traffic, and Motor Vehicle Safety Programs.  
*October 6, 1975***

*To the Congress of the United States:*

From the advent of the first gasoline-powered vehicles at the turn of the century through the next six decades, this country developed a vast, flexible form of transportation basic to its economy and way of life. This development was marked by a tremendous network of roads, highways and satellite facilities, by millions of vehicles, and by millions of drivers who drove them. It also was marred by tragedy as the numbers of accidents, injuries and deaths kept pace

with the rising tide of traffic. In addition it was expensive, reaching an estimated 45–50 billion dollar annual cost to society by 1970 in wages lost, medical bills, legal fees and property damage, not to mention human suffering.

In 1966 the Congress enacted the Highway Safety and National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Acts which initiated a national traffic safety effort to curb the rising numbers of traffic accidents, injuries, and deaths and, ultimately, to reduce them. These reports describe some of the many and varied programs undertaken to this end, and respond to the reporting requirements in the Acts. The volume on motor vehicle safety includes the annual reports required by Title I of the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act of 1972. The highway safety document contains information on projects initiated because of provisions in the Highway Safety Act of 1973.

It is not possible to assess the contribution of any single program to traffic safety, but the combination of safer cars, safer highways and better trained, better informed drivers is having a beneficial effect. The fatality rate (per 100 million miles driven) has been forced steadily downward from 5.7 in 1966 to 4.3 in 1973. Deaths to motor vehicle occupants leveled off in those years, despite substantial increases in numbers of vehicles and drivers on the roads, miles driven, higher speeds, greater per capita alcohol consumption, and other persistent factors adversely affecting the safety of the motoring public. Average days of bed disability also declined, indicating some lessening in the severity of injuries, which may be attributable to motor vehicle safety features. Improved highways are basic to traffic safety, as is demonstrated by differences in the fatality rates on the fully improved, versus relatively unimproved, portions of the Nation's highway system.

The effects of the fuel shortage and fuel conservation measures were the most publicized traffic safety development of 1974. The combination of reduced speeds, fewer miles driven and altered driving habits and attitudes is given primary credit for saving the lives of 9,550 motorists and pedestrians during the year. Of these factors, the Department of Transportation considers the lowered speed limit to be quite significant. Pedestrian fatalities which had been trending upward, dropped 17.8 percent in 1974—another bright side to fuel conservation. However, there has been a recent tendency for the situation to drift gradually back toward “normal.” With enactment, and enforcement, of a national 55 mile per hour speed limit, a substantial portion of the beneficial aspects of the fuel shortage should continue.

We believe that the highway and motor vehicle safety programs which make up the national traffic safety effort will continue to have a positive effect, and

merit the support of the Congress, of the States and communities, of industry and of a citizenry increasingly aware that their lives may well be at stake.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
October 6, 1975.

NOTE: The reports are entitled:

"Traffic Safety '74: U.S. Department of Transportation, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Federal Highway Administration—A Report on Activities Under the Highway Safety Act of 1966" (Government Printing Office, 64 pp. plus appendixes).

"Traffic Safety '74: U.S. Department of Transportation, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration—A Report on Activities Under the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 and the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act of 1972" (Government Printing Office, 64 pp. plus appendixes).

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### Address to the Nation on Federal Tax and Spending Reductions. *October 6, 1975*

*Good evening.*

I have asked for this opportunity to talk with you tonight, because it is important that all of us begin facing up to a fundamental decision about our Nation's future. For several years, America has been approaching a crossroads in our history. Today we are there.

To put it simply, we must decide whether we shall continue in the direction of recent years—the path toward bigger government, higher taxes, and higher inflation—or whether we shall now take a new direction, bringing to a halt the momentous growth of government, restoring our prosperity, and allowing each of you a greater voice in your own future.

Tonight I will set forth two proposals that, taken together as they must be, represent the answer I believe we must choose. First, I propose that we make a substantial and permanent reduction in our Federal taxes, and second, I propose that we make a substantial reduction in the growth of Federal spending.

Let me emphasize at the outset that these proposals must be tied together in one package. It would be dangerous and irresponsible to adopt one without the other. I will not accept that as an answer for our future. I want these proposals acted upon together by the Congress. Together, they represent one central and fundamental decision: that America belongs to you, the people, and not to the Government.

Each of you knows from experience about your economic problems of recent



months. You know what it means to pay more and more of your income just to feed and clothe your family, to get to work, and to maintain a decent home. You know the fear that strikes the human heart when a friend or a member of your family is laid off work. And you know the anxiety that comes when these forces seem beyond your control.

None of us wants to repeat the experiences of the past year. We want steady prices. We want steady jobs. And above all, we want a chance to get ahead again, to know that our destiny lies in our own hands and not in Washington or some other faraway place.

Fortunately, there are encouraging signs that we have weathered the worst of this economic storm. The recovery that began this spring is now gathering momentum. If we act wisely, it will continue on an upward path, with more jobs and more stable prices.

Yet we should not be deceived. All of us must recognize that just beneath the surface there are still deep-seated problems in our economy—problems that have been building up over the years and will not quickly or easily disappear.

We must attack the underlying causes of our economic problems. We must get at the roots of our difficulties. We must find answers that serve us not only this year but for the years to come.

The President and the Congress working together have the power to help. I know that, because in Washington much of America's vitality and prosperity have been drained away. It is here that one big spending program after another has been piled on the Federal pyramid, taking a larger share of your personal income and creating record budget deficits and inflation. Here a massive, often too zealous bureaucracy has been erected that has become too involved in trying to run too much of your daily life.

Over the years, these excesses have played a major role in driving up prices, driving up interest rates, and holding down jobs. We do not have to look far for our underlying problems. Much of our inflation should bear a label "Made in Washington, D.C."

As we emerge from this recession, we face the basic choice: Shall we continue these patterns in Washington, or shall we set off in a new direction? We cannot do both. We cannot go down both roads at the same time. We must choose.

Tonight, I propose permanent tax reductions totaling \$28 billion—the biggest single tax cut in our history. Earlier this year the Congress passed and I signed a temporary tax cut covering calendar year 1975. That temporary law will expire at the end of this year, and unless we act now, your taxes will go up again in January. I am proposing that we sweep away that temporary law and

replace it, effective January 1, with a permanent Federal income tax cut that will be both larger and more equitable.

Three-quarters of this permanent reduction will be for individual taxpayers. And the chief benefits will be concentrated where they belong—among working people. The industrious working men and women of this country are the backbone of America. We cannot continuously ask them to bear an unfair tax burden. I propose that we lighten the tax load for them and for all other Americans in three ways: by raising everyone's personal tax exemption from \$750 to \$1,000; by making the standard deduction for single taxpayers a flat \$1,800 and for every married couple \$2,500; and by lowering our basic personal income tax rates.

Together these measures will not only decrease everyone's taxes but they will also help to make up for the ravages of inflation. They will simplify the tax returns for millions of Americans. The total package represents a substantial reduction below the rates that will otherwise take effect this January. Under my proposal, a typical family of four, earning a total of \$14,000 a year, would get a permanent tax cut of \$412 a year—a 27-percent reduction.

The other quarter of the tax reduction will be directed at business in a way that creates more jobs. If companies and plants are to regain their footing and to hire more employees in the future, they must have greater incentives for investment. In order to create jobs—and good jobs—this country must build new plants and new equipment and we must have a growing economy. The tax cuts that I propose—including a permanent increase in the investment tax credit and a 2-percent reduction in the corporate tax rate—are specifically designed to increase employment.

We must recognize that cutting taxes is only half the answer. If we cut only taxes but do not cut the growth of Government spending, budget deficits will continue to climb, the Federal Government will continue to borrow too much money from the private sector, we will have more inflation, and ultimately we will have more unemployment. Substantial cuts in your taxes must be tied to substantial cuts in the growth of Government spending.

Anyone who has followed the upward leap in Federal spending can only shake his head in astonishment. Back in 1962, the Federal budget for the first time in our history ran over \$100 billion. In only 8 years, the budget doubled in size. In the coming fiscal year, unless we act, it will double again to over \$400 billion.

One of the reasons for this horrendous spending growth is that much of the increase in each year's budget is required by programs already on the statute

books. Many of these increased programs were first enacted years ago, and while individually they might have appeared manageable then, today, taken together, they are out of control. They are like a freight train whose lights were first seen far off in the night. That train has been coming closer and closer, and now it is roaring upon us. If we don't slow it down, Federal spending next year could easily jump to more than \$420 billion—without a single new Federal program.

Therefore, I propose that we halt this alarming growth by holding spending in the coming year to \$395 billion. That means a cut of \$28 billion below what we will spend if we just stand still and let the train run over us. More importantly, it means almost a dollar-for-dollar cut in taxes and spending: For every dollar that we return to the American taxpayer, we must also cut our projected spending by the same amount.

If we allow "politics as usual" to prevail in the Congress, there will be a temptation to overwhelmingly approve the tax cuts and do nothing on the spending cuts. That must not happen. I will go forward with the tax cuts that I am proposing only if there is a clear, affirmative decision by your representatives in the House and the Senate that they will hold spending next year to \$395 billion. I will not hesitate to veto any legislation passed by the Congress which violates the spirit of that understanding. I want these actions to be a first step—and they are a crucial step—toward balancing the Federal budget within 3 years.

In January, I will propose to the Congress that many of our current spending programs be revised, consolidated, and held below their projected levels. When I do, you will hear loud protests from one group after another contending that Washington should keep up an endless flow of subsidies. But we have to face hard reality: Our financial resources are limited. We must learn to live within our means.

Spending discipline by the Federal Government must be applied across the board. It cannot be isolated to one area, such as social programs, nor can we completely insulate any area such as defense. All must be restrained. I believe that your Congressmen should stop trying so hard to find new programs that spend your money and get to work figuring out how to make the Government work better for you. They should get rid of the programs that don't work in order to make room for those that do. And in the process, we can begin cutting back the swollen Federal bureaucracy.

I want to work with the Congress and with you, the people, to ensure that those who deserve the help of our Nation continue receiving that help—the

elderly, the poor, and the men and women who have borne our Nation's arms. Also, I will not permit reductions in our military budget that would jeopardize our national security. We must maintain a strong economy and a strong national defense.

Sometimes when fancy new spending programs reach this desk, promising something for almost nothing and carrying appealing labels, I wonder who the supporters think they're kidding. From my visits with the American people, I find many of them believe that what the Government puts in your front pocket, it slips out of your back pocket through taxes and inflation. They are figuring out that they are not getting their money's worth from their taxes. They believe that the politics of Federal spending has become too much of a shell game. And I must say that I agree with them.

America's greatness was not built by taxing people to their limits, but by letting our people exercise their freedom and their ingenuity to their limits. Freedom and prosperity go hand in hand. The proof is there to see around the world. Only by releasing the full energies of our people, only by getting the Government off your back and out of your pocket will we achieve our goals of stable prices and more jobs.

I deeply believe that our Nation must not continue down the road we have been traveling. Down the road lies the wreckage of many great nations of the past. Let us choose instead the other road, the road that we know to be tested, the road that will work.

As your President, I cannot take this journey alone. I need the help of you, the American people, to persuade your Congressmen and your Senators that you want the growth in Government spending cut so that your taxes can be cut now. I need the help of the farmer in Iowa, the housewife in California, the retired couple in Florida, the small businessman in New Jersey, the student in Texas—all of you. This must be a national effort. America should not belong to the Government, but to the people. You can serve the Nation by helping us make the right choice for the future.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

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**Interview With Reporters in Knoxville, Tennessee.****October 7, 1975**

REPORTER. Mr. President, first we would like to welcome you to Knoxville and to express our appreciation for your meeting with us here today.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have been here a number of times, and it is a pleasure to be here. And thank you for the opportunity of answering some of your questions.

**TAX REDUCTION**

[1.] Q. As taxpayers, we would also like to thank you for your proposal to cut our taxes. We understand this is tied in with a reduction in Federal spending.

THE PRESIDENT. It is a two-part package, but it is absolutely necessary that both the spending limitation or the decrease in the growth of Federal spending be imposed at the same time that we go for the tax reduction. If we don't do something about spending, we can't, in good conscience, do something about reducing taxes.

Q. What would you do if Congress should approve the tax cut and not cut spending?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I tried to say last night as directly as possible that the Congress had to act on the limitation on the growth of Federal spending, or I would be forced—and I said I would not hesitate—to veto the tax bill.

**ENERGY**

[2.] Q. Mr. President, we here in the Tennessee Valley have rather a unique situation as to our power, the electricity that we have due to the Tennessee Valley Authority. But in the past 13 months we have had something like 13 or 14 rate increases, and we are expecting another one very shortly.

Now, in the past 3 or 4 days a special House investigation subcommittee has even proposed that the utility companies be forbidden from having the consumer pay for the high cost of coal to produce electricity. Will you entertain the idea of abolishing the fuel adjustment clause?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that I should make a commitment on this program, on any legislation or regulation that would come to my desk without having an opportunity to look at the pros and cons. I think it is unwise for a President to make an off-the-cuff decision. I have a good staff. If and when any change in the law regulations comes to me, I will give both sides a very fair

opportunity to make the individual case. But for me to just off-the-cuff give you an answer, I don't think that is the way a President ought to operate, because if you do it in one case, then you are setting a precedent for another instance where such an answer might be very, very ill-advised.

Q. Then, may I ask this: You support strong belief in atomic power generation, do you not?

THE PRESIDENT. I strongly believe in nuclear power. I believe that in the next 10 years the United States has to build something like 250 more nuclear power-plants. I think it is the cleanest, I think it is as safe as any other, I believe that it helps to make the United States invulnerable against the foreign oil cartel. So, I am strongly in favor of nuclear power.

#### FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

[3.] Q. Mr. President, the Governor of this State has been in contact with Arab nations about investing moneys in the State of Tennessee and purchasing products made here in this State. What are your views as far as moves such a that by other State or perhaps cities in financial trouble that would go to the Third World nations for aid and assistance?

THE PRESIDENT. We do have to monitor the massive investments, particularly if those investments from Middle Eastern countries involve, for example, defense producers—those companies that have a substantial business with the Department of Defense. On the other hand, I see offhand no reason why one or more of these Middle Eastern countries should not buy the bonds of Knoxville or the State of Tennessee or the city of Detroit. They have to make the judgment as to whether it is a good investment, and I see no ill coming from the investors from a foreign country having bonds issued by a local community in Tennessee or Michigan or elsewhere.

Q. Do you think the foreign countries would buy New York bonds right now?

THE PRESIDENT. I will let them make that decision. [*Laughter*]

#### TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY NOMINATION

[4.] Q. Mr. President, TVA is a household word here in east Tennessee, of course. Recently you nominated James Hooper, of Mississippi, to fill an existing vacancy on the TVA Board of Directors. Senator Bill Brock says he will fight this. Will you stick by that nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. The name has been submitted. The Senate committee is in the process of completing its investigation on Mr. Hooper. The Senate committee will make its recommendations to the Senate very shortly. I think it is ill-advised

for me a this time to make any comment pending a decision by the Senate committee, and of course, the nomination in the normal course of events would go to the Senate floor. But until the Senate committee completes its investigation, makes its report, I think the matter ought to stay exactly where it is.

Q. If Hooper does not achieve recommendation, do you have a backup name?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a number of names and a number of fine people, but I think it is premature, pending the situation, for me to even comment on that.

#### CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee investigating the CIA, Otis Pike, has recently suggested citing Administration officials for contempt of Congress because you believe certain national security materials should not be released to that committee. Is the Administration working on a compromise agreement to provide some material to the committee, and what kind of agreement would be acceptable to you?

THE PRESIDENT. Last week we gave to that committee 710 pages of classified material, and we deleted 50 words, as I recollect. I think that is substantial compliance with the committee.

We have said that we would not give to the committee the names of intelligence agents. We would not give information concerning certain mechanical equipment that is vitally important for the gathering of intelligence information.

I think that is a fair proposition. And I am glad to report that in this area, the committee has approved that arrangement by a vote of 10 to 3, with Chairman Pike being among the 10. So, I think we have worked it out so they will get all of the information that they require to carry out their legislative responsibilities.

Q. So, the committee is satisfied?

THE PRESIDENT. It is on that point, yes, sir.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S SAFETY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, in recent weeks you have found yourself the victim of two assassination attempts. What were your feelings? What thoughts went through your mind whenever you found yourself staring at Squeaky Fromme's gun and then later, whenever you found that you had been shot at? And on a related matter, do you think the media bears any responsibility for these events?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the incident in Sacramento happened so quickly, and the Secret Service acted so rapidly in handling the matter, that frankly, I didn't have an opportunity to think about it. The Secret Service did a superb job, and

it was over in a fraction of a second. So, there was no opportunity for me to do anything about it.

In the case of the incident in San Francisco, I was on one side of the street and was waving to the crowd on the other, waiting to get into the limousine, and I heard this noise that frankly sounded like a firecracker. And those who are more knowledgeable than I said duck and sort of hit me on the back and got me down on the sidewalk and into the car. But again, that happened so rapidly that you honestly don't have time to think about it.

Now, the question about whether the media is responsible, I don't think the media is responsible. I look at it this way: A President has certain responsibilities to see people around the country. You should not act in a daredevil fashion, and I don't intend to. You have to act prudently, and I do intend to act with prudence.

I believe that if we do it right, I can continue to travel without any serious hindrances, and it is my intention to do so.

Q. Do you find yourself fearful now whenever you are in crowds?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't. I know for one thing that the Secret Service has taken every possible precaution. And as I said a moment ago, they do a very fine, fine, really a superior job. So, whatever you do in life, there are certain risks.

I was talking to Senator Brock and Senator Baker on the way out, along with [Representatives] John Duncan and Jim Quillen, and I said I probably had more potential risk when I was driving my automobile than I do at the present time. So, it is just one of those things that you expect certain risk to be involved. It is too bad, but that is the way it is.

#### FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS

[7.] Q. Mr. President, we understand that you may soon be making appointments to the National Labor Relations Board. One is the General Counsel, and one member of the Board, and that you also may be faced with a vacancy on the Supreme Court. We are wondering if you have given any thought to these appointments, and if you would consider achieving a better ideological balance by appointing conservatives to these posts?

THE PRESIDENT. I would naturally be sympathetic to any appointment in positions of responsibility to those who had a political philosophy or a philosophical view that coincided with my own.

I think that is a very natural reaction on the part of a President. But I have not related that thought in relationship to any of the positions that you have indicated.



In the first place, there is no vacancy on the Supreme Court. Number two, there is a vacancy on the—well, as the General Counsel for the NLRB—and we are in the process now of looking at a person for that vacancy. But I come back to what I said initially: A person is prone to nominate somebody that has a somewhat similar political philosophy or view toward government and the issues that are related thereto.

#### CHILD NUTRITION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, predictions are that the House will certainly override your veto of the \$2¾ billion child nutrition program. Now, in the event that they allow this veto to stand, where is this going to put the needy child and the child who is surely going to have to pay more for his school lunch?

THE PRESIDENT. First, let me explain why I vetoed the bill. That legislation passed by Congress, which I vetoed, called the child nutrition bill, provides for Federal funds to go to pay for school lunches for the children of families that can well afford to pay for the meal.

And I see no reason whatsoever for a child of a family sufficiently well off getting a federally financed meal. And it involved for the current fiscal year, as I recollect, an extra \$200-plus million and about \$600 or \$700 million extra in the next fiscal year.

I am for the Federal Government helping and providing school lunches, nutritional lunches for the children of those who are at the poverty level or below. I believe that is a firm responsibility of the Federal Government. But we should not—and I don't believe the American people want us to—finance free meals for people who can afford to pay for their children's lunches.

Now, if the House and Senate—if one of them should sustain the veto, there is adequate statutory law to take care of the needy child. And earlier this year, I recommended a program that would concentrate more for the needy child and would eliminate the child of the family that is well off.

I wish the Congress had done that. It makes a lot more sense, particularly with the kind of financial problems with a \$60-plus billion deficit in the Federal Government.

Q. I was wondering where you draw the line, sir. I mean, how do you segregate one from the other, which is the needy and which is not the needy?

THE PRESIDENT. There is a poverty family line drawn today by a responsible agency of the Federal Government. I think it is around \$5,500 income. That is a poverty line used by all agencies of the Federal Government. And so, any family that has a child in school at that figure or below would get a free lunch,

and any family with children above that poverty line would have to pay for the lunch.

Now, the bill that I vetoed provided that there could be free lunches for a family that had children that had an income of about \$9,500. I honestly don't think that the taxpayer as a whole should subsidize with free lunches the children of a family that have an income of \$9,500 a year.

#### PANAMA CANAL NEGOTIATIONS

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Dr. Kissinger has been certainly successful in gaining peace in the Middle East. Let's swing to Latin America now. I know we have a problem with fishing rights with Ecuador—they claim a 200-mile limit. But coming a little north, the Panama Canal seems to be a troubled area. Are you prepared to make a statement on our negotiations going on as far as the ownership of that canal? How do you intend to resolve that problem there?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me give a little background, if I might. For three administrations—President Johnson, President Nixon, and myself—negotiations have been going on with the Government of Panama concerning that problem. If you will refresh your memory, you will recall there were serious riots in Panama, I think in 1965. Around 30 people were killed, including some Americans. Now, these negotiations are going on. I have taken the position that we will not accept—and I would not recommend to the Senate—any proposal that interfered with the national security of the canal, that would interfere with the operations of the canal.

Now, I would not, under any circumstances, do anything in the negotiations or submitting proposals to the Senate that undercut our national security. Now, within those confines, these negotiations are going on. And I think it would be not wise for me to go into any of the details, because we have an outstanding negotiator down there who has instructions within those broad guidelines.

#### STRIP MINING

[10.] Q. Mr. President, recently you vetoed two strip mining bills, I think they were H.R. 25 and S. 7. And Deputy Administrator John Quarles of the EPA said strip mining bills are too weak. Exactly what type of strip mining bill would you sign?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I vetoed the one in 1974 and again vetoed the one in 1975.<sup>1</sup> But in each case I recommended through the Secretary of the Interior the kind of a strip mining bill that I would sign, one that would have a good balance

<sup>1</sup> See Item 270, and in the 1974 volume, Item 326.

between the protection of the environment on the one hand and the capability of utilizing our vast coal reserves on the other.

Unfortunately, the Congress in neither case approved the amendments that I recommended which, in my judgment, would have produced a balanced bill. We are still willing to sit down with the Senate and the House and try to work out a compromise. One of the problems with both of the bills I vetoed was that it would have severely restricted the mining of coal, and coal is our best immediate alternative to foreign oil. We are now mining roughly 600 million tons a year and we want to go to, I think it is, the 1,200 million tons in 10 years.

The legislation that I vetoed would have, as a matter of fact, cut back our production, not permitted us to accelerate. In addition, it would have probably meant the loss of, oh, as I recall, about 125,000 jobs, and jobs are important.

So, if we could get together, and I am willing to negotiate with the Congress, I think we could pass a well-balanced strip mining bill.

Q. Do you see a bill of this nature coming across your desk anytime soon?

THE PRESIDENT. It is sort of dormant at the present time, but that does not mean that some negotiations aren't going on. But nothing has emerged at this point.

#### EQUAL TIME PROVISIONS

[11.] Q. President Ford, what is your personal reaction to the decision by NBC and CBS last night not to carry your address regarding the tax cut recommendations? And do you think it is a valid objection that the networks have that they would have to provide equal time to other candidates if they provided time to you?

THE PRESIDENT. It is a very controversial issue. They have been very cooperative in almost every case, if not every case in the past, and of course, the closer we get to a convention or an election, their problem gets more and more difficult. I was very happy, of course, that ABC, along with Public Broadcasting, did do it, but I am not going to hold it against NBC and CBS. I think I would have to say I thought they made a mistake, but I am not going to be prejudiced against them as a result.

Q. Do you think the equal time provision is a valid objection?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the fairness doctrine is really the way to handle it. In other words, it gives some discretion, it gives some judgment factor to television and radio stations. And I would think that some modification of Section 315<sup>2</sup> is in order.

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<sup>2</sup> The equal time provision of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended (47 U.S.C. 315).

## THE FORD FAMILY

[12.] Q. This is a question for Betty Ford's husband. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. She is doing better than I am in the polls. So, you should ask her.

Q. In light of the upcoming Presidential campaign, has she been advised or will she be advised to curtail her candid comments, and will she or would she comply?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I would be very popular at home if I tried to lay down the law. She has very good judgment, but I do have to say this. In our family everybody tries to be totally honest and frank. We think that is the best policy. I don't think you get away with trying to deceive people. So, as long as people are honest, I think you are in a better position to deal with the problems. So, I think if Betty gets on the television or radio or is interviewed, she will probably speak very frankly, as she always does.

Q. How do you feel about your son's statement that he experimented with marijuana and your promise to say today whether or not you have tried it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let me say I never have. But I, again, would say that everybody in our family tries to be frank and honest with one another, and we brought our children up to be completely honest in their relations with us and we with them and all of us with other people.

I think there is an old saying, "honesty is the best policy," because you inevitably get caught if you don't tell the truth and your conscience is clear if you do tell the truth. I can disagree with what some of our children do, but as long as they are honest with us and at least give us an opportunity to express our views, I don't think I should go any further.

## GUN CONTROL

[13.] Q. Mr. President, shortly before Senator Everett Dirksen passed away, I had an opportunity to sit down and discuss gun control with him. And he told me in his own wry way that he felt like if we just enforced the laws that were on the books today, there would be no need for any further legislation regarding this. Now, certainly a man who should enjoy an opinion on that better than anybody is a man who has been shot at. How do you feel about gun control?

THE PRESIDENT. I have some very strong feelings about it.

Q. I'll bet you do.

THE PRESIDENT. I do not think that the registration of guns nor the registration of gunowners is the way to handle the problem. In my judgment, we have some good laws on the books that, if enforced—which means prosecution, con-

viction with a jail sentence—we would have a big impact on the people who illegally use guns.

Now, I have also recommended to the Congress some legislation that would provide mandatory prison sentences for people who use guns in the carrying out of violent crime. I wish the Congress would pass that legislation. I wish State legislatures would do the same in those cases where they don't have such legislation. We have to prosecute, convict, and put in jail those people who illegally use guns. And if we do, I think we can have a substantial impact on the bad use of firearms.

#### FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

[14.] Q. Mr. President, before you came in the room, one of the gentlemen here made a statement that your ties are looking really great lately, and I will say that the one that you have on today is keeping the tradition up.

What is that, a buffalo on there?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a buffalo.

Q. Buffalo.

Have you been in contact with former President Nixon recently?

THE PRESIDENT. When I was in California 2 weeks ago over the weekend I called him, yes, sir.

Q. How is he?

THE PRESIDENT. He sounded very fine, good firm voice. He was up on some of the pertinent political and international matters. He sounded in fine shape.

Q. Do you expect to be meeting with him or seeing him anytime in the near future?

THE PRESIDENT. We didn't discuss that, but we talked for roughly 10 minutes on the telephone.

Q. I see. Thank you.

#### VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

[15.] Q. President Ford, it has been reported that one of Abraham Lincoln's Cabinet members asked him why he continually joked about grave situations, to which he replied something to the effect of: "If I didn't joke, surely the pressures of the office would crush me." Do you come in contact with these pressures, and how do you cope with them?

THE PRESIDENT. To some extent, I take pretty much the attitude that President Lincoln did, as you expressed them. I don't believe that you should be a worrier or a fretter. I think you have to take the problems as they come. You have to give your best effort mentally and physically. You have to make a

decision, and hopefully that decision is right, and you have to go on to the next one.

But, if you worry and worry and worry, I think that eventually affects your other judgment, so in my case, in perhaps somewhat the same way, I handle it as President Lincoln did.

#### NATURAL GAS

[16.] Q. Mr. President, there have been several predictions of a serious natural gas shortage for this country, as you know, and especially the area of the South and east Tennessee this winter. What is the Administration doing to relieve the situation, and do you think it can be headed off?

THE PRESIDENT. I have recommended to the Congress some emergency gas legislation, which would permit individual consumers in a State like Tennessee to go down to Louisiana, to Oklahoma, or to Texas, buy the gas that is available, and transport it through the pipelines at a rate that would get them the natural gas.

I hope the Congress passes that legislation. It is vitally important, and I can assure you we are doing everything possible to remedy the problem.

Q. Thank you, sir.

Q. I think our time is running out, Mr. President. Again, let me say how much we appreciate your meeting with us.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much. I have enjoyed it. It has been a real pleasure, and we are delighted to be here in Knoxville.

Q. Well, we hope you enjoy your visit, brief as it is.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

Q. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The interview began at 1:35 p.m. in the Knox Room at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. It was taped for broadcast on television that evening. Participants included Juanita Glenn of the Knoxville Journal, Lois

Thomas of the Knoxville News-Sentinel, Randy Prewitt of WTVK, Carl Williams of WBIR, Sam Brown of WATE, and Hop Edwards of WSJK.

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### Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Knoxville.

*October 7, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Bill. Governor Blanton, Governor Carroll, Governor Waller, Governor Holshouser, Governor Rhodes, Governor Busbee, Governor*

*Moore, Senator Brock, Senator Baker, Congressman Quillen, Congressman Duncan, Mayor Testerman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

That concludes my speech. Thank you and good night. [*Laughter*]

I know you have had an interesting and stimulating program. I know from the program that the experts on all of these subjects have spoken to you about what we are seeking to do and attempting to achieve, and they, in turn, have listened and, I am sure, gathered information and suggestions from all of you.

I prefer to concentrate in the area of questions and answers, but if I could take just a minute or two, I would like to emphasize two very serious problems that we face.

#### ECONOMIC AND ENERGY PROGRAMS

[1.] I would like to summarize the proposal that I submitted to the American people last night and which is being submitted to the Congress today by the Secretary of the Treasury; namely, a two-part package that must go together. Number one, a restraint on the growth of Federal spending, and number two, a substantial tax reduction, three-quarters of which goes to individual taxpayers and 25 percent will go to the business community.

Number one, at the end of this fiscal year, the spending for the 12-month period will be roughly \$370 billion. If no new program is enacted by the Congress and no changes are made in existing law, in the next 12 months there will be a \$50 billion growth in Federal spending.

And if you look at the curve for the last 14 years, and if we focus specifically on the growth from 1970 on, you will find that there has been a tremendous acceleration in Federal spending that this country cannot tolerate and we must change.

Number two, it is my belief that the American people want a fair, sizable, substantial tax reduction, and the net result is that we are proposing in the tax reduction field a \$28 billion tax reduction to coincide as a part of a package with a \$28 billion reduction in projected growth of Federal spending.

It can be done, and I specifically disagree with those who say that the Congress of the United States can't do it. I think they can. It is mandatory if we are going to preserve the kind of society that we want, that the American people want.

Let me summarize very quickly the tax package: an increase in the personal exemption from \$750 to \$1,000, an increase at a flat figure for a single taxpayer of the standard deduction of \$1,800, a \$2,500 flat standard deduction for a family,

and some modification of the rate structure. In the business field, a reduction from 48 percent to 46 percent, a permanent extension of the investment tax credit, and the personal income tax reductions would be on a permanent basis.

I think it is a fair proposition to the taxpayers, and the spending limitation can be achieved. And I can assure you that all of us are going to maximize our efforts to convince the American people so that in turn the Congress will respond. I believe the Congress can handle the problem of a spending restraint and a tax reduction.

Now, the second point I would like to make is the need and necessity for a comprehensive energy program. Two basic points: One, we have to stimulate domestic production. Number two, we have to conserve. We have been far too long vulnerable to foreign oil control. In the last 2 or 3 years, we have been literally vulnerable to decisions made overseas, primarily by the Middle Eastern countries.

Four years ago the Federal Government—I mean, the United States was paying out roughly \$3 billion a year to foreign oil producers. Last year we paid out \$25 billion. There has been roughly a fourfold increase in our payments overseas, and with a 10-percent increase announced roughly a week or 10 days ago, we will pay an additional \$2 billion a year to overseas oil producers. That money ought to remain in the United States.

If it does, it means roughly a million more American jobs. In order to make ourselves invulnerable, we have to stimulate the production of domestic oil, we have to more affirmatively use coal, we have to get into the exotic fuels, we have to expand our research and development. And we are. And we must, because the risks are great, push what I recommended about a week or 10 days ago—the energy independence authority. That proposal will go up to the Congress in draft form and with a message this week, and it will be aimed at taking those energy projects that cannot, because of the risk or the gamble, be financed by private enterprise and push them so we make real headway in the synthetic fuel area. We will have to do something in the area of transportation and conservation through this mechanism, through this facility, but we can do it.

We cannot in the future leave the United States vulnerable to energy decisions by nations overseas. The United States, for its own security, for its own economic progress and headway, has to have more of our energy developed right here at home. And we are going to do it.

So, with those very limited observations, I would now be delighted to respond to the first question.



## QUESTIONS

## TAX REDUCTION

[2.] Q. Mr. President, I am Tom Stone, president of the Greater Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, and I think I would be remiss if I did not tell you that we recognize this conference as a very unique way to bring the White House to the people. And I also think that I should—I believe I am speaking for all the people in this room when I express to you our appreciation for the time and the effort that your staff has put in to having these conferences. And I would suggest to you that you have an excellent staff in the form of Mr. Bill Baroody and John Shlaes and the members of his staff who have been so kind and so easy to work with, and I would hope that you would continue these.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am very proud of them and I am delighted to hear a public acknowledgement of the fine job they do. They do a good job.

Q. Mr. President, my question: As a representative of the business community struggling to be competitive, to provide secure employment, and to generate capital that is needed for growth and stability, we generally agree with your proposed tax programs. Our concern is a big “if” and that big “if” is Congressional acceptance of a \$395 billion budget ceiling. What hopes can you share with us that Congress will be favorable to your proposal?

THE PRESIDENT. As I indicated, questions have been raised by the Congress or by certain members of the Congress as to whether under their procedures such a result can be accomplished.

Since January I have heard a great deal about the reforms that have been put through the Congress of the United States to make it a better parliamentary body to meet the problems that we face. I think if they put their nose to the grindstone and show a little imagination and a little strength, it can be done. And I believe the American people want it and we are going to go out and do our utmost to sell the American people, and if they have not the mechanism to do it now, the Congress has the responsibility to do it when they get back to work, and we intend to push it.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

[3.] Q. Jack Reese from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Mr. President, I should like to thank you for your recent statement on tax reform, specifically the issue of charitable contributions to colleges and universities. The question I have, however, deals with the severe and perennial fluctuation in Federal support for students and for our institutions of higher education. Do

you believe that the Federal Government can provide greater stability of funding and programs for higher education so that we can all plan more adequately for the future?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not familiar with any fluctuations from the budget point of view. It may vary or fluctuate at the institutional level, but if I recall accurately, there has been no variation of any significance in the total amount that is made available by the Federal Government to institutions of higher learning. And speaking of the student loans, student grants, all of those programs, I know that amount has been going upward at a rather steady rate, and of course, the educational benefits that go under the GI bill have likewise been increasing at a substantial rate.

I am not familiar with any dip in the funding for institutions of higher learning, but if there are, we will look at it. In my recollection, it was a pretty straight progression.

Q. I think I was referring more, Mr. President, to the fluctuation of programs, the starting up and dropping of various programs.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what we would rather do, and I think it runs through the philosophy, is to emphasize the programs for the student of one kind or another and give the student the money and let him make the choice as to the institution that he intends to attend.

We will look into it, but I am not familiar with any dips and valleys, or peaks and valleys. I agree there ought to be a certain stability in many of the programs, particularly those affecting the students. It has been a progression upward rather than any decrease.

#### EMPLOYMENT TRAINING

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I am Richard Wilkes, AFL-CIO Appalachian Council. Understanding your concern for the unemployed throughout our country and the job situation and job market today and the Comprehensive Employment Training Act and the distribution of these moneys to the State and local governments for distribution for training and placement purposes, the Manpower Administration has urged national manpower training sponsors and local community organizations who formerly sponsored training programs and placement efforts to look to see that Title I prime sponsors at State and local levels for continued financing. However, widespread surveys indicate little hope that these organizations will receive any help. My question: Mr. President, in light of this, do you propose to continue the funding of these programs which have demonstrated effectiveness in the field of job training and placement?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my recollection that under the CETA program we have requested and Congress has approved the full funding under the authorization act which, for the current fiscal year, is somewhere in the magnitude of \$3,200 million or \$3,500 million.

It is my expectation that we will fund or recommend the funding of that program, bearing in mind our current economic problems, at roughly the same level. I think it is basically a good program. It incorporates not only the training programs you are talking about but the summer youth program. And it would be my expectation that unless there is a substantial change in the economic situation, we hope there will be some gradual improvement, and we think there will be.

We will fund CETA at a very substantial level and, hopefully, sufficiently to meet the kind of programs you are talking about. It is my understanding that in Tennessee you have had for several years a good statewide program in this area.

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. And if the funding is more or less at the present level, I see no reason why those programs could not continue.

#### FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SALES

[5.] Q. Mr. President, I am James Putnam, a farmer and president of the Tennessee Farm Bureau Federation. I have a short statement and then the question.

Farmers were asked early this year to go all out for full agricultural production in 1975 with the promise by this Administration that farmers would have access to markets at home and abroad. They have responded with record, or near record, grain crops.

Question: In view of recent actions taken by the Government concerning the sale and shipment of grain to Russia and other countries, can we as farmers and farm organizations have faith in this Administration to make sure these markets are available to farmers?

THE PRESIDENT. The answer is strongly yes. There has been a temporary suspension for a very good reason. The farmers did go all-out. They have produced a record crop of wheat at 2,100 million bushels. They have produced a record corn crop, although we don't have the final figures, of about 5,800 million bushels. They have done, in the area of soybeans, also, an exceptional record and a record crop.

Now, we have long-term purchase agreements with Japan and with other

countries. We have had some very wide fluctuations in the purchase of grain, corn, wheat, and soybeans from the Soviet Union. One year, as I recall, it was around 55 million bushels, the next year it went up to 599 million bushels, and the next year it dropped down to 75 million bushels. The peaks and valleys have caused serious disruption in our markets in the United States.

Now, what we have done, the Soviet Union has purchased 10.3 million metric tons of grain so far. They have a serious shortage. There were rumors that they were going to come into the market at a very substantial figure. At the same time, we felt and still feel that a 5-year purchase agreement with the Soviet Union agreeing to buy a minimum figure of a substantial amount every year with an option to buy another sizable number of tons is a better program than having these peaks and valleys and these wide fluctuations and variations.

Our negotiators are in Moscow now, they are seeking to achieve a permanent or a 5-year program, as I have described it. If that is agreed to, there will be a removal of the temporary suspension of sales, and I am certain that the Soviet Union will come in and buy additional grain in this crop year which will be very, very helpful and will coincide with the promise I made. And in the meantime, we will have gotten an assured market from a sizable purchaser for the next 5 years. It is a negotiation which is in the best interests of the farmer and in the best interests of the American consumer, and when the announcement is made—and I think it will come reasonably soon—I think farmers as well as consumers will be pleased. And we might be able to combine it, if I could add as a postscript, a deal that will give us some Soviet oil as a part of the overall deal, which is good insurance against Mideast oil decisions.

#### PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, I am David Switzer, president of the Tennessee chapter of the American Public Works Association. In my question, I would like to refer to a House bill, 5247, which was cited as a "Local Public Works Capital Development and Investment Act of 1975," as sponsored, I believe, by Congressman Jones of Alabama.

This bill asks for an appropriation of \$5 billion for funding 100-percent Federal grants for State and local public works projects. This bill is designed to meet not only the need for a huge backlog of badly needed public works facilities but also to meet the national unemployment emergency and to stimulate activity in the construction field where, I understand, at least one-fourth of the workers are currently unemployed.

I understand that this bill has been drastically cut in the Senate, perhaps back

in committee, and I would like to ask, sir, what—if you would care to comment on the Administration's attitude toward this kind of measure for stimulating the economy and, at the same time, providing local public facilities which are needed for health and safety of the public?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I never make any categorical comment on whether I will veto or approve a piece of legislation until it gets down on my desk, but I am generally familiar with the proposal.

But as a preface to that, I should say that under the \$395 billion spending ceiling that I mentioned last night—and I reaffirm today—it makes it almost impossible, if not virtually impossible, to add any new programs, even one such as you have described. So, it does have a hard and difficult road if we are going to cut the growth in Federal spending because this is a new program.

Number two, we have found over the years that public works per se, where you start literally from scratch, they are not the best way to get people immediately employed who are unemployed because of a slowdown in the economy.

It takes time to get these projects moving. In contrast, there is, I think, a little different situation in roadbuilding, because these are projects and programs that have been underway, planned, et cetera. But I think that many of those projects can be funded out of general revenue sharing, which amounts to about \$6,300 million in this current fiscal year, going one-third to the States and two-thirds to local communities. That is money where there are no limitations, no restrictions, and the States and the local communities can use that money for the kind of projects and programs that you mention under this other bill.

So, I would say that is a better way, a more certain way, and the other is a program that will have to come under the 395 ceiling if we are going to show the kind of restraint that would justify the personal tax reduction that I mentioned of \$28 billion.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[7.] Q. Mr. President, LeRoy Brandenburg, NAACP. Mr. President, with the unemployment rate of black Americans being twice that of white Americans, do you feel that the discrepancy in unemployment needs some special attention and, if so, what?

THE PRESIDENT. I recognize that the statistics show precisely what you have indicated, and I think we have to approach the problem in two ways.

Number one, we have to get our economy out of the recession—and we are on our way out of the recession—so that there will be more job opportunities for all Americans, including minorities. I am glad to report that since March of this year to the last report several days ago, we have increased the number of people

gainfully employed by 1,650,000. So, we are making headway in job opportunities, in jobs themselves.

From that, we have to recognize the abnormal unemployment in the area of the minorities. Through the Comprehensive Employment Training Act, CETA, we are trying to take the minorities, give them training, and get them from training into meaningful jobs.

There are, of course, other efforts that are being made in the field of education. One of the problems is making sure that minorities are adequately educated so they can handle some of the jobs where there are openings, and we are seeking to make special efforts in those areas.

I think those are basically the programs that have to be pushed in order to meet the problem, and it is a serious one in the unemployed among minority youth, particularly.

#### EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, Anne Gillenwater. I represent the Commission on the Status of Women. First, I wish to express my appreciation for the interest and concern that has been demonstrated by our First Lady for women's issues.

THE PRESIDENT. All of the polls I have seen, she does much better than I. [Laughter]

Q. My question: Since the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is inoperable and there has been no concerned attempt to address the serious problems of women, we want to know what attempts are going to be made by this Administration to answer our needs in employment, child care, and women's future role in today's society.

THE PRESIDENT. Are you speaking of EEOC?

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. We just appointed a very fine person as the new Chairman, and I just submitted the name for reappointment of a member—I apologize, I can't think of her name—Mrs. Walsh.

Under the new Chairman, I think you will see some very strong, affirmative action by EEOC, as I think it should, not only among minorities but as far as women are concerned. He is a very fine person. I know him personally. He comes from an excellent background, and it is my opinion that you will be very pleased with the new efforts by that organization under his leadership.

#### COAL MINERS

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Jack Kaiser, representing the UMWA. Excuse me just a minute, I am a little excited. [Laughter] I am representing the United

Mine Workers of America Health and Retirement Fund, and I am a coal miner myself. If the coal miners are to maintain the production of this essential energy source, we need just a few basic things. We need good education for our children, we need medical care for our families, and we need safe working conditions.

My question, Mr. President, is this: What is being done to make sure that one part of the Government works with the other? When we try to get a doctor to move into our community, we hear that he won't come because of the problems of housing and education. Teachers will not come because of the problems of housing and health care. Who is going to help us put together the answers to these different parts of the same problem?

THE PRESIDENT. In the case of doctors, we have several programs. One of them is where the Federal Government gives a scholarship or grant or other financial assistance during their period of training in return for them to spend several years—I don't recall the precise number—in a rural area. This program has been in effect 3 or 4 years, as I recall, perhaps longer. This, I believe, is a good way to get general practitioners out in rural areas. It is my recollection—I was reading, as I came down today, of a program that you have in Tennessee under the auspices of HEW, as I recall, to have sort of a circuit rider doctor that would help very tremendously in meeting the problem you are talking about.

There was a program in education—I think it is still in effect—that gives loans or grants to those seeking to teach, providing they spend x number of years in the educational field, and they would get a forgiveness for the loan or grant that was given to them. I think that is still in effect, is it not, John or Bill?—the Teacher Corps program, which is aimed at meeting that particular problem. I recognize fully that you need doctors and teachers, and I believe those two programs at least in part can be helpful.

#### NEWS MEDIA

[10.] Q. Mr. President, I am Ed Ray of Memphis Press-Scimitar, representing the Tennessee Press Association. You look well, hale, hardy, and we are all glad you do, very vigorous.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

Q. That prompts what I am going to say. Vice President Rockefeller and Treasury Secretary Simon, among many others, have suggested that editors and other news media representatives downplay in their presentation to the public of incidents dealing with attempts upon your life.

The argument is that such news, and I quote, is “stimulating to the unstable.” Now, those who defend detailed coverage of recent such incidents contend that for the press to do otherwise would be an abuse of the public’s right to know and, in effect, would be an erosion of the free press and a free society. Now, Mr. President, I don’t recall your having spoken out on the subject, but I would like to hear from you.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say, Mr. Ray, I believe the press should accurately and fully report any such incidents. I think they have an obligation to do just that, and I, under no circumstances, would urge the news media to do otherwise.

#### THE COAL INDUSTRY

[11.] Q. Mr. President, my name is B. F. Reed, and I am president of the Turner Elk Horn Mining Company, with headquarters at Cliff in Floyd County, Kentucky. We are part of Appalachia. The coal industry, of which I am a part, has great problems in responding to your plans for development of the domestic coal industry. One of the devastating problems is implementation of the Clean Air Act, which has already stopped production of utility coal in the Appalachian region. I am told now that the Senate committee bill, Public Works Committee bill, will further increase our troubles and make impossible the goals that you have set for the development of the industry. My question is: What further can this industry do, what plays can be called to help to resolve the problems brought about?

THE PRESIDENT. In the energy program that I submitted in January, following the State of the Union Message, I recommended certain amendments in the Clean Air Act that would modify—not wipe out, but modify—the existing law so there could be more flexibility, permitting energy-generating plants to transfer from oil to coal. Those amendments, as I recollected, were approved by Russ Train, who represents EPA, as well as Frank Zarb, who represents FEA.

Unfortunately, as I understand it, the Senate, instead of taking our amendments, have come forth with about a half a loaf, and the net result is it really won’t solve the problem, which is greater utilization of coal and a lesser dependence on foreign oil.

You don’t have to convince me. We are in agreement with you. I think what you have to do is go down there and sit on the doorstep of the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives and tell them what the problem is and convince them that our proposal is right if we are going to be invulnerable to foreign oil cartel price decisions. That is it.



## TENNESSEE-TOMBIGBEE WATERWAY

[12.] Q. Mr. President, I am Tom Green of the Tennessee River Valley Association of Nashville, Tennessee. The number one Army Corps project in the United States is the construction of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway. This huge project involves new job opportunity, waterway development, and energy conservation. What is your position on continuing the construction funding of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway connecting mid-America with the Gulf scheduled for completion in 1981?

THE PRESIDENT. Probably the first public works project I ever heard about on the floor of the House was the Tennessee-Tombigbee River project when John Rankin was literally the only sponsor of that proposal in the House of Representatives. It was approved or authorized. It has had funding. It is a sizable project. In the budget for fiscal '76 we did recommend funding, I don't recall the precise amount. It is my judgment that there will be additional funding recommended in fiscal year 1977, but until I see the recommendations of the Corps of Engineers, which have not as yet come to me, I cannot give you any precise figure.

I do support the project, I think it ought to be underway from a point of view of construction, and I think we ought to set a target as to completion. It does save—what is it, about 1,600 miles if it goes from the Tennessee River down to the Gulf of Mexico?

Q. About 350 miles, Mr. President, I believe.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is a very sizable saving of transportation. This Administration is for it. The best evidence is the recommendation we made for fiscal '76. And I am certain we will make a recommendation for fiscal 1977, but until the Corps of Engineers gives me their recommendation, I am in no position to give you an exact figure. It will be included; how much is the question.

## TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY NOMINATION

[13.] Q. Mr. President, I am Carl Holcomb, and I represent the Appalachia Regional Conservation Commission of the Sierra Club. We want to compliment you on your interest and concern for this rich and wonderful section of our great country.

My question is this: Your nomination of Mr. James F. Hooper to fill the vacancy on the TVA Board of Directors has caused a great deal of discussion and controversy among the people of this area of the valley, in the national media, and in the halls of Congress. We feel that this is a very important position

nationally as well as locally, and in view of this we would like to have you tell us of the significant qualifications of Mr. Hooper for this very important position.

THE PRESIDENT. There are three on the Board; there are three spots on the Board. Mr. Hooper's name was submitted out of a list of about 10 or 12. It was submitted to me. The nomination is before the United States Senate. It is before the committee that has jurisdiction. That committee is in the process of conducting its own investigation, and the report from that committee will be submitted shortly, I am told, with its recommendation, and if it is favorable, it will go to the floor of the Senate.

At the time that Mr. Hooper was selected, we did look into his business qualifications, into his other qualifications, and the judgment was that he was qualified for the position. But this is now a matter for the United States Senate under the confirmation process. I don't think I should go any further than that. The nomination is there. It is now a decision for the United States Senate to make.

#### STOCK TRANSACTIONS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, I am Roy Meade representing the National Association of Manufacturers. As you know, individual stockholders, the backbone of our free enterprise system, have left the market in droves, and it is necessary for them to return before we have the viable stock market. What are your views on double taxation of dividends, graduated capital gains tax when equities are sold at a profit, and a liberalized capital loss treatment when sold at a loss?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the response to the first question, Secretary Simon about a month ago went before the House Committee on Ways and Means and recommended the Administration's view that we should find a method of integrating taxation of corporate profits and the dividends paid to individual stockholders. Unfortunately, that recommendation was not treated too favorably by the House Committee on Ways and Means.

We submitted that proposal because I believe that if we are going to create jobs, we have to create the wherewithal for investment so that the plant and the machinery can be purchased for the development of the job market.

Now, we have a tremendous need and necessity for investment capital for job creation. Now, if the committee didn't like what we recommended, then they ought to have, or they do have the obligation to come up with some answer of their own.

Now in the second question, the House committee, in its consideration of handling of the sale of the profit coming from the sale of securities last year,

made some modifications. As I recall, we didn't take any particular stand on that. And the last question, I have forgotten what the third point was.

Q. Liberalized capital loss treatment when sold at a loss.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't think the Administration has taken a stand on that particular issue. If we have, it is a detail that I don't recall.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE FOR CHILDREN

[15.] Q. Mr. President, I am Arden Miller of the American Public Health Association. I am concerned, as I know you are, with the well-being of this country's children. By your public statements on welfare and by your veto of the children's nutrition bill, you have indicated some ways in which you think it is not appropriate for Government to give assistance to families of low and marginal incomes to raise their children. Do you recognize that there is any social responsibility to assist parents in raising their children, and if so, what are the intentions of your Government to meet that responsibility?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly do recognize that those who, for one reason or another, do not have adequate funds for the raising of their children or for their own sustenance or are unable to have an income—the Government does have a responsibility.

Let me take, for illustrative purposes, the child nutrition bill, which I vetoed several days ago. Under the bill that came from the Congress, it lifted the ceiling for the child nutrition program to a figure of over \$9,000. In other words, a family that had an income of over \$9,000, that family's children would qualify for free lunches. I think that is far too high. I don't think it can be justified.

Now, that is from the point of view of who should get free lunches. I certainly wholeheartedly endorse free lunches across the board for those children who come from any family below the established poverty level, and I think the income level there is \$5,500. There is no question that the children that come from a family of that level are deserving under the free lunch program. But I just as strongly feel that the Government as such has no obligation to give free lunches to children of a family that has an income of over \$9,000.

And I must say I was quite disappointed to find that today the House of Representatives overrode my veto by 370-something to 18. But let me assure you that aside from the humane aspects—and I strongly support the feeding of children as I have indicated—this will add over \$200 million to expenditures during this fiscal year, and it is somewhere in the magnitude of \$600 or \$700 million over expenditures in the next fiscal year, and all of that, of course, comes out of that \$395 billion ceiling we are talking about.

## STRIP MINING

[16.] Q. Mr. President, my name is Jim Somerville, and I am representing the Commission on Religion in Appalachia. The basic stance of the Commission on Religion, which is a cooperative mission enterprise of 18 separate Christian unions, is expressed in its purpose, which is that of taking a position of advocacy with respect to the people of this region in the name of Jesus Christ. To be an advocate in Jesus' name seems to us to command advocacy in that style, the style of the Nazarene. The Gospel teaches that this means giving up the prestige of the rich and the powerful and taking on that condition of the disenfranchised. In some feeble way, very feeble way, this is where we stand and intend to stand.

And from that posture—and I feel entirely inadequate of trying to stand there—but from that posture we see that no issue in our region has come up from the grassroots more consistently and more dramatically than that of strip mining. I know of no citizens group anywhere in this land we call Appalachia that has said, “Let’s keep on strip mining coal.” I do know of lots of coal company interests that have seemed to say stripping is good for America.

Mr. President, you have vetoed two strip mining bills. Would you, in this moment, show us how your veto of those bills has been good for the people of the Appalachian Mountains? And if you can do that, sir, will you tell us how this Administration, your Administration, will compensate this people for the devastation of strip mining?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me assure you, I don’t condone irresponsible strip mining—under no circumstances—and the best evidence of that is the fact that after the veto in 1974 and after the veto of 1975 we submitted to the House and the Senate specific amendments that would make a strip mining bill acceptable. It would have been a well-balanced strip mining bill if the Congress had responded and considered and approved the amendments that we recommended. And I would hope even today that the Congress would take their bill and add to it the amendments that we believe are good.

Now, you know, the Federal Government is not the only governmental agency that can meet the problem of strip mining. And I know of at least two States in Appalachia that have excellent strip mining laws. Ohio—is Jim Rhodes here? I think Jim would say that Ohio has a first-class strip mining bill and it works extremely well. I have heard about it a number of times from one of my former colleagues, Wayne Hays, who says that is the standard. Well, in Appalachia, the Ohio legislation in effect takes care of the problem. In the State of Pennsylvania, they have a good strip mining bill, and maybe other States in

the Appalachian region do have good strip mining bills. I know those two for sure.

So, even if we don't get a Federal strip mining bill, there is no reason why your States can't act affirmatively as Ohio and Pennsylvania have done.

Now, let me explain two very practical reasons aside from the environmental features, and our amendments would, in my judgment, meet all or most of the environmental problems. Under the legislation that I vetoed, you would find that there would be a substantial loss of jobs, and number two, you would find under the legislation that I vetoed we could not, under any circumstances, meet our goal of 1 billion 200 thousand (million) tons of coal in 10 years.

We are presently at the rate of 600 million tons, and we have to double that. And we can do it with good legislation. But we could not, in my opinion, with the legislation that the Congress sent me.

Now, we are willing to negotiate with the Congress, we are willing to work with them to come up with an acceptable bill. But they want it their way or nothing, and I don't think that is the way to find a solution to the problem.

#### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

[17.] Q. Mr. President, I am Mrs. Harry B. Caldwell from North Carolina. I am representing the North Carolina State Grange and the State granges in this region. Last fall and last winter, you called on the farmers of America for all-out production, and you indicated that they would have the assurance that you would give them full support in receiving reasonable prices for the things that they produced.

Just recently—I believe it was last week—Secretary Earl Butz, in a meeting in Chicago, again called on the American farmers to go all-out in producing the food and fiber needed for our Nation and to help meet the needs of the world in 1976.

Now, farmers are born optimists. They really want to produce, but they need the assurance that they will receive costs of production plus a reasonable profit. My question is going to be in three parts, all of them related. How do you propose that farmers will receive fair and reasonable prices if they produce the abundance called for by the Government? And what——

THE PRESIDENT. Do you want me to answer——

Q. They are related. Do you want to answer that one now?

THE PRESIDENT. I would be very glad to. I indicated earlier that we did ask for full production, and the farmers responded in corn, wheat, soybeans. I in-

dedicated we have a temporary suspension, but only for the purpose of getting an assured market of a substantial amount over a 5-year period.

I think it is fair to point out that since the suspension, which is in effect now for about 5 weeks, the price of wheat on the market has gone up from around \$3.75 a bushel to \$4.05 a bushel. So, even with the suspension of sales to the Soviet Union, there has not been any drop in the wheat market, and I believe that is likewise true in the corn market. Because everybody knows that the Soviet Union is going to come back into the market this year, and in addition we will get a 5-year agreement with an assured market of a substantial amount.

Q. Now, what are the features of the new farm bill that we will have next year that are being proposed by the Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I believe that the Administration feels that the existing law, which is market-oriented and permits the farmer to sell his product in the market rather than to sell it to the Government and have the Government store it is the best approach.

So, it is my feeling that this legislation is basically sound, it has resulted in full production, and we have gotten rid of the storage problem. With corn at about \$3.15 a bushel, as I recall, and wheat at about \$4.05 a bushel—I have forgotten what soybeans are; they are about \$5.00-plus a bushel, whatever it is—that we are in the right area, and we have got a fairly sound program.

Q. Then you feel optimistic about the future, and we can go home and tell the farmers to go ahead and plant?

THE PRESIDENT. You sure can, and the more you plant, the more you will sell. And we will be in a strategic position to use our bountiful harvest for humane purposes and other purposes around the world. And the farmers are going to get, in my judgment, a fair price in an open market.

#### AMERICAN PRODUCTIVITY

[18.] Q. Mr. President, Bill Bowden of the Southern Growth Policies Board. Governor James Holshouser of North Carolina is chairman of our board this year. There is a broad agreement that there is a decline in the rate of productivity growth in the United States—and I should add this is particularly true in the Southern United States in the past several years—which has contributed to inflation and to recession, to unemployment, it has placed the Nation in a vulnerable position in trying to compete with other nations for world markets.

Senator Percy of Illinois and Senator Nunn of Georgia have been bipartisan sponsors of a bill called the national productivity act. It has been approved by the Senate. It appears to be headed for approval by the House. The productivity

act provides for a national center to review Federal legislation and agency operations for their impact, plus or minus, on the ability of this country to be productive. The bill also encourages joint labor, industry, and Government efforts to improve production and work conditions.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, Mr. President, the bill provides for a Federal policy to improve the use of human resources for improved work quality. I might just say, as an aside, we have never had in this country a Federal policy and an apparatus for the transfer of science and technological information after private enterprise and the local government in the same sense as we have had through cooperative extension of the Smith-Lever Act for the improvement of productivity in the rural sector and improvement of the quality of life of rural people. And so, we see the seeds of this sort of thing in the national productivity act. Would you comment, sir, to the extent that you can, your attitude towards such legislation?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it should be said, first, that of all segments of our society in the last 20 years that have shown the greatest degree of increase in productivity it has been in American agriculture. They have plunged forward and produced more per man, shown the greatest increase of any segment of our society; for, I think, 5 percent of the American farmers produce enough for the other 95 percent and sell substantial amounts overseas.

So, the farmers have done a superb job. We have to do better in other areas. Now, we have had for about 4 years a productivity commission.

Q. That is correct.

THE PRESIDENT. That commission was established on the recommendation of a former Secretary of Labor, George Shultz. It is in operation now. I think the law is about to expire, and there is some criticism of it. Whether it is justified or not, I honestly can't tell you.

The criticism is primarily in the House of Representatives. I think it can be justified. The annual expenditure or appropriation is about \$1,500,000. I am for that approach. I believe that it is worth that investment. But I think the problem is not convincing those of us in the executive branch, but convincing the House of Representatives that the existing law ought to be extended.

And in effect, I would recommend that it be made permanent so that it is out there as an instrument of trying to increase productivity in our society. It is the best insurance against inflation. It is the best insurance against foreign competition.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. That is very encouraging.

THE PRESIDENT. We have got about two more, so let's go ahead. I will be the good guy and let Bill be the bad guy. Go ahead, sir.

## REGIONAL COOPERATION

[19.] Q. Mr. President, I am Harold McPheeters, with the Southern Regional Education Board. I too would like to thank you and all these very impressive leaders of your Administration for coming to our region, to listen to our questions and our discussion. I would like to ask a question about interstate regional cooperation. We have in this region two, I think, successful examples of interstate regional cooperation in economic and development programs in the TVA and the Appalachian Regional Commission, both of which are largely Federal.

Yet there are many other domestic problems which I think lend themselves to this kind of interstate regional planning and cooperation, such as the training of rare health and scientific personnel, certain environmental planning, certain specialized economic programs, and so forth. We have several interstate organizations—some are interstate organizations of the States themselves, some are professional organizations and associations that could work in this area.

However, the Federal Government tends to deal with the States State-by-State. Now, I realize you are President of the United States, but is it likely that the Federal Government will use more of this kind of regional interstate cooperation and planning and action?

THE PRESIDENT. I see no reason why we should not, and we do have our Federal Regional Council, which is supposed to coordinate the various departmental programs in the region under their jurisdiction.

Now, that is at the Federal level. It does not have a corresponding group, necessarily, at the State level, but in those areas where it makes sense geographically, I would hope that we would not be hidebound by arbitrary State lines, and to the extent in the areas of health and education where it makes sense, we would proceed with the establishment of regional or other geographical organizations to meet a practical problem. I don't think we should be circumscribed by just arbitrary State lines if another approach is the better one.

## NEW YORK CITY

[20.] Q. Mr. President, I am Roger Hibbs, representing the Mid-Appalachian Chamber of Commerce. As you are aware, sir, New York City has been suffering from fiscal irresponsibility, if not gross mismanagement, for many years. What, sir, in your opinion will be the effect on the United States economy



should New York City default on its obligations, and do you plan to bail them out with Federal taxpayers' dollars?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have been told by a number of economic experts that if by chance New York City should default and can't borrow the money to meet its current operating expenses, that the impact of such action or of such occurrence happening could be containable, as these experts tell me. That is the phraseology they use.

I have heard enough of them say that that I believe that it is accurate. The more serious problem is if New York City can't meet its obligations, can't borrow the money or have it from other sources, now that we have the problem of New York State having some difficulties. But I can't believe that a State with all the wealth that New York State has can't meet that problem.

The problem of New York City is a serious one. I have great sympathy for the people of New York City. I do believe there is a solution, but it has to come from the local and responsible State authorities or the local city authorities.

There is no legislation at the Federal level that would permit the executive branch to move in and do anything under these circumstances. The Federal Reserve Board has certain authority that can help in the financial community, but neither it nor the Federal Government per se has any authority to bail out New York City.

Most people don't recognize that in either this fiscal year or last fiscal year the Federal Government made available in various programs to the city of New York about \$3,500 million, roughly 25 percent of their revenue.

So, the Federal Government has not been negligent in trying to help the city of New York over the last several years. They are in a lot of trouble, and it has not happened overnight. And so far, there has not been any viable program presented that I have seen that will get them out of their difficulty, but we will have to wait and see.

I hope they can make it, but the Federal Government, or the executive branch of the Federal Government, has no authority to do anything.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Out in Omaha a week or 10 days ago, I asked an audience like this, when the question was asked, how many in the audience would recommend that the Federal Government move in and rescue New York City. I asked this very solemnly, and I asked it very seriously.

How many in this room would recommend that the Federal Government go in and take care of the financial situation the city of New York has. It is a serious matter, but it would have a very serious impact on our structure.

## EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

[21.] Q. Mr. President, thank you for coming to Tennessee, and we welcome you here. I represent the "Stop Equal Rights Amendment" group in East Tennessee.

THE PRESIDENT. Excuse me. I didn't hear.

Q. I am Dorothy Warnacut from Etowah, Tennessee, and I am an east Tennessee chairman for Stop the Equal Rights Amendment. I think you have heard of that amendment. [*Laughter*] You have met with pro equal rights amendment representatives, and we want to know if you would please grant us our equal rights to meet with you? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I am not familiar that I have met with any group such as you describe. I was in the House of Representatives and voted for it. So, my record is clear.

It is now out of the Congress, and it is in the hands of the various State legislatures or in the hands of the people in the respective States. That is a procedure that is proper under our Constitution, and individuals pro and con at the State level now have the responsibility to decide under the Constitution whether there should be a ratification of that action taken by the Congress.

I thank you very, very much. It is a pleasure and privilege to be here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4 p.m. in the Cumberland Ballroom at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. He was introduced by William J. Baroody, Jr., Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

In his opening remarks, the President referred

to Governors Ray Blanton of Tennessee, Julian M. Carroll of Kentucky, William L. Waller of Mississippi, James A. Holshouser of North Carolina, James A. Rhodes of Ohio, George Busbee of Georgia, and Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia.

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## Remarks at a Reception of the American Society of Oral Surgeons. *October 7, 1975*

IT IS great to be here, and as I look over the audience I see some of my former colleagues in the Congress. But it is delightful to be here again as I was in 1971 when I was still in the House of Representatives and had the opportunity of joining Dr. Jim Edwards, who is now a great Governor in South Carolina, and also to be here—I am sure he must be here someplace—Dr. Lee Ricker from my hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Well, I just met Dr. Hayward from the University of Michigan as I came in. A long time ago, before many of you knew anything about oral surgery, I was the beneficiary of some experimental work—[*laughter*—at the University of

Michigan Dental School. And I must say, I have not had one failure from that fine experimental work, for which I thank them all.

But in 1932 and 1933, when I was the beneficiary of that expert professional training and instruction—whatever the price was, it was cheap—but it was a darn good bit of service, and for them I thank them. But it got me straightened out on the right path because I have benefited from the good advice they gave. And I am real proud of what all of you in your society and your associates have done. And I compliment you for the high professionalism of your organization and the people that are a part of it.

The original schedule was that I was to be here last night. [*Laughter*] But I had another message to give on a far broader scale. [*Laughter*] And so, I thought if you could stand it, I would come here tonight after I got back from a long day in Tennessee to give you a personal, firsthand approach to some of the things I said last night. And if you don't mind my repeating and perhaps expanding some of those views, I would like to do so.

I think we are faced with two very serious decisions that I had to make and that I have made, and now the Congress must face up to, and it will have to decide. The two problems are very simple. I believe the Federal Government should tax less, and it is my strong conviction that the Federal Government should put a substantial restraint on the growth of Federal spending.

I feel very strongly that you can't do one without the other, and I am going to say to the Congress very specifically, very categorically, if you want a tax reduction, if you want a meaningful, substantial, constructive tax reduction, you have to put a restraint on Federal spending, period.

Let me talk very specifically, if I can, about what the trend of Federal spending is. On June 30 of this year, Federal spending for a 12-month period will be \$370 billion. In 12 months, your Government will spend in this current fiscal year \$370 billion. If we don't add one new program, if we don't change one dollar in escalation, if we let things just go along as they are, the growth in Federal spending in the next 12 months from July 1 of this year or next year to July 1 of 1977—you will add \$50 billion to Federal spending in 12 months.

That is the add-on and will take you up to \$420 or \$430 billion. That is the growth factor without any new program, without improving, changing, or—that is just what happens mechanically. Because more people become eligible, the escalation clauses are in effect. It just happens.

Now, some people say that is uncontrollable. I don't think it is. It is uncontrollable if Congress does not do anything to stop it. That is what the law says.

But if Congress will face up to a limitation, we can control it, and that is what they ought to do.

We ought to get rid of the words “uncontrollable Federal expenditures.” You can control them, I can control them, if Congress will change the law, period.

And let me point out one thing, if I might. This fiscal year which begins, or ends I should say, next June 30, will have a deficit of somewhere between \$62 and \$70 billion—deficit. That is more money we have to borrow to pay our current obligations in 12 months.

If what I have recommended, that we get a \$28 billion tax cut and a \$28 billion limitation on the growth of Federal expenditures, we can just about cut in half for the next fiscal year the deficit. It will be somewhere around \$40 billion.

Now, that’s bad, but let me tell you what will happen if we don’t cut the growth—and I underline “the growth”—in Federal expenditures. We will end up with a deficit next fiscal year of \$70-plus billion. So, you will have back-to-back deficits of around \$140—well, total \$140 billion. That is the cold, hard, statistical fact of life.

So, what is our choice? In order to get the Congress to put a limitation on growth of Federal spending, we have to convince the Congress that it is wise to put a tax reduction in at the same time. I think a good many Members of Congress even today agree with that, and more and more will agree with it if you go out and sell it.

What kind of tax package are we trying to sell? We are trying to sell a tax package that gives to the hard-working, industrious, middle-income group a better break. They have been shortchanged if you look at the tax packages over the last 10 or 20 years. And we are talking about the people in the range of \$8,000 to \$25,000 to \$30,000.

They have been getting shortchanged. You can look at the statistics. They are very accurate. What we are trying to do is to give to them the kind of a break so they can send their kids to school, buy a home, do some of the things that they worked for and sought to achieve.

What are the specifics? The specifics are to increase the personal exemption from \$750 per person to \$1,000. Number two, for a single person, the regular deduction—standard deduction they call it—for a single person, a flat rate of \$1,800; for a family, \$2,500.

In addition, we revise the rate schedules. The net result is you are going to

have equity done to those people down in that middle-income group. And they have taken it on the chin, and they deserve their fair share.

We have emphasized in recent years taking care of the less well-off. Under the tax package I have recommended, they are held harmless, they are not taxed one dime more. Over the years, some people allege that the people more well-off have gotten the benefits. We don't give them any more.

The people that get the help are those people in the middle-income brackets, and they are the strength, in my judgment, of our American society.

But I reemphasize for the benefit of some of my friends from the Congress who are here on both sides of the aisle, if we are going to give this kind of a meaningful tax reduction, we have to have a dollar-for-dollar reduction in the growth of Federal expenditures. It is a package or it is nothing, and I ask for your help to convince your Members of Congress that that is the right thing to do.

One other observation and comment. I am real pleased to be here with all of you who have such intimate contact with your patients and your fellow citizens. I am grateful for the help and assistance you gave me over a long period of time. And I urge you to continue that high level of professionalism, which is so important in our society.

Excellence is something that we should stimulate our successors to achieve. You who are here represent that. And this is what we have to have in our society, individually and collectively, and we have to have as a nation.

Whether it is meeting the problem of expenditures or taxes or energy or foreign policy, we have to have that kind of vision, that kind of action if we are to justify the faith that was given to us by our forefathers.

You and I have a mission to justify what they did for us, and we have a responsibility for those that succeed us. Our goals should be high and our efforts should be maximized—not for us, but to adequately represent what was done before and to stimulate that what must be done in the future.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:29 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

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**Special Message to the Congress Proposing Reform of  
Airline Industry Regulation.   October 8, 1975***To the Congress of the United States:*

As part of my program to strengthen the Nation's economy through greater reliance on competition in the marketplace, I announced earlier this year my intention to send to the Congress a comprehensive program for the reform of transportation regulation. In May, I sent to Congress the Railroad Revitalization Act aimed at rebuilding a healthy, progressive rail system for the Nation. Today I am pleased to submit the Aviation Act of 1975 which will provide similar improvements in the regulatory environment of our airlines. To complete the package, I will soon be forwarding similar legislation for the reform of regulation governing the motor carrier industry.

The result of the regulatory reform measures proposed in this legislation will have a direct and beneficial impact on the American consumer. Countless Americans use air travel on a regular basis in connection with their jobs and leisure activities. But for many Americans, air travel has become a luxury too expensive to afford. In part, today's high costs of air transportation are attributable to inflation and the rising cost of fuel and labor. But they are also the result of long years of excessive economic regulation.

In 1938, when the Congress authorized the creation of the Civil Aeronautics Board, there was a belief that some form of government intervention was needed to protect the infant airline industry. Accordingly, the Board was instructed to regulate this industry in order to promote its growth and development. Entry into the industry was strictly controlled. Even those airlines who were allowed entry into the industry were rigorously controlled with respect to what markets they could serve and fares were regulated. Real competition was intentionally dampened.

In the almost four decades since economic regulation of airlines was established, this industry has grown tremendously. It can no longer be called an infant. Consequently, protective government regulation established to serve the particular needs of a new industry has outlived its original purpose. The rigidly controlled regulatory structure now serves to stifle competition, increase cost to travelers, makes the industry less efficient than it could be and denies large segments of the American public access to lower cost air transportation. A num-

ber of studies have indicated that the cost of air transportation to American consumers is far higher than necessary as a result of overregulation.

The overriding objective of the proposed legislation is to ensure that we have the most efficient airline system in the world providing the American public with the best possible service at the lowest possible cost. We must make sure that the industry responds to natural market forces and to consumer demands rather than to artificial constraints set out by government. This legislation would replace the present promotional and protectionist regulatory system with one which serves the needs of the public by allowing the naturally competitive nature of the industry to operate. It provides the airline industry increased flexibility to adjust prices to meet market demands. And it will make it substantially easier for firms who wish and are able to provide airline services to do so. These measures will be introduced gradually to permit the industry to adjust to a new regulatory environment. Government will continue to set rigid safety and financial standards for the airlines. But the focus of the new regulatory scheme will be to protect consumer interests, rather than those of the industry.

I urge the Congress to give careful and speedy attention to these measures so that the over 200 million passengers who use our airlines every year are given the benefits of greater competition that will flow from regulatory reform of this industry.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
October 8, 1975.

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### Remarks at Ceremonies Commemorating the Bicentennial of the United States Navy. *October 9, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. Admiral Holloway, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

At the outset, may I express my very deep personal gratitude for your thoughtfulness and the kindness of the Navy in giving to me those two wonderful mementos that reflect, of course, the history and the tradition of the Navy itself.

I am very, very proud and highly honored to salute this special day marking the 200th anniversary of the United States Navy. Those of us who love the Navy and who have gone to sea in her ships know that the history of the Navy is the history of the United States.

Our Navy remains the symbol of the United States—of our dedicated and skilled sailors, of our technological genius and our massive, but controlled, military strength, which patrols the oceans of the world on a mission of peace.

I pledge to you today that I remain fully committed to a Navy second to none in readiness and capability, a Navy devoted to the Nation's highest ideal.

Since our first sailing ship mounted a cannon, our sailors have protected America at home and throughout the world. As we begin the celebration of our National Bicentennial, much has changed, but the Navy remains steadfast as our first line and guardian of liberty and peace.

It took naval power to win our freedom. It still takes naval power to preserve freedom. As President and as Commander in Chief, I will do all that I can to keep the United States Navy supplied with the best and the most modern ships, weapons, training, and equipment in the world today.

It is my sworn duty to maintain the power for peace that the Navy symbolizes. The credibility of the United States, in the eyes of both our friends and political adversaries, depends upon the courage, the skill, and the discipline of the men and women of the United States Navy.

Any assessment of our military, economic, and moral strength must take into account the respect the United States commands on the high seas. My budget recommendations for national defense are the minimum essential for our safety, and I might add, I am more than disappointed that in too many instances these budget recommendations for weapons, for equipment, for this and for that have been so deeply cut.

Some now advance the misguided notion that Americans are no longer fighting anywhere; because we are seeking to broaden every channel to peace, we can afford the luxury of some new domestic programs out of defense cutbacks. I am convinced that the adequate spending for national defense is an insurance policy, one for peace that we cannot afford to be without.

Certainly the most important obligation of government is to guarantee all citizens protection of their lives and freedom against outside attack.

Today, that protection is our principal hope for peace. What expense item in our Federal budget is more essential? Obviously, from my previous remarks, I will resist to the utmost the scuttling of the United States Navy in every way available to me.

On the 200th anniversary of our heroic Navy, I appeal to the common sense and courage of the American people. At home, we are making real progress on the problems that beset our Nation. It is not the time to dismantle our defenses.



I reject the prophets of doom who see nothing but depression at home and defeat abroad. I reject any advice to pull down the Stars and the Stripes and sail home from the seas of the world to safe anchorage at home port.

If we do so, our home ports will no longer be safe. You know it, and I know it. Under my Presidency, we will neither furl the flag nor abandon hope. We will maintain constancy and credibility of American strength at home, as on the seas of the world.

Thank you very much, and Godspeed to all hands.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:23 p.m. at Leutze Park at the Washington Navy Yard. In his opening remarks, he referred to J. William Middendorf II,

Secretary of the Navy, and Adm. James L. Holloway III, Chief of Naval Operations.

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## The President's News Conference of *October 9, 1975*

THE PRESIDENT. Good evening. How are you all tonight?

Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

### THE MIDDLE EAST

[1.] Q. Mr. President, it now seems pretty certain that Congress will approve sending American civilians to the Sinai. My question is: Will any of these Americans be drawn from the military establishment, CIA, or the intelligence agencies, and is recruiting underway now?

THE PRESIDENT. I can only tell you that the American technicians will be American civilians. They are highly qualified, very technically oriented individuals who have to operate very sophisticated electronics equipment. The actual recruiting, I assume, will begin very shortly. I am certain they will not be in the military.

Q. Well, they may not be in the military after they go to the Sinai, but are they being drawn from that area?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't give you the specifics on that, except that I can assure you that they are civilian technicians and will have no relationship to our military.

### NEW YORK CITY

[2.] Q. Mr. President, we are well aware of your opposition to a Federal bailout of New York City, but does that necessarily mean that you would veto

any legislation you might get from Congress that would aim in that general direction?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think any legislation that I have heard people comment about or any legislation that I have read about would justify approval by myself. The legislation that I have heard about is a long way from getting through the Congress.

Every place I go, I check with Members of the Congress—Democratic or Republican—and I check, as some of you may know, with people in various communities. And I find no substantial sentiment for any legislation of one kind or another in the Congress to bail out New York City. So, I think it is very premature to make any comment other than nothing I have seen so far seems to fit the bill.

Yes, Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, *Chicago Daily News*].

#### FEDERAL TAXES AND SPENDING

[3.] Q. Mr. President, you have said that, or have indicated, or some of your people have, that you would veto a tax bill if it is not tied to this budget ceiling. My question is, would you really shoot Santa Claus in an election year? [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Lisagor, I have said with great emphasis that the American people want a \$28 billion tax cut and a \$28 billion reduction in the growth of Federal expenditures. They know that that is the right way to meet the problem of getting our long-term reform in tax legislation and to achieve a responsible program in spending limitations.

I absolutely, without any equivocation, say that if the Congress plays politics by sending a tax reduction bill to my desk without any responsible restraint on Federal spending, the answer is, as I said the other night, I would not hesitate to veto it.

Q. Mr. President, could I follow that and ask you, have you taken any polls to find out whether the American people really support this program, because you and others have said that the American people want this? How do you know they want this?

THE PRESIDENT. I have been watching some of the polls taken nationally for the last several months, and there is a general consensus that Federal spending ought to be controlled. And I believe there is a strong feeling that the Federal Government should take less out of the taxpayer's pocket so the taxpayer can spend it himself.

Q. Mr. President, to stay with the tax and spending program, critics of the

program say that since your \$28 billion in tax cuts would start on January 1, about 9 months before the spending cuts, that what you really have is a highly inflationary fiscal policy for the first part of next year. What is your response to that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't want any misunderstanding on that. Our tax cut proposal tied in with a spending limitation was not aimed at affecting the economy in any significant way whatsoever. On the other hand, if the Congress is critical and wants to put a spending limitation on the last 6 months of fiscal 1976, I will be glad to cooperate with them. I think that might be very wholesome in that the present spending limitation that the Congress has imposed for fiscal '76 is too high. So, if they want to cooperate for the last 6 months of fiscal 1976, I will be right there helping them.

Q. Mr. President, to follow that, would you say why you went as high as \$28 billion at a time when your economic advisers suggested that economic recovery was not only on schedule but ahead of schedule?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I indicated a moment ago, the proposal for a tax cut and a spending cut was not aimed at necessarily affecting the economy. It was aimed primarily at getting a meaningful tax reduction on a permanent basis to get us straightened out in where the burden of Federal taxes should fall on individuals, giving a bigger tax break between the incomes of \$8,000 to \$25,000.

In addition, the proposal was aimed at getting a handle on this tremendous growth in Federal spending. As I indicated the other night, if we don't pass one new law, if we don't make any change whatsoever in eligibility or rates, the increase in Federal spending in the next 12 months, from July 1, will be \$50 billion—an increase in spending of \$50 billion. We picked the figure of \$28 billion as a reduction in that \$50 billion in order to get some of these escalation programs under control.

#### ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

[4.] Q. Mr. President, on another subject, the Vice President says that high-level Administration critics of your \$100 billion energy plan should either support the plan or resign. Do you agree?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen any public statements by any of my advisers that they are not in accord with the recommendation that I am submitting officially to the Congress tomorrow.

We have some differences in an administration where I have a number of very able, articulate individuals. They don't always agree on every subject. But

I know of no public statement attributed to any one of them where they officially disagree with my decision.

Q. But isn't Secretary Simon a persistent critic of this plan?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't heard him say anything to me directly in contravention of my decision. And although he did raise some questions during the consideration of it, as far as I know he has not publicly come out and condemned it.

#### CANCELLATION OF LOUISVILLE TRIP

[5.] Q. Mr. President, there are reports tonight that you have decided not to go to Louisville, Kentucky, for a Republican dinner next week. Is that a sign for security reasons that perhaps you are going to be held hostage in the Oval Office?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I was advised by local officials, as well as others, that under the current circumstances I should cancel the trip to Louisville, and as a result, it is being canceled. But I would like to add there are some unusual circumstances in Louisville at the present time.

I am going, however, to several other places—to Detroit tomorrow night and to Connecticut next week—and under no circumstances does this decision involving Kentucky have any impact on my decision to travel where I think it is the right thing to do, bearing in mind any security problems that might be raised.

Q. What are the circumstances in Louisville, and does it have anything to do with the busing problems they have had there?

THE PRESIDENT. There has been some turmoil in Louisville as a result of court-ordered forced busing to achieve racial balance in the public schools. And I think all of you know that I have consistently and vigorously opposed court-ordered forced busing to achieve racial balance.

I think there is a better answer to quality education. And this problem in Louisville at the present time has created some local disturbances, and rather than involve any potential injury to anybody else and for other security reasons, I have decided to cancel the trip.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[6.] Q. Mr. President, some of your political allies, Lee Nunn<sup>1</sup> and others, have criticized Bo Callaway recently about his direction of your election campaign. They say he is too reluctant to spend money and that he has not built

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<sup>1</sup> Treasurer of the President Ford Committee.

the kind of organization that is needed for a Presidential campaign. My question is this: Has this criticism been conveyed to you, do you have any plans for shoring up your campaign organization, and do you expect to retain Bo Callaway for the duration of the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me answer the last question first. I have great faith and trust, and I fully support Bo Callaway. The criticism that I have heard—and I understand that Lee Nunn wrote a letter to the White House; I have not seen it. I have heard about it. Lee Nunn is a very dedicated person. He is a good personal friend of mine. For various reasons, I guess he didn't fit in comfortably with the organizational structure and the decisionmaking process of Bo Callaway. It is an honest difference of opinion as to organization. So, Lee took the step that he did. I certainly will examine his comments and criticisms and will bear them in mind as we proceed ahead.

Q. I have a follow-up. Specifically, do you have any plans for improving your campaign organization, or are you satisfied with Mr. Callaway's organizing effort?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we have a very, very good campaign organization, and if you will go around the States, we have an excellent one in California. We have an outstanding one in Illinois. We have a good one in Michigan. We are putting together a first-class one in Pennsylvania. New York State is in excellent shape. In my judgment, we have established in many, many States excellent organizations. I think we are really moving exceedingly well in the nomination process.

Bo Callaway has worked hard. He has done a fine job. Our organization, with a few exceptions, is in good shape. So, I have no specific plans to make any substantial changes.

Q. Mr. President, if I might, the Associated Press today reported that the President Ford Committee has taken in \$700,000 for your campaign. The story also says that one-third of that money came in the form of the maximum \$1,000 check. Most of the rest, almost all of the rest, came in the form of very large donations of checks of over \$250 or more. Many of those donations came from corporation executives, bank presidents, real estate offices, and so on. So, my question is: Does this confirm the allegations of your critics that your Administration is overly friendly with big business?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing could be sillier. And the net result is that people who want to contribute, contribute voluntarily, and I welcome those contributions. I can assure you that we are going to get a very broad-based contribution

from many, many people all over the country, and there is just nothing to it. It is a silly accusation.

Q. Mr. President, along that line, a report published this week says the new political director of your campaign ran a school for dirty tricks several years ago—displaying wiretap equipment, teaching campaign workers to make phony telephone calls to disrupt the opposition. Since that has never been your style of campaigning, do you intend to ask Mr. Callaway to investigate and take appropriate action if it is warranted?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my understanding that Mr. Spencer<sup>2</sup> has categorically denied those charges. He is an honorable person. I believe him. And as you indicated, I have never, under any circumstances, in any of my campaigns, permitted or participated in such activities. There will be none in my campaign for nomination and for election as President. And so there is just no further comment needed.

Q. Mr. President, since you got back from Europe in early August, you visited nearly half the States in the Union. You have made dozens of public appearances on the road, and many, if not most, of those public appearances have been speeches at Republican fundraising events. Yet you and your aides have said repeatedly that none of these appearances have any relation at all to your campaign for election in 1976. Wouldn't it be a little more candid to concede the obvious?

THE PRESIDENT. As President and as a member of the Republican Party and the leader of the Republican Party, I have an obligation to try and strengthen and rebuild the Republican Party organization in many, many States. That is what I have been doing. As I recall in the various appearances before State Republican fundraising dinners, I have raised something over \$2 million, most of which goes to the State organization; part of it goes to the national organization to pay the expenses of the trip that I take to that particular community.

As President and as the leader of the Republican Party, if I am asked to participate in one of those meetings, I am glad to do it, because I firmly believe that the strengthening of a State organization is very helpful for all Republican candidates, including the candidate for President. I think that is a part of the function that I have as head of the party.

Q. Nevertheless, Mr. President, don't these appearances at these fundraising events inevitably have some favorable impact on your candidacy?

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<sup>2</sup> Stuart Spencer, deputy campaign chairman.

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't necessarily say on my candidacy. I hope on my election.

GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, a two-part question: Is there any delay in the formal announcement of our negotiations with the Soviets on the wheat sale, and as a companion question, are we also negotiating with the Russians on the sale of their oil at a favorable price to us?

THE PRESIDENT. We have coming out tomorrow, I think at 3:00 or 3:30, an announcement as to the status of our wheat, corn, soybean crop reports. When we put on the temporary suspension of the sale of these commodities overseas to the Soviet Union and to others, we said we would await that crop report. As soon as we get that report, I presume there will be some announcements as to further sales to one or more countries.<sup>3</sup>

Now, we are negotiating right at the present time with the Soviet Union for a 5-year sale of grain of an annual amount which is very substantial, with an option, perhaps, for them to buy more. It will be a very good agreement if some of the final details are worked out.

At the same time, there are some negotiations going on involving the purchase by the United States of Soviet oil. Whether or not the two will be tied together is not firmly decided yet. We are more likely to have one announced and then continue negotiations on the other. But on the other hand, it is possible that we will be successful in both.

Q. Mr. President, will the price, do you hope, be lower than the established price by OPEC?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as far as grain is concerned, of course the Soviet Union will buy our grain in our open American markets at the market prices. You don't buy in an open market in the Soviet Union; you pay what the Government decides. Now we hope that in the negotiations we can negotiate a favorable price, but we have not concluded those negotiations at the present time.

MARIJUANA

[8.] Q. Mr. President, in Knoxville earlier this week you were asked by an interviewer for your thoughts on your son's use—or saying that he smoked marijuana, and you said that you admired his candor, but you sort of stopped there. I was just wondering, Mr. President, could you tell us what are your thoughts about young people using marijuana?

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<sup>3</sup> See Item 622[1].

THE PRESIDENT. I disapprove of young people using marijuana. I believe the preponderance of the evidence so far is that it is not a healthy habit to have. I personally disapprove of it. And on the other hand, I think it is a very honorable thing for a son to frankly admit that on a very limited basis, had done so.

And as I said in Nashville (Knoxville), all of our children have been brought up to be honest with their parents and honest otherwise, and I respect them for that and I hope they continue that very fine trait. But I repeat, as far as I am personally concerned, I do not approve of the smoking of marijuana.

NEW YORK CITY

[9.] Q. Mr. President, to return to New York City for a moment—*[laughter]*—Secretary Simon—

THE PRESIDENT. My wife is up there tonight.

Q. I hope she has a good time, sir. *[Laughter]*

Secretary Simon and Chairman Burns have testified that if Congress does decide to do something to help New York, it should contain tough provisions to make sure that New York City balances its budget and to discourage other cities from following the Federal route. Should legislation come to you containing these tough provisions, might you then consider it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I always consider any legislation passed by the Congress, but I certainly have to look at the small print on any legislation that is aimed at bailing New York City out when their financial or fiscal record has not been a good one.

As I recall what Chairman Burns said the other day in testimony—that if a city came up with a balanced budget and if a State guaranteed to provide necessary revenue to keep that in balance, and if there was a long-time responsible fiscal policy, then he would recommend such legislation.

Well, if you have all of those factors—a balanced budget, the State guaranteeing the payment of the money by additional State taxes, and the other factor—it hardly seems needed or necessary for the Federal Government to get involved.

Q. Well, sir, the only question is the short run, and Congress is thinking of coming up with something to help New York over the short run. Might you, if all of these other elements were there, might you support some help in the short run?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not think it is a healthy thing for the Federal Government to bail out a city, and I mean any city that has handled its fiscal affairs as irresponsibly over a long period of time as New York City has. Now, I have great sympathy for the people of New York, the 6 or 8 million people there.



They have got a terrible program. Their government expenditures are out of control. Unless they come in with a balanced budget, unless they get some State aid from the State of New York by some means or other, I just am very reluctant to say anything other than "no" until I see the fine print, until I see what New York City has done. And it is interesting to note that the "Big Mac" committee <sup>4</sup> has turned down Mayor Beame's program as being not sufficient. So, it hasn't gotten by the State yet, much less come back down to Washington.

Mr. Beckman [Aldo Beckman, Chicago Tribune].

#### CONGRESSIONAL SALARIES

[10.] Q. Mr. President, we hear you make lots of speeches about your determination to hold inflation down. I wonder if you could tell us why you signed a bill that gives Congress a vested interest in inflation and ties their salaries to the cost-of-living index?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think you know, Mr. Beckman, that instead of recommending that their salaries be increased to 8.66, I recommended that their salary increases be limited to 5 percent. I think that is responsible action on my part.

Q. You don't find any problem with their salaries being tied to the cost of living?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that judges, I believe that top officials in the executive branch and Members of Congress who haven't had a pay increase for 6½ years ought to get a cost-of-living pay increase. But I decided to make it 5 percent rather than 8.66 percent.

#### SCHOOL LUNCH LEGISLATION

[11.] Q. Mr. President, were you surprised by the Congressional vote to override your veto of the school lunch bill?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all, because it had a very fine label and the facts were not sufficiently exposed to the public to get the public interested in writing the Congress that they ought not to override. And as you well know, my proposal took as good care of the children who need free lunches, if not better, than the bill that was passed by the Congress. The only difference between the Congress and myself was the Congress said that free lunches could be paid by the Federal Government for families that had an income of \$9,770. I don't think the taxpayers as a whole ought to subsidize with free lunches families who have that kind of income.

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<sup>4</sup>The Municipal Assistance Corporation was created by the State of New York and was empowered to issue bonds. Funds from the bond sales were intended for the assistance of New York City.

Q. Mr. President, was the veto useful then for the sake of making that point?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope so.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[12.] Q. Mr. President, you have taken a number of political positions which are attractive to the conservative members of the Republican Party. I refer to the tax and the veto of social programs, New York. Is it your campaign strategy to keep to the right in your own party until after New Hampshire and Florida and then move back to the center when you are running against a Democrat?

THE PRESIDENT. I think if you look at my total record since I have been President, and certainly while I was in the House of Representatives, I was in the middle of the road both in domestic action as well as in foreign policy, and I intend to stay there.

I think it is the area where most Americans agree. It has been my record for 27 years in politics, and I don't intend to deviate for any temporary political advantage.

#### FEDERAL TAXES AND SPENDING

[13.] Q. Mr. President, there has been talk about the great difficulty of combining the tax cut with the Government expenditure ceiling in one package. And we asked Mr. Greenspan and Mr. Simon, and they say, well, that is up to Congress. Well, you are an expert in that subject as a former House minority leader. What would you suggest along that line?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would suggest to the Congress that they go back to December of 1967 where they will find that Congress for the next fiscal year passed a spending limitation and at the same time took action on taxes. And I would suggest they go back to June of 1968, and they will find that the Congress passed a spending limitation at the same time they considered a tax measure for the next fiscal year. They would learn from history and from precedents that it had been done.

And if this new Congress, this reform Congress, can't use enough imagination to put together a tax reduction and a spending limitation, I think the American people ought to know about it, because other Congresses have done it, and the American people believe in a tax reduction and a spending limitation. And I can't imagine Congress not having enough imagination to combine a spending limitation and a tax reduction. If they don't, there ought to be some changes up on Capitol Hill.

## FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

[14.] Q. Mr. President, your Agriculture Department people had indicated earlier this week that they would have this week your food stamp proposal. Well, they didn't. Now there are reports that there is conflict within your Administration on this, that your people just can't get together. We understand the proposal won't be ready now until the Congress comes back from its recess. What is the story?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Congress just left, or is just about to go on a 10-day recess. And even if we had sent our food stamp control legislation up, there would not have been any Member of Congress here to consider it. So, we are going to send it up the day that Congress returns from their recess and will have done some preliminary work with certain Members of Congress.

We have been working with Senator Buckley and with Congressman Michel, who are the authors of a very fine food stamp reform bill. So, when we send ours up the day Congress comes back from recess, there will be ample time for the House and Senate to consider it.

Q. Sir, can you give us a preview of what is in it and what you are trying to accomplish?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. We are trying to save at least a billion dollars a year in the present food stamp program. What we are trying to do is to give more benefits in the food stamp program to those people who need them and to take away the benefits from people who don't need food stamps. And that legislation, which I am going to recommend, will save at least a billion dollars. It will do away with most of the abuses in the food stamp program, and I certainly hope the Congress does something about it.

FRANK CORMIER [Associated Press]. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you all very much.

NOTE: President Ford's nineteenth news conference began at 8:01 p.m. in Room 450 at the Old Executive Office Building. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

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**Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposed Legislation To Establish an Energy Independence Authority. *October 10, 1975***

THE ARAB oil embargo of 1973 dramatically illustrated our ever-increasing dependence on foreign oil. Two years have passed since the embargo was imposed. But our vulnerability has increased. Nearly nine months ago I asked

the Congress to adopt the Energy Independence Act of 1975. Prompt action on this proposal would have provided the statutory framework necessary to achieve energy independence by 1985. Enactment of this legislation remains as crucial now as it was in January. I urge the Congress to complete action promptly on those proposals.

It is estimated that the capital requirements for energy independence will total about \$600 billion over the next ten years. Risks are such in many of the projects necessary to develop domestic energy resources and reduce consumption that private capital markets will not provide necessary financing. The uncertainties associated with new technologies inhibit the flow of capital.

America cannot permit the excessive delays associated with the commercialization of unconventional energy technologies. New production is essential. Our national security and economic well-being depend on our ability to act decisively on energy.

Accordingly, I am herewith transmitting the Energy Independence Authority Act of 1975. This legislation would create a new partnership between the private sector and the Federal Government to assure action on vital energy projects in the next decade. The Federal financial assistance provided in this Act would be directed primarily toward the commercialization of those new technologies which offer the greatest promise to develop new supplies and conserve our present energy resources. The financing would be limited to those projects which would not be initiated without new Federal assistance. The EIA would be authorized to invest up to \$100 billion during a seven year period. It would terminate after ten years.

This legislation also addresses the need to simplify and expedite the increasingly complex process by which Federal regulatory decisions affect energy development. It provides for a more effective Federal licensing process by authorizing a coordinated, single Federal application process and requiring Federal agencies to act promptly. The legislation would not alter the basic statutory responsibilities of Federal regulatory agencies.

The achievement of energy independence in the next decade requires a partnership of American business, labor, and government. Each partner must bear a fair share of the burden in the national interest.

The Energy Independence Authority Act of 1975 will give the United States the tools necessary to achieve energy independence. I urge its prompt enactment by the Congress.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, President of the Senate.

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## The President's News Conference of October 10, 1975

### STATEMENT ON GRAIN SALES TO POLAND AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

*Thank you very much, Mr. Barnes, members of the Detroit Press Club, and guests:*

[1.] A very short announcement at the outset:

As most of you know, the United States had requested last month that the Government of Poland refrain from additional purchases of U.S. grain until the October crop report. Because today's crop report contains, as we expected, an excellent crop forecast, I have today authorized that Poland be notified that it may now resume purchases. We anticipate that their purchases will be spread out over a period of time. With respect to future grain sales to the Soviet Union, both for this year's crop and for the long-term contract, negotiations are continuing, and we hope to conclude an agreement in the very near future.

Secretary Butz will be holding a briefing in Washington at 4:30 p.m., going over the crop report and the Polish grain sale.

With that announcement, the first question from Mr. Clark Hallas [Detroit News].

### QUESTIONS

MICHIGAN GOVERNOR WILLIAM MILLIKEN

[2.] Q. Mr. President, have you urged Governor Milliken to run for the Senate seat to be vacated by Senator Hart?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not urged Governor Milliken to run for the Senate seat. Governor Milliken, I think, has to make that judgment or that decision himself.

There are already some announced, or tentatively announced, candidates, and it seems to me that that is a decision for the Governor to make. He knows the situation better than I.

Q. Would you welcome his entry into the race?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Governor Milliken has been an outstanding Governor. I think the State of Michigan has been most fortunate to have him as our Governor. But I think this is a decision that Bill ought to make himself, and I ought not to get involved.

Q. May I ask you one more question?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

#### DETROIT

[3.] Q. Has your Administration, or does your Administration plan to take any action soon on the "Move Detroit Forward" plan?

THE PRESIDENT. We have directed every Federal agency that would have any relationship to the "Move Detroit Forward" program to cooperate to the maximum, and there are a number of Federal agencies that do have money under their various categorical and block grant programs.

At the moment, I don't think it is feasible to go beyond what they can do within appropriations, and if they do that, there will be a substantial amount of money made available. And we are doing it as expeditiously as possible. But at this time, I don't think we should make any commitments beyond what is authorized in the various appropriation acts.

#### GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV OF THE SOVIET UNION

[4.] Q. Mr. President, with each passing week it would appear that the prospects for a Washington summit this year with Chairman Brezhnev become dimmer and dimmer, and I wondered if you could offer us any evidence to the contrary?

THE PRESIDENT. We have been in contact, of course, with the Soviet Union. In fact, our technical negotiators are trying to work out some of the answers to the various technical problems that have really been resolved and we are in agreement on.

There are some differences. We are continuing to explore ways to reconcile those differences. But at this moment, we are not in a position to make any announcement as to a set time when such a meeting between Mr. Brezhnev and myself will be held.

#### FEDERAL TAXES AND SPENDING

[5.] Q. Jim Harrington, WXYZ-TV. Mr. President, the Democrats in the Congress and the leaders have challenged you to be specific about what cuts you would make to match that tax cut. Could you enumerate some programs

that you think could stand some trimming, and would, of necessity, aid to cities like Detroit be included?

THE PRESIDENT. I had the Office of Management and Budget put together for me, over a period of several months, areas in the Federal budget where we might make some reductions, and they submitted to me a book about that thick. And there are many more options than the \$28 billion that I think ought to be cut out of the growth of Federal spending—and I emphasize “growth,” because even with a \$28 billion reduction, it means that there will be an increase over the anticipated expenditures for this fiscal year of roughly \$23 to \$25 billion.

So, it is not a cutback in actuality, it is a cutback in growth. And we have a number of target areas, and I am going to analyze those and find a sufficient number to come within the \$28 billion reduction so we can have a comparable tax cut. But let me give you several just as examples.

I believe that the food stamp program can be substantially reduced. There are many, many illustrations of abuse—many, many illustrations where people have been paid where they didn’t really qualify. The error rate is very high. I am going to submit as soon as Congress comes back from their fourth or fifth recess—[laughter]—reductions at least that will save a billion dollars in this area.

Now, in addition, we think that there are some areas in the medical field again where there have been many, many abuses. Costs have escalated unbelievably in the medical field where the Federal Government makes payments. We think that there can be a tightening up in this area. Those are two, I think, very good illustrations where I think there can be a cutback in the growth of Federal spending.

Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], how are you today?

#### GUN CONTROL

[6.] Q. I think we can both remember a time when this city was not known for its homicide rate. And recently the head of the Secret Service and several police chiefs of metropolitan areas have testified that if there was a total ban on the manufacture, sale, and use of handguns across the board that crime would be really seriously reduced. At what point do you think you could ever come to this kind of thinking?

THE PRESIDENT. Helen, as soon as I am convinced that the gun itself is the

culprit. In actuality, it is the person who uses the gun that causes the trouble. What we have to do is to make certain that the people who use the gun are punished. And if you will recall from the crime message that I submitted to the Congress several months ago,<sup>1</sup> we provided for stricter legislation so that a person using a gun in an attempt or in the actual committing of a crime, that person had a mandatory sentence and went to jail. This is the way, in my opinion, to prevent the illegal use of guns and not penalize the people who are collectors or individuals who properly use guns.

I have not yet been convinced that the gun is the culprit. It is the person who uses the gun that ought to be punished for illegal purposes.

Q. And you don't think that there is an undue proliferation of guns in this country?

THE PRESIDENT. I did recommend that we ought to make it much more difficult to obtain what we call "Saturday night specials." There is, under existing law, a prohibition against the importation of Saturday night specials. Under the legislation that I recommended, it prohibits within the United States the assembly or manufacture of Saturday night specials—these are the cheap handguns. If we do that, that will significantly help in the problem that we are talking about.

JIMMY HOFFA

[7.] Q. Mr. President, more than 3 months ago Jimmy Hoffa<sup>2</sup> disappeared without much more than a trace by tracking dogs. Are you satisfied with the investigation by Federal agencies into that case, or would you prefer a special select Congressional committee to look into that, into Teamster pension funds and mob connections with unions?

THE PRESIDENT. The Attorney General, who is an outstanding member of the Cabinet, the Department of Justice, and the FBI are doing a maximum job in investigating any Federal relationship as far as the disappearance of Mr. Hoffa is concerned. I have full faith in the Attorney General, Department of Justice, and in the FBI, and where there is any Federal connection, I can assure you they will continue tracking every possible lead maximizing their effort.

This is a very strange case. I don't see how any Congressional committee can undertake any criminal investigation. That is not the function or the responsibility of a Congressional committee, and I think we ought to leave that responsibility with the appropriate agencies in the executive branch of the Government

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 341.

<sup>2</sup> Former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.



where the Attorney General and others have taken their oath of office to handle matters of this sort.

I can think of one recent case where, after a period of some 19 months, they finally found the individual that they were seeking to find, and apparently, in this case the problem is very difficult. But I have full faith in the ability of those who have that responsibility.

#### LABOR UNIONS

[8.] Q. A followup question, and elaborate on it.

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. Would you like to see something similar to the McClellan committee back in the fifties look into reports of mob connections specifically with the Teamsters or other unions?

THE PRESIDENT. That, of course, is a responsibility of the Congress itself, the Senate, in the case as it was back in the fifties. They could do it now if they wanted to.

If you are referring to allegations that I have heard about or read about concerning the Teamster pension fund and any relation to that and how it has been handled, the Congress passed last year, I believe I signed into law a pension reform act.<sup>3</sup> And under that legislation, the executive branch of the Government has the full right to make any investigations.

Under that legislation, those who handle the pension funds have to make very specific reports on a very short-term or periodic time, and it seems to me that in that area it is the responsibility of the Department of Labor to investigate that aspect of this particular case.

Q. Is that being done, sir, or do you know?

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure it is.

#### MICHIGAN-MICHIGAN STATE FOOTBALL GAME

[9.] Q. What is your prediction on the game in Lansing tomorrow?  
[*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, they are both my friends, and I like my friends.  
[*Laughter*]

#### FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

[10.] Q. Mr. President, I notice that former President Nixon is back in circulation with his old friends. I am wondering, given that, if you have talked to him, plan to talk to him, one; plan to see him; or if, given his interest, his

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<sup>3</sup> See 1974 volume, Items 45 and 46.

expressed interest in foreign affairs, there might be a place in your Administration for him?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I am delighted to see that former President Nixon is apparently much better, feeling well. I talked to him when I was in California several weeks ago on the telephone. He sounded better on the phone at that time, and I am very happy that his health is apparently much, much better.

I have had no request from him to participate in any way in the handling of foreign affairs. I have had no request from him to participate in the campaign. As I have said on several occasions, I run my own campaign on my own record, and I expect to do that in 1976. And as President, I expect to conduct or handle foreign affairs as a President should, in conjunction with the recommendations of the Secretary of State.

Q. If he should request to serve you in some way, would you entertain that notion?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I should speculate on something of that kind. He hasn't done it, and I have seen no indication that he might.

#### DETROIT HOUSING

[11.] Q. Terry Murphy, WJBK-TV. Detroit, Mr. President, has more HUD homes than any other city in the country, yet thousands of them are abandoned and rotting away. Other than Carla Hills' promised tour of this city, what else are you going to do to put people into these homes and clean up the mess?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my understanding that the Secretary of HUD has worked out an arrangement with the city officials and with the State officials, under Governor Milliken, to have a joint effort with the Federal Government committing \$5 million to purchase and rehabilitate a thousand of these homes out of roughly 14,900, as I recollect.

This is a good example of what the Federal Government, in partnership with State and local units of government, can do with these homes, where the homes have been foreclosed and the Federal Government has jurisdiction.

If we find that this program, which I understand is to be implemented in the northwest part of Detroit, works, then I would hope we can expand it in the months ahead.

Q. The program's still run, though, by the Federal Government, rather than State and local officials, because I know—

THE PRESIDENT. As I understand it, it is a partnership arrangement. I can't

tell you who actually has the specific jurisdiction, but it is a partnership where the Federal Government not only has the legal title under foreclosure of the homes but the Federal Government is putting up \$3 million this year and \$2 million next year for the rehabilitation of a thousand homes. And I understand they are in the process of actually implementing the program for about 250 right at the present time.

GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[12.] Q. Mr. President, I am wondering why you removed the embargo on the Poles and not the Russians? You said the crop report, after all, was excellent, but you said you have got to go ahead now with the Russian grain deal, you have got to have negotiations on that. The farmers would like to go ahead and get this money now and worry about a long-term, 5-year grain deal later. Why don't you just go ahead and remove the embargo now?

THE PRESIDENT. It is very important to negotiate, and you can negotiate from strength, I think, if we make certain, make positive, that we get a long-term agreement which is in our best interest in return for additional sales to the Soviet Union on the crops that they want to buy in 1975.

It is a very simple explanation. We have the grain, we want a 5-year or longer term, and we want good arrangements. I think we are coming very close, we are working very hard at it. And I think we are probably going to have some results.

But it is just a matter of good old Yankee trader actions—and the Yankee traders did pretty well for a long time in this country. I just think we ought to handle it that way rather than to be too soft or not a tough negotiator.

Q. Well, in all this tough trading, are you going to make your mid-October deadline, and also, are you horsetrading for oil? Are you holding out for that?

THE PRESIDENT. We are discussing a potential oil deal that will have some favorable aspects, if it is negotiated. As far as we are concerned, that is a little more difficult. In that case, they have the commodity and we want it. So, they have somewhat better bargaining position in that case than we.

So, as I said a moment ago, we are trying to be good, hard-nosed Yankee traders. And when we end up with an arrangement or a negotiated agreement, I can assure you that the United States will do as well in the areas where we want help, and I think we have to expect that they will do well in those areas where they have an interest.

Q. And that October 15 deadline?

THE PRESIDENT. The October 15 deadline—it is within the realm of possibility.

## ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Bill Willoughby, Royal Oak Tribune. How does the proposed energy research corporation fit into the \$395 billion spending ceiling you proposed?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first, you have to understand that the energy independence authority is a 10-year project, and it requires a utilization of the Federal Treasury at a very, very slow pace. In fact, in fiscal year 1977, which is the fiscal year where I think they ought to set a \$395 billion ceiling, the amount of money that would be withdrawn from the Federal Treasury is minimal.

So, it really has a very insignificant impact on fiscal year 1977, which is where I recommend that the Congress establish a \$395 billion spending limit.

Now, in the years after that, there will be a drawdown on the Federal Treasury, but I hasten to point out that we expect the EIA to end up being a money-making proposition from the point of view of the Federal Treasury.

It is a drawdown in 1 year, and over the 10-year period, we expect Uncle Sam to get all, or virtually all of his money back. And in addition, the EIA will help us significantly in the development of what we call synthetic fuels or exotic fuels, where at the present time private enterprise isn't willing to take the gamble or make the risk. But nevertheless, I am convinced in some of these areas—solar energy, synthetic fuels, and other areas—this is the only way we can do it.

And therefore, I think it is a good program, and I repeat, it will have a minimal, insignificant effect in fiscal 1977 when the \$395 billion ceiling is established.

Q. Why is private enterprise not willing to take the risk?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think you can use one or two other comparisons. Back in World War II, when we were cut off from our rubber supplies, the natural rubber supplies, the Federal Government had to go in and develop a synthetic rubber-producing capability.

At that time, private enterprise thought the research had not gone far enough, and the need was so great that private capital was not in a position to undertake such a mammoth operation. So, the Federal Government did. And after the war, as you may recall, after the process had been developed and was a going concern, the Federal Government sold those synthetic rubber plants to private enterprise and made a profit out of them. This is the same concept we are talking about with EIA.

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

[14.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the apparent success of the negotiations with the Soviet Union involving their oil and our grain, are you contemplating or planning similar discussions with the People's Republic of China on their oil reserves and our grain either here or when you go to Peking?

THE PRESIDENT. The agenda for the prospective trip to the People's Republic has not yet been established. Secretary Kissinger is leaving for the People's Republic within the next week or 10 days, as I recall. Until he comes back with the agenda, I don't think I am in a position to say what it might be.

I caution you—you used one word, Saul [Saul Kohler, Newhouse News Service], that—I think it is going to work, but you were a little overly optimistic in relationship to grain and oil. All I can say is I am optimistic. But we are dealing with some tough traders, and I don't want to create the impression that it is all signed on the dotted line, because we have got some things we want to get and they, in return, want some things that they want. And until the ink is dry on it, we're not going to make any announcement.

## AID TO CITIES

[15.] Q. You said last night that the Federal Government cannot afford to bail out the big cities, mainly New York City. Treasury Secretary Simon and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Burns have suggested that maybe New York State might impose some taxes for 1-, 2-, or 3-year periods to help out New York City. Can States really afford to help out these floundering big cities, or can they afford not to?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I hesitate to pass judgment on the fiscal capability of any State. I don't pretend to be an expert on State financing. But I have watched with considerable interest what has been happening in New York City and its relationship to the State of New York.

A month or two ago the State of New York took some action, not raising any additional taxes to help New York State [City] out, but to rearrange some borrowing. And one of the requirements was that the city of New York had to present a valid plan showing that they had straightened out their financial mess, that they had a plan that would lead them out of this terrible fiscal situation they are in. I was naturally disappointed to find that this State group or board that they established turned back Mayor Beame's tentative proposal—said it was insufficient, they hadn't done enough.

I think that is a good role for the State, and a State ought to put responsibility, and if after the State has made an honest effort to balance their fiscal situation,

to take whatever hard choices they have to make, I think the next step is for a State to assist, if they have to, in whatever legitimate way there is. I have still the same reservations I had before that the Federal Government should police the fiscal management of all of the cities in this country. I don't believe that we should decide at Washington whether a city has run its fiscal affairs properly. That is a role for the State governments, not a role for the Federal Government.

Q. You get some pretty big cities, though, that control an awful lot of money and corporations having their headquarters in these cities. If they die, there is going to be some problems.

THE PRESIDENT. There is no reason why they should die. Let's take the city of New York. Their annual budget is roughly \$12.2 billion. The Federal Government today contributes \$3,400 million to New York City's total revenue, roughly 25 percent. It would seem to me that a city with good management could find a way to supply the rest of the revenue. And we do almost the same thing to most cities. But in the case of New York, I know precisely what the facts are. And the city has some responsibility. And if we start managing—what is it, 10,000 cities throughout the country—I think that is the wrong role and responsibility for the Federal Government. The people who vote in New York City ought to elect the kind of people to public office who will handle their local taxes and the money that comes from the Federal Government properly. And if they don't elect those people, I don't see why that burden should fall on the other 200-and-some million people all over the United States.

Q. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Barnes [Fred Barnes, Washington Star].

#### THE CONGRESS

[16.] Q. Mr. President, you have said several times that you don't intend to make Congress the main target in your campaign for election in 1976, but today your Press Secretary, Ron Nessen, said you are now referring to Congress as the "Can't Do Congress," and that sounds very much like a campaign slogan to me. And I wonder if you have changed your plans and now plan to make Congress the whipping boy in your campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am just being objective about their record. [*Laughter*] And I casually said at our meeting this morning with Mr. Nessen—we were ticking off the things that Congress hasn't done—and I casually said, "That sounds like a 'Can't Do Congress.'"

What haven't they done? They haven't passed an energy program, and I recommended it to them in January of 1975—9 months. They first said, "Give

us 60 days and we will pass it," and then they said, "A few more months and we will pass something, another few months." It has been 9 months, and they haven't passed an energy bill. Apparently, they can't do it.

After I announced the \$28 billion tax reduction and a \$28 billion cutback in the growth of Federal spending, all I heard from Congress was, "We can't do it. The rules of the Congress won't permit us to do it."

And then they had a lot of other alibis. Well, their plaintive plea was, "We can't do it." Now I cited, as you know, Mr. Barnes, last night two instances—one in 1967, one in 1968—where those Congresses did do it. And all they have to do is go back and look at the history books, the Congressional Record, and they will find it can be done. And I hasten to add, and very seriously, this Congress is called, or was called, a reform Congress. They reformed a lot of other rules.

Now, it would seem to me to satisfy the legitimate desires of the American people that they get a \$28 billion tax reduction and get a reduction in the growth of Federal spending, that this Congress of 535 elected people ought to find a way in the parliamentary situation to respond to the desires of the American people. It takes a little imagination. It takes a little effort. Instead of whining and whimpering, as Ron Nessen said, they ought to get out there and do the job.

Q. Is that a slogan you are going to be using though, about a "Can't Do Congress"? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as soon as they pass a tax reduction of \$28 billion and a reduction in spending growth of \$28 billion, we will stop using the term.

#### SCHOOL BUSING

[17.] Q. Mr. President, the name is Mitch Kehetian of the Macomb Daily. In our county and in counties across this State and Nation, again we have local elections coming up next month. And again the local candidates are talking about forced busing. Others say it is rhetoric. But just several weeks ago you yourself reaffirmed your position opposed to forced busing.

We hear it in Congress, we hear it on Capitol Hill, we hear it in Lansing, we hear it in Macomb County, Oakland County, yet the buses keep rolling and the judges keep ordering more buses. Could you tell me what I can go back and tell our readers in Macomb County as to what the truth is on the question of busing? Is it rhetoric, or are they coming?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have a Constitution, and the courts have the obligation to interpret the Constitution. And the Court, back in 1954, made the

basic decision which, in effect, has precipitated the numerous court decisions that result in court-ordered forced busing to achieve racial balance in public school systems.

They allege that this is the way that the courts ought to achieve quality education. I strongly, vehemently disagree with the Court's decision, based on the Constitution, as the best way to achieve quality education. I have had that view for 10 years or more.

Now, until the courts decide that there is a better way to achieve quality education under their interpretation of the Constitution, there is nothing that a President can do, there is nothing that the Congress can do, except what the Congress did a year ago under the leadership of Congressman Marv Esch, who introduced an amendment in the House of Representatives, which was passed and approved in both the House and the Senate, which listed seven or eight steps to achieve the constitutional handling of how to achieve quality education, and the last of that criteria was busing.

Unfortunately, few courts, few Federal courts, have followed the guidelines of the Esch amendment. I wish they would. But until the Court either uses that criteria or changes their way in which they want to constitutionally achieve quality education, there is nothing a President can do, and not much more that a Member of the House or Senate can do.

I think it is deplorable, I think it is the wrong answer, and I just hope that the judges will use in their wisdom a way to find a better answer to what is going on at the present time.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Don [Don Irwin, *Los Angeles Times*], how are you?

#### FEDERAL SPENDING

[18.] Q. Mr. President, when you spoke, sir, of Congress using its imagination in developing a way to respond to your tax cut proposal, did you have in mind the possibility of a nonbinding resolution that would set them on a course as an interim step?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Irwin, I have no intention of recommending a non-binding resolution establishing a spending ceiling of \$395 billion, which is \$25 billion above what the ending figure is for the present fiscal year. I want the Congress to put a little meat on the bone. I want the Congress to do something in a meaningful way.

And Congressman Del Latta of Ohio, a very senior Member of the House of Representatives, introduced day before yesterday a resolution which is a



binding resolution. And I hope and trust that when the Congress returns, they will approve the Latta amendment, or the Latta resolution, which does put a firm ceiling of \$395 billion, which is roughly \$25 billion more than we will spend in this fiscal year, but \$28 billion less than the projected spending for the next fiscal year. I want something meaningful, not a lot of verbiage.

#### FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

[19.] Q. Terri Jones, WJPR-TV. Mr. President, families in Detroit and around Michigan are still suffering from massive layoffs. There is a bill that is currently under consideration, bill H.R. 7887, that would give food stamp applicants food stamps immediately upon application without waiting for the qualifying period, and then if found ineligible, they would be cut off. What is your reaction to that bill?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that there should be a determination as to a person's qualification. There is too much room for abuse. That program has had more abuses per capita than any other welfare or any other program that I am familiar with in the Federal Government.

Under the proposal that I am going to submit when Congress returns, it will add benefits to the people who need food stamps, but it will take a substantial amount away from, or eliminate a lot of people who don't need food stamps. And the net result will be a minimum reduction in the overall cost of about a billion-plus dollars.

Speaking of the food stamp program, 5 or 6 years ago, when it got started, it cost about \$30 million a year. The present cost on an annual basis of the food stamp program today is almost \$7 billion. It has had the greatest growth in dollars of any program in the Federal Government in the last few years, because they have had too many abuses, and the program you speak of, in my opinion, opens the door to more abuse.

People who should qualify can qualify and can get the benefits, I think, expeditiously, and even under that present setup, the abuses are horrendous. So, I think we ought to tie it down, give more to the needy and less to those that shouldn't qualify.

#### RONALD REAGAN

[20.] Q. Mr. President, I have a two-part question involving Governor Reagan. There are some reports in the past few weeks that are confusing. One report one time will say that you have managed to blunt Governor Reagan's conservative attempt, and then a few days later we have a report that your campaign organization is in disarray and that your people are really worried

about Governor Reagan. I would like to know if you are really worried about Governor Reagan challenging you for the Presidential nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. Phil [Phil Jones, CBS News], I am not worried about any Democrat or any Republican competitor. I expect to be nominated, and I think the prospects are excellent to be elected President in 1976. And I don't sit around worrying about any competitor, whether it is Republican or Democrat.

We are going to run our own campaign. I think we will have a good record to run on, in foreign policy and domestic policy, and I will take my chances on that record. And I am not going to worry about what some other candidate does, whether it is a Republican candidate or any one of 20 Democrats.

Q. Senator Goldwater has been quoted as saying that he might support Governor Reagan for the nomination rather than you. What is our reaction to this, or do you think it will have any effect on your nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. Senator Goldwater is a very close, personal friend of mine. I admire his record in the Senate. I saw the report. It is a newspaper story. I have heard nothing—

Q. What do you mean by that? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it speaks for itself—[*laughter*]—and until I hear that there is a change from what I think the attitude is of Barry Goldwater, I am not going to comment about it.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[21.] Q. Mr. President, Dennis Pajot of the Oakland Press. Back here, we hear a lot of concern about unemployment and a lot of talk about your record of unemployment as the election year comes up. And we understand that one proposal by Congress to address unemployment would be to increase Federal funding for public works. I was wondering if you would veto such a program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if you are talking about the \$5 billion program, which I understand is somewhere in the House of Representatives, based on what we know about those kinds of programs in past years of economic disability or difficulty, I believe that it is uneconomical, it won't solve the unemployment problem, and the probability is I would veto it.

We find—and this has been done historically—that if you have unemployment in one year and you take the kind of program you are talking about and approve it, you are out of the recession or you are over your economic difficulties before you put any number of people back to work.

It just takes a long time. If we are going to do anything, I think, in this area, I think we ought to expedite our highway construction program, our water

and sewer pollution programs, which are going programs that are in the mill. But to take the program I think you are referring to, I think the help would come much too late and it wouldn't provide for the kind of meaningful things that we could get from EPA.

Q. Is that just that program or any Federal funding for public works?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if you will recall, back early this [last] fall I met with 10 or 12 Governors, and at their request, I did approve an extra allowance of \$2 billion for highway projects that could be initiated by June 30.

That program was in a going program where they had projects that were ready for contracts to be let. I did that. We have been trying to expedite the Environmental Protection Agency programs for water and sewer projects.

Those are the kind of projects that have specific meaning and can be gotten underway quickly, rather than pulling projects out of a grab-bag, which I understand is what that legislation involves that I believe you mentioned.

#### TAX PROGRAM

[22.] Q. Mr. President, you said last night that the tax program had as one of its central purposes, if I understood you correctly, building more equity into the tax system as it applies to individuals. If that is the case, would you explain why it is equitable to give a tax cut of slightly more than \$300 to people with incomes of \$50,000, and to take away the tax credit of \$300 for those whose incomes are \$5,000 or less?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what you are talking about, Mr. Naughton [James Naughton, New York Times], is that in the 1975 tax act, Senator Russell Long got the Senate to approve what is called an earned income credit, and this is, in effect—that was not a tax reduction. It was paying people who didn't pay taxes, so that it was not a tax reduction—they weren't paying taxes anyhow.

What my proposal does is to treat that group of taxpayers just like all other taxpayers. They don't pay any more taxes, and the amount that is going to a well-off person is roughly the same in my proposal as it was in the 1975 tax act.

But where we would provide equity, we give a larger tax reduction to those people who have an income—a family income between \$8,000 and \$25,000. This is the group that got short shrift in the 1975 act, and this is the group that are hard-working, industrious people who deserve a better break instead of getting cut short on every tax reduction.

And so, I have complete faith in the way in which this tax reduction bill that I am proposing is handled. The poor pay no more taxes than they were required under the 1975 act. The very wealthy get no more tax reduction. But the middle-

income people are the ones who will be the biggest beneficiary and get a larger tax reduction, as they should, under my tax proposal.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[23.] Q. Bill Black, WJR News. Mr. President, despite recent improvements in the economy, one of four in the Detroit area are still out of work, some for more than 2 years. One, what would you say to those who have been out of work for more than 2 years, and two, how much impact will unemployment and the economy have on the next election?

THE PRESIDENT. We are making headway in a good many areas in trying to eliminate unemployment. Even though the unemployment statistic has not gone down—except it went from 9.1 down to 8.3—the encouraging thing is that in the last 6 months we have had 1,600,000 more people added to the employment rolls, and the trend is going up. There are longer hours being worked. The economy is out of the recession and starting toward a better time, and this is going to have an impact in Detroit in the automobile industry.

The automobile industry has responded very well to the needs in the energy program. And let me tell you how it is going to help employment. The automobile industry in the last 2 years has increased gasoline efficiency by 27 percent—14 percent this year over last year. I think the automobile industry, by responding to the need of people, is going to have an excellent year, and that will have a very good impact here in Detroit and in other automotive centers like Flint and Lansing, et cetera.

Now, we believe that there will be a continuing downtrend in unemployment rate between now and the end of calendar year 1976. It won't be as low as we want it, but it will be going down, and furthermore, we will be making continuous improvement in the rate of inflation. I believe, with those trends—a lesser rate of inflation, a downward trend in the unemployment statistic—it will be a good environment politically for the right candidates.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

[24.] Q. Would you consider yourself a cinch next year?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I sure don't. I never enter a ball game thinking I am going to win, but I sure work at it as though I am going to lose. And I think we do, with the programs we have, our prospects aren't bad.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I will take one more. I am being prompted to—

## FEDERAL SPENDING

[25.] Q. Mr. President, would you expand on your answer about where you think Congress should make the \$28 billion in cuts besides food stamps—for example, in revenue sharing—and what cuts should be made in defense spending?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said in my speech the other night, I think it was Monday night, I said that there had to be a sharing of reduced spending, and I included in my remarks the Defense Department. I think they can manage the Defense Department better than they have been managing it. I think we can be harder bargainers with weapons suppliers. I think we can cut out some of the frills in the military—frills that I don't like, that have been there just because they are there by tradition. I think we ought to cut them all out. I think the Defense Department can run a tighter ship, and they will have to.

Thank you very much.

LEONARD R. BARNES [president, Detroit Press Club]. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's twentieth news conference began at 4:15 p.m. in Room 2001-B at Cobo Hall, Detroit, Mich.

## 623

Remarks in Detroit at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner.  
*October 10, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, Max Fisher. Bill Milliken, Bob Griffin, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives—Al Cederberg, Eddie Hutchinson, Guy Vander Jagt, Marv Esch, Garry Brown—and of course, Bill McLaughlin, Bob Evans, and my old and very dear friend, George Romney, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

Let me say at the outset that I share Bill Milliken's views entirely, in toto, concerning Max Fisher, the wonderful job that Max has done, not only for this occasion but for many others. It seems to me that it is most appropriate, under the circumstances, that we give Max a round of applause on this occasion.

Of course, Max would be the very first to admit that as much as he has given to making this dinner a success, it could not have been accomplished without the tremendous help that he has gotten from so many. And I would hesitate to start enumerating the individuals who have done the job under Max's leadership, but if we can do it for all of them, I think it is very appropriate, and I think we should.

Both Betty and I feel it is really great to be back home with all you good Michiganders. I only wish that both of us could stay over tomorrow and see that great football game between Michigan and Michigan State. But we decided against it because of security reasons—political security reasons. [*Laughter*] No matter which team I rooted for, there goes half the State. [*Laughter*]

When I look around the tremendous crowd here tonight, I see so many responsible for making the Michigan Republican Party one of the very best in the Nation. And let me tick off State Chairman Bill McLaughlin, our national committeemen, Ranny Riecker, Pete Fletcher, just to mention a few. And I could, again, start at the top of the list and inevitably, and unfortunately, forget so many. But I have long felt—and still believe—that despite the candidates, it is what is done at the grassroots by all of you in the precinct, in the county, in the helping and assisting of us to raise the money that really makes the difference.

So, I thank those of you who don't hold office for the contribution you make that is so important to the success of the philosophy that we believe in. You are the real strength of the party.

Now, no State can boast of a finer, finer group of elected Republican officials than we have here in our great State of Michigan.

Governor Bill Milliken, an outstanding Governor—and I have been to many gubernatorial conventions all over the United States, and Bill Milliken is a shining light against any and all, and we are darn proud of him.

I don't mean to be repetitive, but I feel very strongly and very deeply, we in this State are extremely fortunate to have in Bob Griffin our top United States Senator. He does a fabulous job on a day-to-day basis. I have seen him work in the House of Representatives and even more skillfully in the United States Senate. And, again, I and all of you should be extremely proud of what Bob is doing for us in Michigan, but just as importantly, for the whole country.

And I would be very remiss if I didn't thank on a personal basis those that I served with in the House of Representatives who stood tall and strong then as well as now. Al Cederberg, Bill Broomfield, Eddie Hutchinson, Guy Vander Jagt, Garry Brown, Marv Esch, and Phil Ruppe—they're the tops in quality in the House of Representatives. They come from the length and the breadth of our great State. The only problem is, to go with their quality we need a little more quantity. So, that is your obligation—to help them with more after this next election.

But a broad-based political party needs a fine lieutenant governor like John Damman, your State treasurer, Allison Green, and so many fine members of the

State legislature, including your Senate Republican leader, Bob Davis, your House Republican leader, Denny Cawthorne. I am just real pleased to see them all here tonight, because it means that our Republican family in the State of Michigan is working shoulder to shoulder with one objective, and that is to make our philosophy the right philosophy for the State and for the Nation. And they who represent you so ably will continue the fight, and your presence here gives them the inspiration that they need. And I applaud them for their success under the most difficult odds.

With the people of this caliber representing those of us who come from Michigan, here at home as well as in Washington, it is obvious that if you really make an effort, you can recruit and you can elect top quality candidates and dedicated public officials. We are proud of what we have, but we need far more. The 1976 campaign here in Michigan is in good hands, but we have got to go out and find those that will join with us, seek public office, work to get elected, and depend upon your help. I concede that your winning spirit is vitally important. It is the same Republican spirit that I see as I travel around the country, and I have gone from Maine to Rhode Island, to the Far West, to the North, to the South.

This spirit is beginning to catch on. Not only here but elsewhere, I see dynamic candidates, and all of you right here in our own State have the know-how to help them. And I salute you for your efforts here tonight and go on record with this prediction, if I might: The Republican Party will not only win the White House next year but we will make substantial gains in the Congress and we will elect a substantial number of more Republican Governors.

I believe we will make these gains in 1976, because the Republican Party is in tune with the mood of America, and it is in tune with the philosophy of the people throughout our country. Across this Nation, whether it is Republicans, Independents, and discerning Democrats, they realize that America cannot move forward if we stifle individual initiative or if we continue the growth of government, which is already far too big.

As we look back over the pages of history, we know that in this great country we have accomplished much in two centuries. In the first century, we established the kind of government that gave stability and strength and continuity. In our second century, in this new land, we developed the greatest industrial capacity of any nation in the history of the globe.

But now we are at a critical crossroads in this country's history. We must make a hard decision. We must decide whether we will continue down the dangerous, treacherous trend of recent years toward bigger government, higher taxes, and

higher inflation, or in the alternative, whether we will move in a far more responsible way.

Earlier this week, I advocated a forward-looking two-pronged program to put our Federal fiscal house in order. The two must be taken together, not separately, or they won't work.

First, I proposed a permanent tax reduction of \$28 billion at the Federal level. And secondly, I proposed that we halt the alarming growth of Government by holding spending in the coming fiscal year to \$395 billion. And to relate it, this means a cut of \$28 billion below projected spending for fiscal year 1977.

Let me quickly outline what it means in the way of a tax reduction. What we want is permanency and equity. I believe that it is right to increase the personal exemption from \$750 per person to \$1,000. I believe it is right that we should increase the standard deduction for single persons to a maximum of \$1,800, and for a family, of \$2,500, and that we should make some responsible, equitable revisions in the tax rates.

Three-quarters of the \$28 billion in tax reduction goes to individuals, with a break, for the first time in a long, long time, for those hard-working, industrious people in the middle-income brackets who have been unfairly treated for too far a period of time.

Yes, the other 25 percent of the \$28 billion goes to business—not just for business, but primarily to provide the kind of incentive that is needed if we are going to give to business the opportunity of job creation.

Yes, we need investment for investment's purpose. But the main purpose for the Government, for the country, for people, is to give more job opportunities for those who want to work.

Yes, we are going to extend the investment tax credit on a permanent basis so we can keep competitive with other societies in other parts of the world.

Let me say, repeat, if I might, a \$28 billion tax reduction, a \$28 billion ceiling or cutback in projected spending growth, they go hand in hand, dollar for dollar, and I will not hesitate to veto any new bills which violate this combination.

But the most important thing in the long run is the fact that if we adopt this kind of a plan, a new tax proposal with equity and permanence, to stimulate our economy and to give a break to the people who have long been suffering, and if we put a ceiling on the growth of Federal expenditures, this is the first crucial step toward balancing the Federal budget, despite the difficulties and problems we have had for the last 18 months. We will do it, if the Congress will become a "Can Do Congress," in 3 years.



Oh, I know there has been some criticism that we have not proposed a tax proposal that does everything everybody wants. But as I look at the past history, I know that this middle-income group, which is the hard core of strength in America, good people the length and the breadth of America, they have had a tough break and have borne far too much the burdens of taxation.

I think they are deserving because they have been subjected with growing families, house payments, and everything else, paying rising taxes and ever-rising inflation. They are the ones who have known over a period of time from their personal experience the economic problems that have faced 214 million Americans.

They know precisely what it means to pay more and more of their income merely to feed and clothe their family and to maintain a decent home. They know the sinking feeling when a member of their family or a friend is laid off from work. They know the desperation that comes when these forces unfortunately seem beyond their control.

None of us want these experiences to be repeated in the months ahead. All of us want steady prices, steady jobs, a chance once again to get ahead on our own initiative. And we want to make sure with the kind of programs we are putting together that everybody feels that their own destiny is in their own hands. This is the strength and the history of America.

When I spoke here in this hall exactly 1 year ago tonight, our Nation faced some very serious economic problems. Inflation was running at the annual rate of 12 to 14 percent. Unemployment was increasing. We were on our way to the most serious recession in the post-World War II period. But the encouraging thing was that America didn't throw up its hands and quit. We fought back, and we reversed the recessionary trend. We cut the rate of increase in the cost of living very sharply, but still, we have a long way to go in winning the battle against inflation.

In this period of time of adversity in the last 6 months, we added 1.6 million workers to our employment rolls. We still have far too many unemployed. The economic indicators are good; industrial production is climbing at a strong rate; retail sales are up, and so are new orders for durable goods.

In short, the recovery that began this spring is gathering the kind of momentum that is constructive and permanent. If we act wisely, it will continue on an upward path, providing America with more jobs, more stable prices, and more opportunity than ever before in the history of our country. But we must not delude ourselves. Just beneath the surface there is still, or there are still, some deep-seated problems in our economy—problems which have been build-

ing up over the years. And I think we have to concede they won't go away overnight.

The underlying causes of this economic problem or these economic difficulties must be attacked responsibly. We must come up with solutions that not only serve this year but the next generation and the next generation. That is our obligation. We don't want any short-term, superficial answers that will lead us down a path of disaster a year or two from now. Our cause is far greater.

To see the cause of underlying problems, we have only to look to Washington, where one big spending program piled upon another and upon another and upon another has created a Federal monstrosity. The result: Government now takes a far larger share of your personal income, creates record budget deficits, prints more money, and inevitably escalates inflation. This trend must be stopped, and this trend will be stopped.

Congressional critics of my proposals to cut taxes and to cut spending call this proposal political. But politics is government—government with the consent of the governed for the good of all Americans. I ask my friends who were the critics of this combination of a \$28 billion tax reduction and a \$28 billion lid on the growth of spending—I could not help but read in the morning paper here in Detroit that when the question was asked, 70 percent of the answers said that is a good program, and 30 percent disagreed.

I think the public understands that this is sound, it is right, and the Congress better do something about it.

Quite frankly, that is what representative government is all about. I believe in the right of the American people to spend their own money rather than letting Congress spend it for them. What could be more political—and I ask this in all seriousness—than proposals of the big spenders, the big spenders in the House and the Senate, to reduce taxes on the one hand and to increase spending on the other to help their special interest groups. That is the most obvious and the most cynical politics—politics concerned only with the next election.

America's greatness was not achieved by taxing people to their limits. It was achieved by free people, freely exercising their own ingenuity and their own energies to the fullest. We must once again, if we are to move ahead as we have in the past, release the full, full energies of the American people by getting the Government off their backs on the one hand and out of their pockets and their pocketbooks on the other.

And let me use an illustration of how much better it is for a free enterprise system to operate rather than having a government controlling everything.

Everybody in this room knows of the tremendous impact that the automobile industry has on our economy. When automobile sales are down, so in most cases is our economy. When that tragedy happens, the carmakers don't take it lying down. They fight back, and the country benefits. And we are proud of the initiative and the leadership in the American automobile industry.

But let me use a very pertinent illustration, if I might. Take gasoline mileage and what has been done in less than 2 years to increase it—the increase of automobile gasoline efficiency. The 1976 American cars will average nearly 13 percent better in fuel economy than last year's models. That is on top of an improvement of almost 14 percent from 1974 to 1975. The American automobile manufacturers have gone more than halfway toward achieving the goal that I laid down earlier this year, which was a 40-percent improvement in fuel economy by 1980. Listen carefully. Do you know what this increased gasoline mileage means, what the enterprise of the American automobile industry already means in the terms of an energy crisis? It means, if every car in America operated with the fuel efficiency of the average 1976 model, America would save more than 17½ billion gallons of gasoline each year. That's not bad. But even more significant, American motorists would save nearly \$11 billion in the cost of their gasoline each year.

That is a real contribution by American auto management and American auto manufacturers and workers toward our goal of energy independence, not to mention a mighty good incentive—if I could be a bit parochial—a good incentive for everybody to buy a 1976 American-made car.

I congratulate the automobile industry and its workers for this great achievement. Their remarkable strides were made, and I emphasize this, without Federal funds and despite some of the restrictions and limitations laid down by Government regulations. With dedication, with action like this, America has no reason to be fearful of being overwhelmed by problems. The American people are dedicated to problemsolving and progress, using the individual initiative of our citizens rather than the dictation of a government.

Wherever I have gone as President, I have found a deep, abiding faith in the future of this country. We have been through some very, very traumatic times in the last few years, but in our 200-year history, we have overcome far tougher problems and come through some much darker days.

Oh, despite the doomsayers, America has always transcended the moment and achieved a better life for its citizens. And I have faith we will do it again, and I believe we are on our way.

Last night at a news conference in Washington and today in Detroit, many

many questions were asked of me by the press. Tonight I would like to ask you some questions—questions which concern major issues, issues that I face, questions that the Congress faces, and questions that face each and every one of you along with 214 million other Americans. And I would like your response.

Are you with me when I insist that the Congress cut spending enough to give all Americans a meaningful permanent tax reduction?

Are you with me in getting government bureaucracies out of your business, out of your pocket, and incidentally, out of your hair? I know that each and every one of you know that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

Are you with me when I demand from the Congress, after pleading, begging, compromising, an energy policy that will make America forever free of foreign whims and wishes and dictatorial actions? I think you are.

Are you with me in keeping the heavy hand of Washington out of your State and local units of government?

And finally, but just as importantly, if not more so in many respects than any other, are you with me in keeping our national defense second to none?

I think all of you here tonight reflect what most Americans believe, and those are the policies that we are going to espouse in the months ahead. Our Republican commitments to fiscal responsibility, to vigorous free enterprise, to a strong national defense, to local control over local concerns, and a personal freedom for the individual—these are the commitments shared by the vast majority of our fellow Americans.

We should make our third century the century of individual freedom—freedom from mass government, freedom from mass education, freedom from mass industry, freedom from mass unions, freedom for each and every one of us. We don't want to be a computer; we want to be individuals as we grow and mature and express our views and act by ourselves. And that ought to be the objective of our third century—individual freedom.

I think we can go back to Abraham Lincoln for some of the thoughts that he gives us. Lincoln said that government should only do for the people what they cannot do as well for themselves.

I believe that America's people have grown weary of government's overblown promises and overbearing controls. We believe the American people are ready to do great things again for themselves and for their country. Republican government, we know, is commonsense government, and the net result is it is effective government.

On the eve of the 1976 campaign, let me emphasize as I close, as a Republican

Party we must open the doors wide of this great party of ours to all Americans rather than opening it just a crack for a few. We must work together for a common victory rather than separately for certain defeat. If we do, 1976 and the years beyond will be great ones for all Republicans but, more importantly, vastly more important for all Americans, so that we and our children and their children will be able to say with new meaning and conviction, with fresh enthusiasm, the words of Daniel Webster, "Thank God I am an American."

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:05 p.m. at Cobo Hall. He was introduced by industrialist Max Fisher, who was active in Republican Party fundraising events.

In his opening remarks, the President referred

to William F. McLaughlin, Michigan State Republican chairman, Bob Evans, former chairman of the board of American Motors, and George Romney, Governor of Michigan 1963-69 and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development 1969-72.

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## Remarks at a Meeting With the Crews of the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project. *October 13, 1975*

OBVIOUSLY, I am extremely delighted to have the opportunity to greet each of the astronauts and cosmonauts, this time on Earth. As I recall, we talked together last July.<sup>1</sup> At that time you were making great history, and our conversation was at the range of about 140 miles from the Earth itself. It was a great occasion with the Apollo and the Soyuz being linked at the same time.

But let me say that this is a great demonstration, what took place, because it shows that there can be and there is cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the area of space. But actually, the handshake, in my opinion, was far, far more significant than the talk that had been going on prior to the operation.

But even more significant, of course, was the activity of literally thousands and thousands of scientists, technicians, and others in putting together over a 3-year period a successful effort which shows what can be done between the people and the governments of two great nations. And this joint effort, I hope and trust, will be but a forerunner of what we can do on an expanded basis, not only in space and science but in many other areas.

Now, when the space shuttle becomes operational at the turn of the decade, we will be on the threshold of even greater opportunities, a new era in space activity. These reusable space vehicles will provide effective as well as economical

<sup>1</sup> See Item 412.

means to utilize and build upon our capabilities in space. Already there are commercial as well as scientific interests involved in making use of what this potential shows for us.

The history books, of course, that will be written in the years ahead will recognize that these five individuals were really great pioneers in an effort between these two countries. And it indicates, of course, or the history books will indicate that this was the beginning, and hopefully a good beginning, of this new era before us.

Now, as a token of this mission, we have a rather unique presentation to be made by General Stafford to the cosmonauts. And at this point, General Stafford, would you proceed with the ceremony?

BRIG. GEN. THOMAS P. STAFFORD. Yes, sir. Thank you, Mr. President.

To start with, we have one minor presentation before that. When we linked together, we had plaques made—aluminum—for the United States and the Soviet Union, one on each side, and we have put those together. So at this time, sir, to start with, both crews would like to present you with the plaque that was put together.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me express to all five of you my deep personal gratitude for this wonderful symbol of what you all can do in space and what you have achieved. I am sure that General Secretary Brezhnev values this, cherishes this as much as I do.

I will certainly have this in the office in a very prominent place, and I thank both of you as well as our own three astronauts for the wonderful thoughtfulness in making this presentation.

GENERAL STAFFORD. To Aleksei and Valeri, President Ford wanted to make a presentation that was symbolic of the mission. I think it is very unique in its symbolic effort. It is the communications and power cables between the command module over to the docking module, and on these was carried the voice communications right after our hookup and through most of the television transmissions you saw.

First to Aleksei and then to Valeri Kubasov.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say again, General Stafford, that I know that all of you from the United States had a wonderful visit in the Soviet Union. You traveled extensively and were warmly received by the people of the Soviet Union.

I am certain that the two Russian cosmonauts will be equally and very warmly welcomed throughout the United States. I recall vividly the warmth that you received in the welcome when we went over to Alexandria, Virginia,

here a little over a year ago and enjoyed the crab feast.<sup>2</sup> But as you travel around the United States, you will find all Americans will respect the great achievements that were accomplished by the five of you, that they will welcome you into their cities, into their homes. And I am sure when you return to the Soviet Union, you will have a warm and friendly feeling toward 214 million Americans.

COL. ALEKSEI LEONOV. Mr. President, we very often remember our wonderful visit with you at the last occasion when we flew together to Alexandria and have seen the extremely warm hospitality that you showed us. These were agreeable moments in our preparation for the flight.

We remember with pleasure your conversations with each one of us during the flight. These, at this time, were the pleasant minutes during the flight itself. Your words joined us together as one group of people representing all of the people on Earth. So, therefore, please allow me in the name of our crew to thank you very much for all of the attention that you have shown us.

Valeri Kubasov and I have been entrusted with a great honor of transmitting a letter from Secretary Brezhnev to you.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very, very much.

COLONEL LEONOV. Mr. President, the last time that we were here, we gave you a small, modest little pin of Apollo-Soyuz. Right now, the crews of Soyuz and Apollo feel that they should give you a little bit better present as a symbol of the flight.

*[At this point, the President was presented with a silver medallion representing the crew patch of the Soyuz cosmonauts.]*

Thank you very much for your attention.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, sir.

Well, I still have the model of the Apollo and the Soyuz in the office. I took that little memento that you gave me and had it put on the base of the model, and we will somehow find a way that this is appropriately displayed as well.

Thank you, again, very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:49 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Colonel Leonov spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

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<sup>2</sup> See 1974 volume, Item 59.

625

**Remarks Upon Signing a Bill Implementing United States Participation in the Early Warning System in the Sinai Peninsula. *October 13, 1975***

I AM deeply gratified today to sign this important measure which was approved last week by an overwhelming majority of both Houses of the Congress. My signature reaffirms the commitment of the United States to work toward a just and lasting peace for all nations and all peoples in the Middle East.

The Sinai agreement, which American civilians will help support, is a significant step toward an overall settlement in the Middle East. But neither the United States nor Egypt nor Israel see it as an end to itself.

The war in October 1973 brought home to Americans just how dangerous another Arab-Israeli conflict would be, not only for the people of the area but for the entire world. It also brought home the pressing need for a just settlement of the problems which underlie the tension and instability in that part of the world.

As a result, for 2 years our Government, with the government of the countries directly involved, has been engaged in vigorous diplomatic efforts to promote the prospects of peace on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 338 and 242.

With the help and the negotiating skill of Secretary of State Kissinger, we have made great progress, in good part because of the trust placed in the United States by both Israel and its Arab neighbors. This confidence must be maintained if there is to be further progress and if the United States is to retain the mutually beneficial relationships it has established with Israel and the Arab States.

We must continue our diplomatic efforts with the parties in order to sustain the momentum toward peace generated by the Sinai agreement, and the United States must accept the responsibilities which flow from our stake in peace in the Middle East and from our bilateral relationships which form the foundation for success in our diplomatic efforts.

I will soon consult Congress on what is required to sustain these bilateral relationships, just as the Administration has consulted Congress very fully over the past month on the latest diplomatic step, including the use of United States civilians to further the peace process.

We anticipate the same support and understanding by the Congress. The



overall Middle East policy of the United States is founded upon the most basic reasons of national necessity as well as our desire to help bring peace to a region whose peoples have suffered too much already.

I reaffirm today that we will not accept stagnation or stalemate in the Middle East. The participation of the United States civilians in the Sinai early warning system demonstrates that determination.

I appreciate very greatly the cooperation of the Congress in this important contribution to stability and peace.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His remarks were recorded for later use on radio and television.

As enacted, the bill (H.J. Res. 683) is Public Law 94-110 (89 Stat. 572).

## 626

### Remarks During a News Briefing on Federal Taxes and Spending. *October 14, 1975*

I JUST thought that before Alan and Bill had a chance to answer any questions, that I would come in and indicate for a few minutes my strong personal feeling and my personal identification with this approach that we have taken, and to give you an opportunity, if you want it, to answer some questions before either Bill or Alan respond to any other information that you might want.

Let me put at rest, at the outset, that this was not something that came out of thin air at the last minute. The whole thought really began sometime early this year and has been worked on over a period of several months in some detail.

The thought of really pinning them together, of course, was precipitated by the need to make a decision on whether we would support, or not support, or make revisions, in the 1975 tax matter.

I, in a press conference—I have forgotten where it was—Omaha<sup>1</sup>—gave the first indication that this was an approach that we were actively considering, but the fact is that approach had been worked on for some time.

Now, there were some obviously fine details that had to be put together in the last 72 hours, when we got down to some of the charts and rates and so forth. But the basic decision was made sometime before.

Now with that, I will be glad to answer any questions.

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 600.

Q. Mr. President, are you saying that you would veto any tax cut bill that comes in unless you have this \$28 billion reduction from the anticipated increase in the 1977 budget?

THE PRESIDENT. In the speech that I made, I said I would not hesitate to do that. I have since indicated a harder line. I think in all likelihood that would be the net result.

Q. Mr. President, both you and Mr. Greenspan have said the program was not designed to have an economic effect in the short run; it was directed more to the long-run growth in spending. But does it not nevertheless have an economic effect in the short run? What do you anticipate that would be?

THE PRESIDENT. I have to rely on Alan's analysis and that of others who are far more expert than I on that matter, and he can probably better speak for himself. But it is his judgment, as I understand it, that the economic impact will be minimal in that 9-month period.

Q. Mr. President, do you find the predicates for the kind of action that you are asking Congress to take now, that you have cited in your press conference last Thursday and that Ron Nessen has cited for you—I guess going back to 1967, 1968—do you find them really convincing?

THE PRESIDENT. As I recall the history of those, President Johnson wanted some action by the Congress, and Wilbur Mills said no. And finally, Wilbur came down—I am putting together things that come to mind—and Wilbur came down and finally agreed on the basis that there would be a spending limitation implemented at the same time in both cases.

Now, the Congress in 1967, in December, and in June in 1968 as I recall, did take action to tie the two together. If they could be done then, I see no reason why they can't be done at this time.

Q. Mr. President, that raises the question why you did not consult with the Congress this time, as Johnson and Mills consulted in 1967 and 1968, and why you just confronted them with a fait accompli in this tax and budget cut.

THE PRESIDENT. I think there is a little different situation, Pete [Peter Lisagor, *Chicago Daily News*], in that in 1967 and in 1968, a then Democratic President had a substantial majority in both the House and the Senate. In our case, we are confronted with just the opposite situation. And we did do some consulting, or informing, I should say, but there was, I think, a different factual situation.

Q. Mr. President, you said in response to Bart Rowen's [Hobart Rowen, *Washington Post*] question that you thought there would be, or Mr. Greenspan thought there would be a negligible impact on the economy. Suppose the reverse happens? Suppose the Congress serves up a tax bill, which you vetoed, but the

Congress did nothing about your bill? What would the economic impact of that situation be?

THE PRESIDENT. And you have the further assumption that the Congress would sustain my veto?

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. Do you want to speak to that, Alan?

CHAIRMAN GREENSPAN. You mean override?

Q. No, I mean sustain—nothing would happen.

THE PRESIDENT. That was my assumption.

CHAIRMAN GREENSPAN. You mean talking about the withholding tax rates then rising close to \$12 billion and the like. I will be glad to answer that in some detail, Mr. President, after you leave, and I was wondering whether if that would be acceptable, Joe [Joseph Kraft, Field Newspaper Syndicate], or do you want to go all through it now?

Q. Wouldn't it have a very substantial impact of a negative kind, and doesn't it suggest you are going down a "death valley" route?

CHAIRMAN GREENSPAN. Joe, I would say that the analysis, which suggests a significant negative impact, requires that you accept the rather questionable rules of thumb which we are now building into our standard econometric models, from which that type of analysis emerges.

I think there is very serious question about the validity of that approach in the sense that I would argue the models that we now have built, unfortunately, abstract from reality in a manner which I think is distorting. And I think it is important for us to look at the real world as to what is happening and not merely automatically assume that the real world is consistent with the models that we build. It is not so.

Q. Mr. President, there has been some speculation as to how you reached the \$22 billion level of this transaction——

THE PRESIDENT. \$28 billion.

Q. And there is no question—whether it is true, as alleged in the Wall Street Journal, that you decided it in a golf course conversation with Melvin Laird? [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. There is no validity to that latter part, that it was decided on the golf course, no truth whatsoever.

We were trying to find an area where we could believably achieve reductions and at the same time give the kind of tax relief which we believe is necessary. And the net result was we came up with, I think it is, a 7-percent increase in the growth of Federal spending, which takes us from 370 to 395 and, at the same

time, gives us the kind of distribution of tax reductions which, I think, are long overdue to the middle-income people and, at the same time, holds the people at the other end of the spectrum—they are held harmless.

Q. When do you plan to make the proposed budget reduction public, Mr. President? There are already reports that you are circulating a memorandum among the Cabinet officers with the cuts in them.

THE PRESIDENT. Jim Lynn has gone to the departments, and I can't give you precisely the—oh, there is Jim over there.

DIRECTOR LYNN. What we have done, Peter, is, in typical OMB fashion, contacted each department with planning ceilings, which is regular budget process, and we have also shared with them informally some of the alternatives that were identified in this process that has been going on well over 2 months with the President—where it should be examined as to the ways they could be used to achieve this ceiling.

The one thing the President made clear to us in OMB and made clear to the Cabinet officers was that these are merely suggested alternatives of some ways of doing it. What we want is each department and agency to use their own initiatives and their own expertise to come up with the best and most equitable way of achieving the result we are after.

Q. Mr. President, do you think the American public, let alone Congress, would be willing to accept substantial reductions in major social programs?

THE PRESIDENT. First, Alan [Alan S. Emory, North American Newspaper Alliance], you have to understand they are not necessarily substantial reductions. As I said a few moments ago, it is about a 7-percent increase in the growth of Federal expenditures. In actual dollars it is a \$25 billion increase.

Now, there will have to be some tightening up. There may have to be some caps, as we proposed in the 1976 budget. I think the American public is very disturbed about the growth of Federal spending—very disturbed. I think the mood of the Nation is that something has to be done about it.

Q. Mr. President, you said the other day that you expected to propose a \$1 billion cut in the present level of about \$6 billion for spending on food stamps in your new bill. Could you tell us how that would come about?

THE PRESIDENT. That is going to be submitted to the Congress the day they come back, and I don't think I should preempt it in this gathering this morning. But we will have a legislative program that will go up to the Congress the day they return from their recess.

Q. Would this be by having possibly tighter rules on eligibility? Is this the general idea?

THE PRESIDENT. There will be a number of significant recommendations.

Q. Mr. President, can I come back to the question of the economic impact of the program, because as you know, one of the most persistent criticisms on Capitol Hill is that the tax cuts will take effect at one time and the spending cuts will take place at a point in time 9 months later. The criticism is that you have the tax cuts feeding into the economy, and that will stimulate the economy, and therefore might be too inflationary. Could we get some further guidance on how you respond to that?

THE PRESIDENT. I have been assured by Alan and his associates that that will not take place. I don't have the details.

SECRETARY SIMON. Can I just say something in addition to what Alan said before, which is a little sophisticated, Joe, I agree with you. You get to a point, when we talk about stimulus, whether or not a budget deficit of a particular size in excess of that is indeed stimulative or just the opposite, and what are the financial implications that you have heard me speak of so often—the crowding out that indeed has already occurred, which is going to hurt as far as a broad-based expansion if it were allowed to continue.

So, one can argue, as in the case of other countries who have adopted stimulative measures in the past which did nothing but exacerbate inflation and unemployment, that indeed, at a certain level—which can't be quantified, admittedly, this is a matter of one's judgment—that in the short run it is not necessarily stimulative.

And certainly, if we begin to look, which economic policymakers should look, not at short-run considerations—we are always looking at what the immediate impact of our policies is going to produce, what it is going to be between now and the next election. The purpose of this is once and for all, as the President said, to get the control over the growth in Federal spending, to move toward a balanced budget, and it is our only hope to move toward a balanced budget before the end of this decade. We have to begin by controlling the growth.

Q. Bill, aren't you nevertheless going to have to borrow more money in the first 6 months of calendar 1976?

SECRETARY SIMON. Sure. You have what I call a partial—a partial only, Bart—Hobson's choice, and let me explain why I say it is only partial. I would rather, knowing what my druthers are, finance an additional \$5 billion or \$6 billion budget deficit during the first period of 1976, calendar year 1976, during the period of obvious economic slack, than I would the very large deficit that we were threatened with during 1977, when the economy will be moving back to high economic activity, we believe.

And this indeed, at that point, the sustained combined deficits of many years could then threaten to abort the recovery prematurely.

THE PRESIDENT. I would add this, too, Bart, that if the Congress is concerned about that, there is no reason why they can't cooperate in a number of the authorizations and appropriation bills that they and I will be considering between now and January 1, which would have an impact on the spending in the first 6 months or 9 months of calendar year 1976.

As a matter of fact, we are probably going to have that struggle during that period of time anyhow, and our emphasis will be, as it has been, to hold the line on some of these spending proposals, whether it is an authorization, appropriation, or substantive legislation. And so, in effect, I will be seeking to put some lid on the second half of fiscal year 1976 spending.

DIRECTOR LYNN. If I might on that, Mr. President, on even remaining actions from your original \$17 billion proposals you made in the January budget that affected fiscal year 1975 and 1976, they still have time to take action on, I think it is, better than \$4 billion worth of reductions on the growth of rescissions and deferrals.

I think the other side of the statement is maybe they will look harder now at what I call the salami tactics of adding a slice here and adding a slice there in the regular appropriation and authorization process.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, Holmes [Holmes Alexander, McNaught Syndicate].

Q. Sir, if, as you say, the American people are demanding that the Federal Government be reduced, won't Congress get that message during this vacation and other times and will help you out there?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is very opportune that they are home to get that message. We expect to get the benefits of that, because it is my distinct impression that the American people are eager for this action, and I think it will be reflected on the Congress when they return.

Q. Mr. President, why do you think it is that the American people need this additional tax cut?

THE PRESIDENT. Why do I think?

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. As we have had inflation, we have had, because of our progressive tax rates, as people have moved up the salary and wage levels, they have been hit by the progressive rates that are in effect at the present time.

I have read a number of articles that make this point very vividly, and the ones who have been hurt the most are the ones who have moved into the middle-

income group. And unless we do something to modify that, they are going to be hurt the most in the years ahead.

Q. Mr. President, coming back to the point of economic impact, it makes quite a difference what part of the budget, what kind of spending you cut. Can you give us in general terms any thoughts you might have on what kinds of spending need to be cut at this point? It makes a difference in impact, as I understand it, whether you go after social security or military deployment or building a dam somewhere.

THE PRESIDENT. It is true that certain programs call for an immediate cash outlay and others have a delayed impact. On a long-term military contract, the big payout comes usually the last 50 percent of the 5-year program to build an aircraft carrier, just as an example, whereas some of these income supplement programs come out of the Treasury immediately.

I wouldn't want, at this point, to identify them until Jim's process gets concluded, but I have indicated—and did in Detroit last Friday—because we are in the process of now drafting the legislation and the preparation of the message in the area of food stamps. Now, that is an immediate impact if the Congress acts.

I also said in Detroit that we had to get some better management out of the Defense Department and that some of the frills, as I use the word, have to be eliminated over there in the Pentagon. And I repeat that.

I am not going to permit, to the extent that I can, any serious—any erosion of our weapon capability, but I think there are areas in the Defense Department where better management can produce better results.

Yes, Mark [Marquis W. Childs, St. Louis Post-Dispatch].

Q. Mr. President, if the Congress reacts with the same kind of stalemate they have reacted on oil, do you see this as an important issue that will carry into the 1976 campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the American people could and would make an issue. If my premise is correct, that the American people want a reduction in the growth of expenditures at the Federal level, and if the Congress doesn't act affirmatively, I think the American people will make it an issue, which means in 1976 it will be in the political arena.

Q. Mr. President, you used a billion dollar figure in your Detroit press conference, I think, on food stamps?

THE PRESIDENT. Right.

Q. You also spoke of medical payments. Do you have a rough ballpark figure on medical payment cuts?

DIRECTOR LYNN. I think that is very hard to do, Mr. President, until we hear from HEW as to the whole range of what they would propose to stay within their ceiling.

THE PRESIDENT. We have had a tremendous growth in medical payments by the Federal Government for the whole range of services, but the precise amount I think will have to wait until HEW comes back.

DIRECTOR LYNN. Let me just add, if I might, on that, Mr. President, when we look at the cost per unit of care, in the course of recent years, particularly in the last year or two, it bears absolutely no relationship to inflation or any other indicator we can use. It looks like it is almost uncontrolled. So, just as a total issue, even apart from this particular issue, when we get to the \$395 billion, it is an area that HEW has to look at very carefully and has been looking at for some time. This effort, of course, will bring that to a head.

Q. It would require major changes in the law, though, would it not?

THE PRESIDENT. In many instances, yes, it would.

Q. Sir, Secretary Simon and others have mentioned from time to time that inflation depends on the kind of spending that you do, that certain kinds of spending cause inflation and some do not. Obviously, if you have a shortage of something and you spend the increase for production, that does not cause inflation, and if you spend for things that are in short supply, it does. Has there been an analysis of that in your proposal so that you take this into account?

THE PRESIDENT. I would defer that to Alan.

CHAIRMAN GREENSPAN. First, let me say that the analyses that have been used to try to get these different impacts, tend to show that the differences are much less than a number of people had originally supposed. I think that the differences between, say, certain types of capital projects and transfer payments are there unquestionably. But I think it is more important to recognize that the differences are really quite small, relative to the issue of the size of amounts.

In other words, it is an issue of small moment relative to the total size of the type of project in the program which the President has announced.

Q. Mr. President, why did you decide to make the additional tax cut effective January 1 instead of delaying it and tying it to the tax reductions at the beginning of fiscal 1977, October 1?

THE PRESIDENT. That was a decision that I felt was—well, in the first place, the American people, based on what the various Congressional leaders had indicated—they were going to get a tax reduction now, a kind of a tax reduction that I didn't think was the right one. And since I have strong views on what is a good and fair and equitable tax reduction, I felt it was the proper thing to join



the issue at this time, rather than to have the probability of the wrong kind of a tax reduction going into effect January 1. And it seems to me it was better to fight for what I really believe in at this time rather than to delay it until sometime in 1976.

Q. Mr. President, following that, if Congress were to extend the present reduction at the \$12 billion level and say they are willing to talk about a budget reduction of \$12 billion, what would your reaction to that be?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I ought to speculate on that. I feel very strongly, as I have indicated, about the kind of a tax reduction, and that is as crucial as the spending reduction. And I think we have to stand firm on the combination that we have proposed. I haven't seen any indication on their part that they would do it. So, I think it is too speculative to really make any judgment.

Q. Mr. President, are you saying that there is no room for compromise anywhere on this issue, that it has got to be your program or no program?

THE PRESIDENT. We are all realistic enough to know that at some time you may have to. But our position is firm, and I think it is soundly based. And to indicate there is any major area of compromise, I think, just erodes our position, which is firm.

Q. Mr. President, do you fear that if there is an extension on these tax cuts, as Senator Long has indicated, without any reduction in the rate of growth, that you will go back to more inflation, possibly more double-digit inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. If my recollection is accurate, if we have a \$12 billion tax reduction with no limitation on spending, the deficit for fiscal 1977 will be \$70 billion. And with the prospect of a deficit for fiscal 1976 somewhere between \$60 and \$70 billion, you will have back-to-back deficits that will total \$140 billion. I think that is an inevitable invitation to reigniting of inflation.

Q. Mr. President, you have said that the people would make an issue of this in 1976. Will you yield to the clamor of the public on this and take up the cudgels?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I always respect the judgment of the American people, and if they want to make it an issue, I will respond.

Q. You won't resist it? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. I am a little confused, Mr. President, as to where these fiscal guidelines leave your welfare reform. There have been many signs of the Administration's moving in that direction. Everything you can learn from HEW suggests that it would cost more to go the negative income route.

THE PRESIDENT. The Vice President is having some hearings which will cover

this area, and they will include the total spectrum of those who want to take the present law and modify it to try and tighten it up to those who want to junk the present system and substitute another. We are going to have a broad spectrum of witnesses, and when the Vice President comes back with a consensus, we will make a decision. There has been none made yet.

Q. Would you like to move in January on some kind of welfare program?

THE PRESIDENT. It will depend on what the hearings produce, Charlie [Charles L. Bartlett, Chicago Daily News].

Q. Mr. President, you spoke of frills at the DOD. Do you apply that also to the other departments and HEW?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, sure. None will be immune, Holmes.

Q. Mr. President, speaking of the Vice President, could I ask a fiscally related question? [*Laughter*] Are you and Mr. Rockefeller now taking different positions on the possible need for some Federal assistance to New York City?

THE PRESIDENT. I would say it is minimal. I couldn't help but be disappointed in what I read this morning, that the mayor's group—or whatever they call that group—has come up with only a \$50 million reduction of the recommendations that they have to make to the Governor's group, and the total that the Governor's group requires is \$200 million, and this is only 50 out of the 200.

I have no way of knowing what the reaction will be of the Governor and his group, but I can't help but raise the question that if the municipal people can't satisfy the Governor's group, it certainly is an indication that they would have a hard time satisfying the Congressional requirements for fiscal responsibility. And of course, fiscal readjustment or fiscal restructuring or fiscal responsibility at the city level would be a prerequisite, I would think, for any Congressional action.

MR. NESSEN. Mr. President, do you want to leave Bill and Alan to finish?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Thank you all very much.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The briefing was conducted by William E. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury, Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the

Council of Economic Advisers, and James T. Lynn, Director of the Office of Management and Budget. The White House press release contained the concluding portion of the briefing.

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**Memorandum on Appointing the Chairman of the  
Interdepartmental Savings Bonds Committee. *October 14, 1975***

*Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies*

I have appointed Secretary of Commerce Rogers C. B. Morton as Chairman of the Interdepartmental Savings Bonds Committee. He succeeds Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, who has served in that capacity with great distinction since 1972.

The Savings Bond Program offers a convenient way for every American to build financial security.

The success of this vital program owes much to the broad acceptance by Federal employees of the Payroll Savings Plan. It is essential for each of us to provide effective leadership by encouraging every employee to buy Savings Bonds regularly.

Secretary Morton has my full support as he undertakes this new responsibility. I know he can count on your fullest personal interest and cooperation in attaining new high levels of participation in the Payroll Savings Plan throughout the Federal establishment.

GERALD R. FORD

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**Statement on Receiving the Report of the Domestic Council  
Drug Abuse Task Force. *October 14, 1975***

DURING the last 6 months the Domestic Council has conducted an intensive review of the drug abuse problem in the United States. I directed this review because I was concerned about reports of increasing availability and use of drugs. Specifically, I wanted to know the extent and nature of drug abuse in this country and the effectiveness of our current programs in responding to this serious problem.

The Domestic Council Drug Abuse Task Force has completed its review and has prepared a "White Paper on Drug Abuse" for my consideration. I am grateful to the Vice President, the members of the task force, and to the many others from inside and outside of government who offered advice and counsel in the preparation of this report.

Drug abuse is a problem of deep personal concern to me and one which requires a careful but forceful policy both at home and abroad. We have completed an important first step. Now we must continue the vital process of communication and analysis which has begun.

In order to assure prompt implementation of this report, I am directing each Federal agency with direct program responsibility to analyze and respond to the white paper within the next 60 days. I am also directing that the report be released to help refocus the current public dialog on drug abuse.

This Administration is firmly committed to improving the quality of life for all Americans. Clearly, drug abuse has no place in our society. I believe the white paper outlines in realistic terms the drug abuse problem this Nation faces and presents for my consideration comprehensive recommendations for ways in which the Federal Government, working with State and local governments and the private sector, can control drug abuse.

NOTE: The report is entitled "White Paper on Drug Abuse, September 1975—A Report to the President From the Domestic Council Drug Abuse Task Force" (Government Printing Office, 116 pp.).

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### Remarks at the Convention of the Connecticut Association of Realtors in Hartford. *October 14, 1975*

IT IS a great privilege and pleasure for me to have an opportunity to say just a few words to the Connecticut realtors.

Herb has indicated my credentials. I can't relate how many times I have met with, discussed with, worked with, first, the realtors from my hometown, Grand Rapids, the Michigan realtors, the national association. I have attended many, many, many of the meetings of your organization in the Nation's Capital. Let me say without any hesitation or equivocation, I feel at home with people who believe as you do that an investment in a home is an investment in a good America.

Let me say that I had a great privilege and honor to speak to the national convention of your organization in Las Vegas, Nevada, last year. You all who were there seemed to be having a good time. [*Laughter*] I wish I could have stayed longer and enjoyed what all of you were doing—working on matters involving real estate, finance, et cetera. But nevertheless, it was a privilege to address the national convention. I said then that the country was having serious problems in the economic field—and we were. I indicated at that time that the

homebuilding and the real estate business were both having a very serious time.

I didn't come out and promise you any quick fix or phony panacea. I don't think that is the way for me to talk to people who know what the facts of life are. And you know that we have had a serious dip in the home ownership effort, whether it is in new homes being built or in the real estate market. But despite the fact that we took a real tough slide, this country is coming out of the most serious economic recession since the end of World War II on the basis of sound policies. And those policies are going to continue, because they are in the best interest of everybody in this country.

As I look at the statistics on a national basis, I see encouragement as far as the economy overall is concerned. And I think you will be very pleased with some of the material that will be released within the next few days that indicates that the staunchness of the American people in meeting a challenge and the right policies we are following will give us the encouragement that is needed to keep us going in the right direction in making a better America for everybody.

The improvement in your business is not as spectacular as we would like, but you should be encouraged. The improvement we find in the surveys that are made around the country—consumer confidence for good reason is improving.

But we are faced with a very serious crisis. The facts of life are that our Federal Government, yours as well as mine, has been following a policy in the spending of your tax dollars that if we continue that policy, what we believe in will be seriously undermined. And furthermore, if we continue to put the heavy hand of additional taxation or even the present rates of taxation on people today, we could have a diversion of what we think is right in America, a policy that is not healthy for America.

So, what I tried to do in a speech to the American people a few days ago was to lay out that if we could put a restraining hand on the growth of Federal spending, and if we, as a result of putting a limitation on the growth of Federal spending of \$28 billion in the next fiscal year, we could honestly say to the American people that they ought to have a \$28 billion tax reduction. But they have to go hand-in-hand. And I hope and trust that every one of you will talk to your Congressmen—Democratic, Republican—and say this program is good for America. It is right.

The tax program seeks to give for the first time in a good many years equity to the middle-income people in our society. We seek to achieve this by increasing the personal exemption from \$750 per person to \$1,000, to give a flat \$1,800

standard deduction to a single person, a \$2,500 standard deduction to a couple. We try to get some adjustments in rates; we try to give business a fair and equitable break—one-quarter of the total of \$28 billion tax reduction. This is a sound program, but it has to be tied to a restraint on the growth in Federal spending.

So, I plead with you to speak to your Members of the House and Senate. Let me tell you what the alternative is. We have had this current growth in Federal spending at the rate of 9 to 10 percent a year without any change in law just because more people become eligible and because there are escalation clauses in the various laws that do exist. And if we don't do something about spending, you are going to have a \$50 billion increase in spending in the next fiscal year without any change in the law—a \$50 billion automatic increase in spending.

What I am saying to you is, let's cut it in half and save that money for the benefit of people in the tax brackets. We don't hurt anybody, and we give a little more equity to the people in the middle-income brackets.

All of you understand the problem of how you are going to finance new homes. And you know there has been a problem not only as to the availability but as to interest rates.

And all of you are sophisticated enough to know that the first borrower is Uncle Sam. He gets priority. And if Uncle Sam is going to borrow \$70 billion this year and \$70 billion next year—that is, \$140 billion to finance a deficit in a 2-year span—there ain't going to be much left for the private enterprise portion of our economy.

So, what my proposal does is to put a lid, as I said, of \$60 billion on this fiscal year. And if we have a tax reduction of \$28 billion next year and a spending limitation of \$28 billion in the next fiscal year, we will have a \$40 billion deficit, and in 3 years we will have a balanced budget. And you will have plenty of money next year and the following year to sell homes and to build homes. And that is what we want.

If we don't have a program of this kind, we are faced with Uncle Sam crowding out people who want to buy a home and interfering with the livelihood of those people who want to sell homes and build homes. What I am saying to you is we have a good program. They have to go hand in hand, and I would appreciate your help.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Sheraton-Hartford Hotel. In

his remarks, he referred to Herbert Pearce, president of the association.

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**Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in  
Hartford. October 14, 1975**

*Thank you very, very much, Fred. Senator Lowell Weicker, Congressmen Ron Sarasin, Stew McKinney, Ed May, and all of my former colleagues in the House of Representatives who are here, and it has been wonderful seeing you all—Lloyd Elston, John Filer, Archie McCardle, and all of those who have made this dinner possible, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am thrilled by not only the size of this tremendous gathering but the enthusiasm—and may I say this most sincerely, it has been my privilege in the last month or so to attend a number of comparable Republican gatherings such as this and each and every one seems to get better. The momentum is there and this is the highlight, and I congratulate all of you in the great State of Connecticut for this wonderful turn-out.

I do wish to express my personal appreciation to the two fine bands—the New Britain High School Band, and I also wish to express my gratitude to the Centurian Drum and Bugle Corps. And of course, the tremendous enthusiasm of all of you who just joined us really makes this wonderful gathering here a great family affair. And for those of you who are interested, the Red Sox are ahead 1 to 0. [*Laughter*] I am told that Carlton Fisk hit a home run. That is not a bad way to go.

You know, it really is a great pleasure to be back and, I emphasize, back in Connecticut. Trying to drive into Hartford, in particular, is always a very fascinating experience for anyone in politics. With all of those interchanges, cloverleaves, by-passes and on-ramps and off-ramps, you have the exact same problem the Democrats have in Congress. [*Laughter*] No matter which way you go, it is wrong. [*Laughter*]

But let me add this, if I might. In 1976 we are going to help those Democrats out of their problem. [*Laughter*]

I am very grateful to Fred for his overly kind and very generous introduction. And I certainly wish Fred the very, very best in his new role as chairman of the Republican Party of Connecticut.

Although this is a new job for Fred, as Eddie said earlier, he is an old and enthusiastic hand at party activity. Fred Biebel has come up through the chairs, so to speak, in the Republican Party. He has served as a doorbell ringer, as town chairman, as county chairman, and many, many other important assignments

in the Republican Party. And now that he has the top job in the Republican Party, or the top chair, I should say, in the Republican Party in Connecticut, Fred tells me, and I think it is obvious, he isn't going to be doing much sitting on it in the next 18 months.

Fred, it is obvious you are going to make 1976 a good year for our candidates and for the philosophy that we stand for. But in addition, you are going to get a great deal of help from your outstanding vice chairman, Jeanne Nelson, and from the rest of those of you who are active participants either in the party organization in getting out the vote or in raising the money. And it seems to me that with all of this talent here, you have the nucleus for a very broad-scale victory in 1976.

I was very pleased and very proud to have an opportunity to sit next to, talk with an old friend and an old colleague, a Senator of great strength, courage, and wisdom—Lowell Weicker. It was my privilege and real pleasure to serve with him in the House of Representatives and to have a few months where I was presiding in the Senate. I know firsthand that he serves you with great distinction, and I hope and trust that the people of this fine State make certain that Lowell Weicker is returned for 6 more years in 1976.

Having served 25-plus years in the House of Representatives, I know the kind that come who will stay and serve well and the kind that come and have problems and don't stay very long. And in Stew McKinney and Ron Sarasin you have the kind of Representatives in the House who do a superb job for all of those in their respective Congressional districts, who are respected on both sides of the aisle, who seem to attract attention from their colleagues because of their capability, because of their service in doing a job not only for the district and the State but the country. And so I say to you, send Ron and Stew back but add a few, will you, in 1976?

Although I never had the privilege of serving in a State legislature, I know from many, many experiences with State legislators all over the country and a few opportunities to speak to a State legislature or two, that this is really one of the most important functions or operations in our government. And I hope and trust that after the disastrous year of 1974 that you in Connecticut will see to it that you gain or regain control in your State legislature in 1976.

A couple of weeks ago I was honored to have a number of your mayoralty candidates come down to the White House, and Shirley<sup>1</sup> was among them. And I talked to them about the election that is coming up in not too many weeks. I happen to believe that the foundation of a firm, strong political party

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<sup>1</sup> Shirley Scott, Republican candidate for mayor of Hartford.



is at the local level. And I was greatly impressed with Shirley and the others who told me of what they are trying to do for the party, yes, but for their respective communities, more importantly. And to the extent that you can, I urge you in each and every case to give these fine candidates your maximum this coming November.

If I might reminisce just a moment—this is early fall in the great State of Connecticut—it hardly seems possible that about 40 years ago, I came from the State of Michigan in August of 1935 and spent the next 5-plus years in New Haven, working for one of the finest people that I have ever known. He gave me my first job and was tremendously influential in helping to guide me in how to handle the job. But more importantly he gave me the opportunity not only to have a job but to further my education. For that wonderful opportunity to me, I want to thank, before all of you, a very old and very dear friend of mine, Ducky Pond of Yale University.

I don't know how many times during that 5½ years, but there were many, when Ducky and his wonderful wife, Anna, kind of looked after a lonesome bachelor. And for that, Ducky, I am deeply grateful. But there is another good friend of mine from Michigan here who, I guess, coached Eddie—Norm Daniels is here someplace—who is now retired. Where is Norm? There he is.

I don't mind admitting a little nostalgia. I think it is good for a person to feel strongly about people and about political parties and about principles, about conviction. And I feel very strongly about returning to the great State of Connecticut where I had 5-plus wonderful years. And I thank all of the people who made it possible.

But I am especially pleased to be in a State which over the years has done a superb job in a very important area in our economy—I talk about insurance. I am told that 14 percent of the insurance in America today is written from or by people who have home bases here in this State. And all together I am advised that premiums alone on policies sold nationwide by Connecticut insurance companies total more than \$13 billion annually. That is an impressive figure by any standards. And since the bulk of these premiums are reinvested in America—in mortgages on homes and on commercial buildings, in the development of America's resources, in stocks and bonds—I consider that a great vote of Connecticut's confidence in the United States.

Some 200 years ago, Benjamin Franklin said that in this world nothing is certain but death and taxes. But nowadays some politicians seem to take a shortcut—they just tax people to death. But I don't think there is anything funny

when it comes to paying taxes, whether it is new taxes here in Connecticut or anywhere else in America.

The tax burden of millions and millions of Americans is far, far too heavy. It affects family budget decisions and the Nation's economic recovery. And let me read to you, if I might, a letter from a Connecticut woman who, obviously, is a constituent of Stew McKinney's. It is dated October 7, a day or so after I made a speech on national television. It says, "Dear Mr. President"—and I would like to use her words and her thoughts for the theme that I am going to spend a few minutes with you on this evening.

"Dear Mr. President, I want to go on record that I truly agree with everything you said on your broadcast on Monday night. It is about time someone said something sensible. We do want our freedom back. We don't want anything given to us or done for us. In this time of the Bicentennial, let's get back to the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence. As far as I am concerned, we have been taxed without representation. Most people I know think taxes are too high, but our Representatives keep giving us benefits and our taxes keep going up. Why do they do this?

"I want this country to declare its independence once again—freedom from a too strong government. Of course, with freedom comes responsibility. We are all responsible for letting our leaders know what we feel, and too many of us, myself included, stood by watching while all of this happened. We only wake up and get motivated to do something when it is almost too late. I am not a letter writer but from now on, even if it is a postcard, my Congressman is going to know how I feel."

Let me say this is the tone and the thread of many, many letters we have received in the White House in the last 10 days. The theme is that our tax load is too heavy and our spending rate is far too high.

The Congress and others connected with the Government bear a very heavy burden of responsibility for the heavy taxes now imposed on the American people, especially those in the low- and middle-income brackets.

For the last 38 out of 42 years the Democrats have controlled the Congress—the House as well as in the Senate—following the old Democratic formula of tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect. I respectfully suggest, let's turn that formula around and elect Republicans who will tax less and spend less.

If we expect to restore economic stability and develop sustained growth in our economy, we must first set the United States Government's fiscal house in order. And that is precisely what we intend to do. That is why I insist on a decision from the Congress on the question of whether we will continue the tragic di-

rection of recent years, the path toward bigger government, higher taxes, higher inflation, or in the alternative, whether we will now take a new direction, bringing a halt to the suffocating growth of government, restoring our national prosperity, and allowing Americans a far greater voice in their own future and a greater say on how to spend their money.

May I add one or two sentences right at this point. As we talk about the problem of bigger government, heavier burdens financially, and less and less freedom, it is well to remember the following: A government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

Now, in choosing a new direction, I propose a fresh start for America and for the American people. I have recommended a \$28 billion tax reduction on a permanent basis starting January 1 and, at the same time, a matching limitation in the growth of Federal spending. As a very distinct part of this program, I think we have to make a date certain for a balanced budget.

Let me emphasize that in the tax proposal the following provisions should be remembered: We recommend that 75 percent of the tax reduction go to the people, the taxpayers, and the other 25 percent go to those in business and industry. The 75 percent for individuals involves an increase in personal exemption from \$750 to \$1,000, the standard deduction to a flat \$1,800 for a single person and \$2,500 for a couple. Those are tax deductions that are good to give to people who deserve them, who have been shortchanged in the years in the past.

And in the area of tax reduction, the remaining 25 percent for industry is oriented to provide a sustained growth, to help in the creation of capital for the production of jobs, because we have to provide new jobs for about 1,600,000 younger people entering the labor market every year. And if we don't provide some incentive for industry to expand, to modernize, to improve, we aren't going to be able to satisfy the job needs of our younger generation.

So, there is an equal balance in the proposals that I have made on the tax side. But let me emphasize that if we don't get an equal reduction in the growth of Federal spending, we cannot justify a tax reduction.

Obviously, in the process of reducing spending, a lot of belt-tightening will have to take place. But let me emphasize with conviction and very firm statements that those who deserve help will continue to receive it—the elderly, the poor, the veterans who have borne arms in our Nation's defense. And then I add hurriedly, we will not permit slashes in our national security defense forces that are necessary for the protection of the United States.

Overall the proposals to cut taxes and the growth of Federal spending will not

only lighten your tax load but I think they will also help tremendously in battling the ravages of inflation, the cruelest and perhaps the most pervasive tax of all.

As I have indicated, they will give our economy the necessary, sustained push so that we can expand and meet the challenges from abroad, which are serious—a problem that has to be met if we are to provide for job growth.

What we have to do is convince the Congress that the American people want this kind of an answer. We cannot let the growth of the Federal budget go as it has for the last 13 years.

And let me tell you what the consequence will be: If we let the growth of Federal spending proceed as it has for the last 10-plus years, by the year 2000 half of the people in this Nation will be living off the other half, totally changing the kind of a government, the kind of a society in which we live.

Let me illustrate by a couple of quick statistics. In 1962 the budget climbed over the \$100 billion mark for the first time. By 1971 it went over \$200 billion. By 1975 it had topped \$300 billion. And without some serious trimming, it will go over \$400 billion in the next fiscal year. That is a 300-percent increase in the short span of 13 years. And if we permit that growth to continue without some restriction and some limitation, the consequences I described will be upon us by the year 2000.

To meet this problem head on, I propose that we halt this alarming growth by holding spending to \$395 billion in the coming fiscal year. That represents a \$28 billion cut from the spending level currently projected, if all existing Federal programs are allowed to grow as they have in the recent past. I recognize that special interest groups throughout America may complain. They will be down on the doorsteps of the House as well as the Senate when funds are cut as a part of this economy drive. But my concern and your concern is not that of special interests. It is the people's interest, the taxpayers' interest, and more importantly than anything, the national interest.

The Congress has to look at this package in that light. The temptation of Representatives in the Congress to accept the tax cut, but reject the spending cuts, will be tremendous. It is an old story—everybody wants to go to heaven, but nobody wants to die. [*Laughter*] I served in the Congress long enough to know that from personal experience. But if we are really serious about getting both our economy and the Federal Government under control, the Congress must commit itself, not halfheartedly but wholeheartedly, to a policy of strict fiscal responsibility. Instead of throwing up its hands and saying it can't be done, as some of the Democratic leaders have indicated, I suggest to the Democratic-

controlled Congress that they take a good, hard look at how the Democratic-controlled 90th Congress placed a ceiling on spending and at the same time enacted an increase in taxes recommended by a Democratic President. That was back in 1967.

This time I recommend to the Congress to place a ceiling on spending and at the same time enact a tax cut. But let me illustrate how the 90th Congress did it, and we are in the 94th Congress now. In December of 1967, the Congress wrote into a continuing appropriations bill a provision reducing Federal obligations for 1968 by at least \$9 billion and Federal spending by at least \$4 billion. And it worked.

In 1968, the same Congress enacted a 10-percent surtax on corporations and individuals which President Johnson had requested. And at the same time, it wrote into the legislation a \$10 billion reduction in outlays for fiscal 1969 and an \$8 billion rescission of unspent prior year appropriations. It is just as simple as that.

Tonight I say to the "Can't Do Congress," it can be done, it has been done, why not do it for the benefit of America.

And if I might, let me be very specific on this point. If the Congress sends me legislation that exceeds the spending limitations and threatens your tax cut, I will not hesitate to use the constitutional authority available to me and will veto that legislation.

Oh, I know that the veto has been described as a negative act. And I have used it 39 times and saved, in the process, the American taxpayers \$6 billion. I will use it a hundred times, if necessary, to prevent excessive inflationary spending increases. And that is about as positive as you can get.

Let me explain why I don't think that a veto is a negative act. Our forefathers, when they drafted the Constitution, and those from Connecticut participated, they gave, in the Constitution, the right of a President to exercise the veto. That is a constitutionally given authority, and the purpose is very simple. Over the period of 180-some years many Congresses have passed legislation hastily without adequate thought, consideration, made some mistakes. And 39 Presidents have exercised that veto authority given in the Constitution and said to the Congress, maybe you better think about it, maybe you better take a little extra time, maybe you ought to analyze and take another look to see whether you made any mistakes. And if you think you haven't after a reasonable period of time, you have the right to override that veto with a two-thirds vote.

But the forefathers that drafted this historic document thought that there ought to be some authority to force the Congress to reconsider legislation. And

the facts of life are that in 1975 on a number of occasions where I have used the veto, the Congress has sustained the veto, the Congress has gone back and taken another look, and the net result has been far better legislation, far more responsible spending. And so if we can work together, as we did in those cases, we can avoid the need and necessity of a veto.

But let me add very quickly, I think there is a better way for us to achieve fiscal responsibility. We need the help of the Congress in 1975 and 1976. And your help is essential to convince the Congress that the American people want a tax reduction and a spending limitation.

By working together we can make America's economic future bright and prosperous and vigorous. But if we grow weary of our commitments and weak in our resolve, our economic course will be in danger in the years to come.

A commitment to fiscal responsibility is nothing new to the Republican Party. It is one of our founding principles as are the other commitments to a strong national defense, to local control over local problems, to a vigorous free enterprise system, and to greater freedom of the individual and dignity for each and every person in our society.

Here in Connecticut and all across the United States, we must show our fellow citizens that their concerns—*their* concerns—are our concern; that their hopes for a strong and free and prosperous America are our hope. We must demonstrate anew that the Republican Party is prepared to lead and to serve 214 million American citizens responsibly, responsively, and effectively. We must convince them that a Republican victory can be a great victory for them and for our country.

I think we can help to make these years ahead of us great years for America so that we and our children and their children may say with new meaning and new and fresh enthusiasm these fine old words of a fellow New Englander, Daniel Webster: "Thank God I am an American."

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:12 p.m. in the Assembly Hall at the Hartford Civic Center. In his opening remarks, he referred to Lloyd Elston, John Filer, and Archie McCardle who were co-

chairmen of the dinner. Mr. McCardle was also finance chairman of the President Ford Committee in Connecticut.

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Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association  
of Food Chains. *October 15, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Clancy.*

Let me say at the outset how grateful I am for the very warm reception and the opportunity to meet a number of you and shake hands and say hello. This means a great deal to me, and I am just very, very appreciative.

In the spirit of the express checkout line, I will do something that is very difficult for a person in the political arena, I will try to limit my remarks to eight items or less. [*Laughter*]

What I would like to do is, first, compliment the group that is here and the people that you represent for contributing a very meaningful part to the free enterprise system in the United States. During my lifetime I have seen food chains grow locally in my hometown of Grand Rapids—and I suspect Henry Meyer and Eberhart are both here someplace—but nevertheless, I have seen not only local chains but our large chains that operate all over the country contribute in a very meaningful, significant way to a better way of life in the United States and I compliment you and congratulate you for this effort.

As I have watched this contribution, it has seemed to me that you have had to be very careful about your costs, you have had to be very careful on how you treated your employees, you had to be extremely careful on the product that you sold, and you had to compete with one another in a fair and equitable way. These are all of the ingredients that I think make America what it is today.

Now it seems to me that we are seeing this development in America being undertaken and copied in many other countries throughout the world. And let me give you one illustration. I was in Yugoslavia several months ago, a country that has a totally different philosophy than that of the United States. And yet I saw an illustration there of how they are seeking to follow what we are doing in marketing, marketing that the food chains have been in the forefront of for a good many years. And I have heard in many other countries throughout the world that what you have done and proven to be right is being imitated on a worldwide basis.

So, instead of your operations being condemned by some, I think that all of you, for the contribution you have made, should be complimented in the forefront of the free enterprise system.

Now, if I might, I would like to use some of the things that you have done

to be successful as an analogy as to what your Government ought to do to do a better job. I said a moment ago that you had to keep a very close check on expenditures and that you had to make an honest effort to see that the money that was collected and spent was spent wisely. And it seems to me that what I suggested to the Congress and to the American people about 10 days ago has a great deal of relevance to some of the objectives and the aims that you have had in your industry.

What do we want to do? What are we seeking to accomplish, to achieve? We are seeking to put a lid on costs, to weed out those programs that are costly, that no longer are up to the criterion—they don't measure up to what we need in the decade of the seventies, the eighties, between now and the year 2000, and at the same time give to our taxpayers all over the country a fair break, a fair opportunity. And as a result, 10 days go I suggested to the Congress, and I intend to pressure and push on this combination, because it is my impression, as I travel around the country, that the American people want a lid on the growth of Federal spending and a return to them of their taxes at a lower rate than they have been paying in the past.

Let me illustrate, if I might, very quickly the rate of growth in Federal spending over the last 10 or 12 years. Roughly 10 years ago the Federal budget involved the expenditure of roughly \$100 billion. In the short span of a decade or thereabouts Federal expenditures have gone from roughly \$100 billion to almost \$400 billion. And the rate of growth has been somewhere in the magnitude of 10 to 15 percent. The net result is that if we don't put a lid on Federal spending for the next fiscal year, we will go from an anticipated Federal spending rate of \$370 billion to a Federal spending during a 12-month period of \$425-plus billion—over a \$50 billion increase in Federal expenditures without any change in programs, without any new programs. And if we continue this rate of Federal expenditure growth, it is anticipated that by the year 2000, half of the American people will be supported by the other 50 percent of the American people. That is without a change in programs or any new Federal spending programs.

It just seems to me that we ought to take a look at a number of these programs that were put in—and I give them the benefit of the doubt—with the best of intentions. But in a period of time when we weren't as concerned about this growth factor, they expanded by one means or another, and they are completely and totally out of hand.

Now, it seems to me that if we can find a way to sift out the bad and modify those that can't be justified, we at the same time ought to give to the people



of this country a meaningful tax reduction. And therefore, in return for a \$28 billion lid on Federal spending, the growth of Federal spending, I have suggested that we ought to put a \$28 billion tax reduction program into effect.

And it seems to me that the program makes a lot of sense; 75 percent of the 28 billion in a tax reduction would go to people. We would hold harmless those at the lower end of the income spectrum. They would not be treated any less well than they are being treated under the existing tax reduction legislation. We would not treat those at the upper end of the income spectrum any differently than they are treated under the present income tax reduction that was approved by the Congress early this year.

But what we try to do is to give some long overdue equity and relief to the middle-income people—from \$8,000 to \$25,000. We have had inflation for the last 18 to 24 months that has hurt this group more seriously than any other group in our society, and they are deserving of tax relief and benefits at the present time.

Now, the program is very simple—we increase personal exemptions from \$750 to \$1,000. For those that use the standard deduction, we take the single person and give him a flat \$1,800; for a family of two we give them a \$2,500 standard deduction. And we make some adjustments in rates so that the people at either end of the economic spectrum are held harmless. But those in the middle—the hard-working, industrious individuals, families that are trying to improve their lot and have an opportunity—give them a long overdue dose of equity.

Then we turn to business. We have found that the needs and the demands for capital to keep our country prosperous, growing, are almost unbelievable in the next decade. And under our existing tax laws affecting business, it is almost impossible for the accumulation of capital, and it is our thought that we ought to reduce the corporate tax rate from 48 to 46 percent and to make the investment tax credit permanent.

In this way we are recognizing the need for capital formation, and whenever I say capital formation, I think we have to add the following: Yes, capital formation is important for business, but it is even more meaningful for the people who want jobs. You can't expand industry or retail establishments if you don't provide jobs. So, really what we are talking about is the expansion of business for the providing of jobs for the 1,600,000 new people who enter the labor market every year.

So, this package in the tax area is well balanced. It is aimed at providing equity for individuals; it is aimed at providing a stimulant for the continued growth of our free enterprise system. I think it is good.

Now, I have heard some comments up on the Hill, the House and the Senate, that it can't be done. Having spent 25 years there, I know it can be done if there is a will.

I am familiar enough with the parliamentary procedures to know first it has been done. People say, who don't want to do it, that you can't put a spending limitation and provide for a tax reduction at the same time.

The facts are there was a combination of a tax bill and a spending limitation twice within the last 10 years. It was done because it was needed—back in 1967 it was done and again in 1968. So, I have no sympathy for those who say it can't be done, Congress can't do it.

The facts are it was done. The facts are they can do it. And the facts are they should do it because the American people are demanding this kind of equity as to taxes and this kind of responsible action as far as the expenditure of your tax moneys are concerned.

Let me just add one further comment. We have undertaken an effort to try and get Government out of business in a responsible way. We think there is overregulation by the Federal Government—and that includes the executive branch of the Federal Government, it includes the so-called independent regulatory agencies.

I had a check made the other day, and the Office of Management and Budget came up and told me that there were something like 5,200 forms sent out by all Federal agencies requiring that businessmen file this and report that. I couldn't believe it. And I have ordered the Office of Management and Budget to tell every department and every agency in the Federal Government they had to find a way to get along with fewer. And I have given them a target, and a year from now we are going to have fewer of those forms, and I hope simpler ones.

In the process of analyzing these 5,200 forms that the American people have to fill out, they came up with this astounding figure—that if these forms are filled out as required by law, businessmen and others would spend nearly 130 million manhours to complete them each year. It is unbelievable, and I don't think in total they justify that kind of extra work on behalf of our society.

But what we are really trying to do in the months ahead—and I hope the Congress will cooperate—is, one, to get a responsible handle on the growth of Federal spending; at the same time, to develop some greater equity in our tax laws and a stimulant for the long-range growth of this country; and at the same time, to give our system a better opportunity to work with less and less unnecessary Federal regulation.

Let me conclude with just this final observation: We have gone through in the

last 12 to 14 months a pretty tough time in America. It doesn't do us any good to say that in most other countries of the world they have had reasonably comparable circumstances. The facts are we have had the worst recession since the end of World War II.

A year ago we were suffering inflation at the rate of 12 to 14 percent per annum. Shortly after that was peaked, we found that we had a soaring unemployment rate. But instead of saying we couldn't do something about it, we have sought to follow policies that will solve the problem, the current one, of an inflation rate of that magnitude and an unemployment rate which is totally unacceptable, by policies that will keep us moving steadily forward toward a solution—not a quick fix, but a solution that will hopefully prevent the recurrence of soaring inflation and far too high unemployment.

Now, I know some people have gotten a little impatient. Some people wanted a quick fix here; some people wanted a short answer there. But as we look back over the last 25 or 30 years, whenever those quick fixes were used, they may have appeared to solve the problem or problems then, but the net result has been we have laid ourselves wide open for a recurrence. And as long as I am President we are not going to have any quick fixes.

We are going to try and give you a right answer. It will be tough because there will be all kinds of pressures, but we are headed in the right direction. We are down now to a far more manageable inflation rate, somewhere in the annual rate of about 6 percent.

Our unemployment figure is going down. In the last 6 months, 1,600,000 more Americans are gainfully employed. You are going to probably see some very encouraging economic statistics coming out in the next few days. We are on our way to a sensible, constructive, long-range answer to the peaks and the valleys that we have had far too often in the last 25 or 30 years.

I thank you for your warm welcome. I appreciate your support. But more important than almost anything is our joint support for the kind of society that we have in America, the kind of country in which we live.

Every time I travel anyplace around the world I always come back and say, "Thank goodness I am back in the United States"—a country that was given to us by hard work and good judgment and strength and character and courage.

We have that obligation right now. We have that burden to do as well for those that follow as those who preceded us did for us.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:37 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton

Hotel. He was introduced by Clancy Adamy, president of the organization.

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**Remarks on Greeting Participants in the World Conference on Law. *October 16, 1975***

*Mr. Rhyne, distinguished guests from around the world, ladies and gentlemen:*

First, it is delightful to have you here in the Rose Garden and to have you as the guests of the White House. It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to say a few words to you this afternoon—a great gathering of world jurists.

Never before in the history of mankind has the importance of law in our society received such overwhelming support. And of course, as I look around and see all of you men and women, I commend you for the great dedication that you have individually as well as collectively. And your presence here in Washington for the seventh World Conference on Law not only represents the largest meeting ever in the history of the international legal profession but I think demonstrates very vividly a significant cooperation so necessary to world survival.

The languages we speak and the political and religious beliefs that we have obviously can be very different. But I am confident that we share a very common conviction that adherence to law is fundamental to a stable world and to a world society that has stability and, of course, also to world peace.

The world cannot afford to be without just laws, nor can nations exist without adequate enforcement of those laws. I am encouraged by your presence in our National Capital for the World Law Conference.

We know, individually as well as collectively, that laws do not exist in a vacuum. They must be part of our daily lives, the existence of our communities. And your efforts as judges, scholars, and legal practitioners are very vital to the end result that we all seek.

Laws, I know from my 25 years in the Congress of the United States, are proposed, discussed, legislated, and adjudicated by men and by women. Humanity, we all know, is not perfect. But our potential for achieving a viable and a just system of laws across the world determines the quality of human life.

This World Law Conference recognizes the need to eliminate the discriminatory legal barriers confronting women throughout the world.

That is a line my wife insisted on. [*Laughter*]

Your efforts to promote human equality under the law, as well as other issues, ranging from the role of multinational companies to the law of the sea, demonstrate very properly and, again, very vividly that you are addressing the major

issues that confront people and nations in the globe as a whole. I commend the serious work that you are undertaking. I hope and trust that your enormous contributions to the international lawmaking process will be significantly advanced by your endeavors here in our Capital.

I congratulate this international law body whose vision, whose imagination has not only made this conference possible but has demonstrated the ability of peoples of all nations to work together harmoniously, I trust, for the common good. I wish you success in this wonderful undertaking, and I welcome you again to the Rose Garden, to the White House, to the Nation's Capital, and to our country.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:20 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Charles S. Rhyne, president of the

World Peace Through Law Center, which sponsored the conference.

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### Remarks at the Swearing In of Thomas S. Kleppe as Secretary of the Interior. *October 17, 1975*

*Secretary-designate Kleppe, the Vice President, Mrs. Kleppe, Justice Stewart, distinguished Members of the Congress and the Administration, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

In the great State of North Dakota there is a town with the wonderfully self-confident name, and I quote—Cando. [*Laughter*]

Today it gives me great pleasure to honor a man from North Dakota who doesn't come from Cando, but he sure lives up to that name or that title in spirit. In government service he has proven beyond any doubt that he can do and actually has done and, I am certain, will continue to do an outstanding job in the new post as Secretary of Interior.

Of course, I speak with great emphasis on Tom Kleppe. Into his trust will be placed many of the vast, vast resources that have made this Nation great. Tom, I know you will faithfully serve the 214 million Americans whose natural resources are now pledged by you to protect. I am sure that your rural roots and your love of our country will be the basis of sound, constructive policy. I look at your background and see how much an individual American with initiative and good common sense can accomplish.

Tom was born in the small North Dakota farming community of Kintyre.

Tom is the first native of his home State to serve in the Cabinet of the United States.

Tom dropped out of college to work in his father's grain elevator, became a bank president at 21, the youngest mayor in the history of the city of Bismarck, North Dakota, president of a manufacturing company in Bismarck, elected to the Congress twice—and I was honored to serve with him for 4 years—a young man who earned money at an early age as a rodeo rider. [*Laughter*]

He has always maintained a very active interest in sports. He is, according to him, a top handball player and tennis player. [*Laughter*] He allegedly shoots golf in the low eighties, and I am told the history books record that he even made a hole-in-one on one occasion.

Tom, I know another golfer—and I won't mention any names—who swings on occasion a mean 9-iron and who is looking for a partner with all of your alleged prowess. [*Laughter*]

All I can say, Tom, is not only will I look forward to your advice and counsel on environment and our natural resources but if you have any thoughts, any constructive ones, on my backswing, I will be very grateful. [*Laughter*]

In Tom's 4½ years as Small Business Administrator, small businessmen received nearly \$8 billion in loans to start or to expand their businesses and to help our economy. That figure represents more than one-half the loans in dollar amount that SBA has approved in its 22-year history.

As a result of SBA initiative, about \$65 billion in contracts from the Federal Government went to small business during Tom's tenure as its Administrator. Small business now gets approximately one-third of all Federal governmental contracts.

Tom, I know you will bring to the Department of Interior the same dedicated professionalism that you brought to SBA. I have great confidence that you will meet your new responsibilities in a way that will benefit the Nation and all Americans.

One of your most important challenges will be to protect the environment of our public lands, the tremendous beauty which is one of our greatest natural heritages. At the same time, you must find a way to extract energy from those lands, energy that is critical to our economy.

You must assure the best possible Federal-State relationship as we develop the oil resources of our Outer Continental Shelf, the oil shale resources of the Rockies, and the coal resources throughout our Nation.

You must reconcile the national need for energy which makes possible the jobs which we must have if America is to continue progress with the demand

for environmental quality. You must forever be mindful that the public lands under Federal stewardship belong to all Americans. Even when we grant certain privileges to one portion or another of our citizenry to use these public lands, they must never be used to benefit the few to the detriment of the many.

I know you will do a first-class job, as you always have, that you will bring dedication to this job that will benefit our entire country.

Now I am very pleased to ask Justice Potter Stewart to swear in our new Secretary of the Interior, Tom Kleppe.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:38 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. Potter Stewart, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, administered the oath of office.

Secretary Kleppe's response to the President's remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 1182).

## 634

### Special Message to the Congress Proposing Food Stamp Reform Legislation. *October 20, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to submit to the Congress today the National Food Stamp Reform Act of 1975.

I call to the attention of the Congress the particular importance of this reform proposal for two reasons:

First, we—the Executive Branch and the Congress—have an obligation to work together to reform a Federal assistance program that has been widely abused.

Second, we—the Executive Branch and the Congress—must begin now to work together to make those changes which will enable us to hold down federal spending in fiscal year 1976 and meet the spending ceiling of \$395 billion for fiscal year 1977.

My recommendations for dealing with the Food Stamp assistance program follow a fundamental principle on which I stand: The Federal government should help, within the limits of national resources, those who are in need; but we should not give one dollar of Federal assistance to those not in need.

It is in that spirit, the spirit of providing dignified and humane help to those who are in need, but none to those who are not or should not be, that I recommend the enactment of the "National Food Stamp Reform Act of 1975", which would:

1. Reduce costs by more than \$1.2 billion per year.
2. Limit eligibility to those whose gross income less the standard deduction is below the poverty level (\$5050 for a family of four).
3. Make the program more realistic by measuring actual income over the preceding 90 days for purposes of eligibility determinations, rather than estimating future income, and requiring recipients to report their financial status on a monthly basis.
4. Increase benefits only for those at the very lowest income level.
5. Eliminate legal abuses and cut the cost of administration by replacing current variable and complex deductions with a standard deduction of \$100 a month.
6. Set a standard deduction of \$125 a month for households with elderly members.
7. Establish a minimum age for qualification as a separate household.
8. Require able-bodied recipients to seek, accept and retain gainful employment.
9. Eliminate categorical eligibility for recipients of public assistance.
10. Require any family which receives food stamps to spend 30 percent of household income for the stamps.

These proposed changes are based on extensive review by Executive Departments involved in administering and supervising the Food Stamp program and on consultations with a bipartisan coalition of members of the Senate and House of Representatives concerned with Food Stamp abuses. They are essential to real reform.

The need to control the growth and abuse of the Food Stamp program is broadly recognized.

What we need now is action by Congress.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
October 20, 1975.



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**Special Message to the Congress Reporting on Budget Deferrals.  
October 20, 1975***To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report eight new deferrals totalling \$16.1 million in budget authority. In addition, I am transmitting two supplementary deferrals that increase amounts previously reported by \$18.6 million.

The eight new deferrals are for programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These deferrals establish, for the programs reported, funding levels that differ from the general levels allowed by the continuing resolution. The Congress is now in the process of substituting the several uniform funding levels set by the continuing resolution with funding levels for each program. The new deferrals I am reporting preserve the possibility of conducting the reported programs in 1976 at the levels I have recommended and, in one case, at the level the Senate has recommended.

The details of all ten deferrals are contained in the attached reports.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
October 20, 1975.

NOTE: The attachments detailing the deferrals are printed in the Federal Register of October 23, 1975 (40 FR 49741).

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**Statement on the United States-Soviet Union Agreement on  
Grain Sales. October 20, 1975**

THE AMERICAN people—our many grain-farming communities, our workers, our farmers, and our consumers—will benefit from the agreement signed in Moscow today providing for regular and orderly sales of wheat and corn to the Soviet Union during the next 5 years. Under this agreement, the Soviet Union has committed to purchase 6 million metric tons of grain per year representing \$1 billion in annual export earnings. Accordingly, I am today terminating the temporary suspension of sales of grain to the Soviet Union.

The benefits to the American economy are that we have:

- obtained a stable, long-term foreign market;
- assured a more stable flow of payments from abroad;
- assured the American farmer that the Soviet Union will be a regular buyer for grain at market prices;
- increased incentives for full production by the farmer;
- facilitated the hiring of labor, the purchase of new farming machinery, and the general stimulation of agriculture and business;
- neutralized a great destabilizing factor in recent years;
- provided jobs for American transportation workers and seamen.

The United States during this harvest season can rejoice over the best crop in years.

The favorable economic implications are obvious. We have obtained Soviet commitment that additional purchase of grain in the current crop year will not be so large as to disrupt the U.S. market. I have directed the Department of Agriculture to continue to monitor closely export sales and the Economic Policy Board/National Security Council Food Committee to follow closely grain market price trends and related matters.

The long-term agreement signed in Moscow today promotes American economic stability. It represents a positive step in our relations with the Soviet Union. In this constructive spirit, the two Governments have also committed themselves to begin detailed negotiations on mutually beneficial terms for a 5-year agreement for the purchase of Soviet oil. Negotiations will start this month.

NOTE: Texts of the grain agreement and a letter printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential  
of intent concerning future oil negotiations are Documents (vol. 11, p. 1187).

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### **Statement on Signing the Japan-United States Friendship Act.** *October 21, 1975*

ALMOST a year ago, I had the great honor and pleasure to be the first American President in office to visit Japan. My trip convinced me more than ever that we Americans can learn much from Japan's culture which will enrich the quality of our lives.

One week ago the Emperor and Empress of Japan completed a visit to the United States, the first such visit in history.

This exchange of state visits not only symbolizes the importance of our relations but also the value of the exchange of people and ideas between the two countries.

Several years ago, the Government of Japan established a foundation to expand understanding of Japan among universities and other institutions in the United States and elsewhere in the world. Through the foundation, the Government of Japan made a generous gift to 10 American universities to strengthen the study of Japanese history and culture. And this year the Government of Japan announced the gift of an Experimental Theater to the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, as a Bicentennial present to the people of the United States.

Now it is our turn. The people of America genuinely desire to build closer relations with the people of Japan. This requires that we understand each other's arts, society, and history more widely and more deeply.

It was my pleasure to sign into law an act which will effectively further this important goal. Through the distinguished leadership of Senator Jacob Javits and Congressman Wayne Hays and many others in both Houses, the Japan-United States Friendship Act is now the law of the land.

The act provides for the creation of a Japan-United States Friendship Commission to administer a program of expanded scholarly, cultural, and artistic ventures between our two countries. The Commission will be composed of the 12 members of the United States Panel of the Joint Committee on United States-Japan Cultural and Educational Cooperation, the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, two Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, and two Members of the Senate to be appointed by the President *pro tempore*.

Because of the constitutional provision against Members of the Congress serving in any other office of the United States, the Congressional members of the Commission will serve in an advisory capacity, as nonvoting members.

I am confident that the support made available under the act for expanded cultural relations will contribute importantly to the strengthening of understanding between the people of the United States and the people of Japan.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 824), approved October 20, 1975, is Public Law 94-118 (89 Stat. 603).

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**Statement on the Observance of National Epilepsy Month.***October 22, 1975*

AS WE enter our Bicentennial year, we can be proud of the quality of life and health care available to most Americans. It is only right that we give special attention to the problems of those whose disabilities keep them from realizing self-fulfillment in education, employment, and family involvement.

Some 4 million fellow citizens are afflicted with epilepsy. Research has made it possible for many of them to lead a normal life. But for many others the answer lies in the future.

It is therefore most appropriate that we set aside a National Epilepsy Month. In focusing on the needs of persons with epilepsy, the month of November also pays fitting tribute to the thousands of volunteers who work with the Epilepsy Foundation of America. These men and women help individuals with epilepsy to find effective treatment, necessary education, and employment opportunities. They improve our Nation's understanding of the disorder and our own sensitivity towards those who are afflicted with it.

On behalf of all Americans, I salute the dedication and humanitarian concern of all who engage in this noble effort. I hope that the coming year will witness the conquering of new medical frontiers in this area.

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**Memorandum on Minority Banks.***October 23, 1975*

[Dated October 22, 1975. Released October 23, 1975]

*Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies*

This month marks the fifth anniversary of the program to help minority banks by increasing their deposits from both the Federal and private sectors. During that period, the number of minority banks increased from 31 to more than 70 and total deposits have more than tripled from \$396 million in 1970 to \$1.3 billion in 1975. The enterprise of the banks themselves has been the key factor in this growth but the deposit program has played an important role.

During the past year the level of Federal sector balances with minority banks has declined despite earnest efforts by Government departments and agencies.

More sophisticated cash management practices throughout Government and cutbacks in some Government programs that contributed sizeable balances have caused the decline.

This anniversary date is an appropriate occasion for all of us to renew our efforts to support this important program. I urge you to examine what new approaches, consistent with good cash management, you can take to further the program.

I have asked the Secretary of the Treasury to review your regular quarterly reports and to advise me on our progress.

GERALD R. FORD

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**Statement on a United Nations Draft Resolution Concerning Zionism. *October 24, 1975***

IT HAS BEEN a general principle of the United States to take grave exception to any action that weakens the United Nations as an effective forum for the peaceful resolution of international disputes.

We deplore in the strongest terms the recent vote in the Social Committee characterizing Zionism as a form of racism. Such action undermines the principles upon which the United Nations is based.

The spokesmen for the United States in the United Nations have expressed well and forcefully the views of this Administration and the American people on this issue.

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**Remarks for Veterans Day.  
*October 26, 1975***

[Recorded October 24, 1975. Released October 26, 1975]

ON THIS Veterans Day, we pay special and appropriate tribute to the men and women who put their lives on the line for their country—those who served in the armed services of the United States. We salute them for their part in the preservation of freedom and honor them for their courage and devotion to country.

I ask all Americans to pause today in tribute to the priceless contribution of all veterans and, in particular, those who gave their lives so this Nation might live.

I urge your private and public expression of gratitude for the heritage of liberty and freedom which they have secured for all Americans.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:03 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. His remarks were recorded for later use on radio and television.

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**Remarks of Welcome to President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt.**  
*October 27, 1975*

*Mr. President:*

It is really a great honor for me to personally—as well as President of the United States—welcome you to our country. We established in Salzburg a warm, personal friendship, which I look forward to expanding during your visit to the United States.

I am particularly pleased that Mrs. Sadat and other members of your family are with you on this historic first state visit to the United States by an Egyptian leader.

The United States Government respects your farsighted statesmanship and wisdom and your unswerving dedication to the well-being of the Egyptian people and to all of the Arab people.

You, Mr. President, have helped to bring about historic new developments in the Middle East. It is our fervent hope that these developments will lead to a durable peace for all peoples of that region.

The overriding purpose of our discussions will be to assure that progress toward peace will not stop. The process of peaceful negotiations between the Arab States and Israel must move to new fronts and to new issues.

United States policy in the Middle East has two primary objectives. First we seek peace. We have made extraordinary efforts in the last 2 years to help the nations of the Middle East find peace. Much has been achieved.

The world has seen that it is possible to negotiate in the Middle East and that agreements can be reached, despite a legacy of bitter conflict and mutual distrust. The process of peace has only begun. We are committed to continue it. The efforts of the United States will continue until the nations directly concerned achieve a peace just to all the peoples of the Middle East.

Second, we desire a strong and mutually beneficial relationship with every

nation in the Middle East. The quality and the growth of relations between Egypt and the United States during the past 2 years give us a deep satisfaction.

Your visit to Washington, Mr. President, is a symbol of the new dimensions of our relationship. Egyptians and Americans in all walks of life have established ties of friendship and cooperation in many areas of mutual benefit, building an historic tradition.

We seek, with every nation of the Middle East, a relationship which is beneficial to the interest of both sides. We are pleased, Mr. President, that our objectives coincide with yours.

You have clearly stated your desire for a peace that will permit you and your countrymen to turn your energies and your resources to the improvement of life in Egypt. And we are proud to work with you toward that goal.

During your visit, Mr. President, you will find that many of our people have come to know you through news reports and through the many interviews you have granted so graciously to representatives of our media, to Members of our Congress, and to many other Americans. Your sincerity, your moderation, and your wisdom have made an impression on all who have come in contact with you.

I am delighted that your visit to Washington and to other American cities will permit more of our people to know you personally. You will find Americans deeply concerned over the issues which are important to you—peace and justice in the Middle East—issues which are vital to the future of the whole world.

We are delighted by this opportunity to show the depth of our respect for you and for the Egyptian people, and to demonstrate our dedication to the high ideals shared by Americans and Egyptians.

On behalf of the American people, Mr. President, and as a personal friend, I welcome you to the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:17 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where President Sadat was given a formal welcome with full military honors. President Sadat responded as follows:

*Mr. President:*

It is a great honor to me to meet with you again after we have met last June in Salzburg. It is a great honor for me to meet with you here and to meet with the American people for whom my people cherish always admiration.

Since we met last June, there has been great events. And I must say in full frankness, that what

you have already, in the name of the people of the United States, what you have done and what you have strived has made it possible that great events happen in the area where we live, where it is the most dangerous area in the whole world. Great events have taken place in our area since our meeting, thanks to you and to the people of the United States that are behind you in seeking peace based on justice.

It is a great occasion for me and for my people also to get to know each other, and I must, on behalf of the Egyptian people and of the delegation and myself, I must thank you, Mr. President, for the warm welcome that you have given us since we

landed on the United States land yesterday night, up to this moment.

We have come here with open hearts and open arms. We have come to put the relation between our two countries in its proper position and to thank you, Mr. President, personally, for what you have done since last June up until this moment, which could be considered as a turning point in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the area that we live.

I shall always look forward to welcoming you, Mr. President, in Egypt. I assure you that my people will hail you for all the efforts, the sincerity, the honesty that you have pushed the peace process in the last months. And we have achieved together the second disengagement agreement which will be a

very important milestone on the road of peace in our area.

Again let me thank you, Mr. President, and thank the American people for all you have done. And I must mention now how my people are grateful for the great help they received from the United States in preparing the Suez Canal for navigation again and for the prosperity of the whole world.

I assure you, Mr. President, and our friends the American people that we shall always work for peace together and achieve for the coming generations all of what we feel of inspirations built on peace based on justice.

Thank you very much.

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## **Toasts of the President and President Sadat of Egypt.**

*October 27, 1975*

*Mr. President, Mrs. Sadat, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is obviously a very, very great honor to have Mrs. Sadat and you with us this evening, and particularly for me to have the opportunity today, tonight, and tomorrow, and next Sunday, to strengthen our personal relationship.

Although you have been in our country before, Mr. President, this is the first state visit by an Egyptian President to visit the United States. I believe your visit, Mr. President, symbolizes the very close working relationship of our two countries and what has been achieved in the last 2 years.

We honor you tonight as a friend of the United States and for your commitment to provide your people many of the same goals that the American people have striven for and cherished over the long 200 years of our young history.

You are committed, I know from our personal discussions, to improving the conditions of life for all Egyptians, and for the people of the entire Arab world.

You have recognized that we must work together to overcome the tragedy of unfulfilled lives—lives marked by disease, malnutrition, undereducation, underemployment, and the devastation of war.

Americans—and I say this from personal contact—respect your vigorous pursuit of peace and your efforts to devote your nation's energy and your nation's resources not to continue conflict, but to meet the needs of your people.

We in the United States are committed to work with you toward such worthy goals. Failure to achieve peace in the Middle East will affect the lives of Ameri-



cans and the lives of our friends in the Middle East and, actually, throughout the world.

We share your deep belief and conviction that nations can gain much by working together. Your courage, Mr. President, in taking the first steps toward peace after almost three decades of warfare assures your place in history in the Middle East. And we congratulate you for it.

You are the man, Mr. President, who assumed the lead in ending a conflict that for more than a generation absorbed the lives, the energies, and the substance of many, many nations. We have been proud to work with you in this very noble cause, and we will continue to do so.

Mr. President, I know from my conversations with you that we had in Salzburg, and from our many other exchanges, that your dedication to peace is for all the people of the Middle East. I say again tonight, emphatically and categorically, that we share the view that the process of making peace for all must continue.

No step we have taken can be an end to itself. There can be no peace until the legitimate interests of all the peoples of the Middle East are taken fairly into account in a final peace settlement.

I wish to address a special word, Mr. President, to your charming wife. My own wife, Betty, is doing much to inform me about the rights and the problems and the desires of women in the new freedoms of modern society. Sometimes she thinks I am an apt—and sometimes a less than apt—pupil. [*Laughter*] But anyhow, I am pleased to observe that Mrs. Sadat has distinguished herself in your nation by her contributions to both the well-being of all Egyptians and to a new consciousness of the status of women and the efforts in your country to achieve equality of opportunity.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask that you join me in a toast to the President of Egypt and to our mutual objectives.

To the President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:14 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Sadat responded as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen:*

First of all, I would like to thank President Ford for his kind words and express my sincere appreciation for the warm reception the American people have accorded to me and my family.

It was a great pleasure to respond to President Ford's invitation to visit your beautiful country and meet with its hospitable people. I come here with a message of friendship and amity from the Egyptian people to every American. I welcome the op-

portunity to pursue with President Ford the talks we held and the contacts we have maintained over the past few months on several issues of mutual interest and common concern.

It is my feeling and sincere hope that this visit will contribute significantly to furthering American relations in all domains, and will consolidate the ties of friendship and understanding between the American people and the Arab nation.

On the eve of your Bicentennial, I would like you to know that we share with you the determination to utilize the legacy of the past to pave the way for a better future, not only for our two peoples but for

the entire family of man. We share with you, too, the hope of fulfilling the great ideals of democracy, human dignity, and equality.

Mr. President, the past 2 years have witnessed a tangible improvement in our relations. For the most part, the credit for such an improvement is due to a greater degree of American understanding of our just cause and our legitimate struggle to establish peace in the area.

We feel, rightly I hope, that the events following October 1973 have dissipated many misconceptions and myths that marred the healthy development of our relations for so long. As you know, we have always maintained that if the United States adopted an even-handed policy in the Middle East, there would be no problem between us.

We expressed our readiness to respond positively to any favorable change in American policy. Thus, when there appeared some indications that the United States has started to see the realities in their true perspective, matters began to move in the right direction.

Bridges of friendships and channels of communication were established for our mutual benefit. You have my assurance that we intend to spare no effort to strengthen our relations even further and broaden the scope of our cooperation.

The Egyptian people and, in fact, the entire Arab nation expect the United States to continue to demonstrate by words and deeds alike its genuine interest in reaching a final peace settlement.

We recognize and acknowledge with satisfaction the role you have played in the past few months to stimulate and accelerate the process of a final settlement. We realize also that it is your firm and solemn commitment to pursue this policy until the ideal of peace becomes a living reality.

We do not question your dedication to work seriously and tirelessly towards that end. However, you would agree with me, Mr. President, that we cannot allow the situation to slip back to a state of no war and no peace. We feel that the momentum for peace should not be squandered under any circumstances.

Rather, it should be utilized fully and with a sense of urgency commensurate with the still persisting danger of explosion. Any stalemate or stagnation will not only delay the settlement but in all probability it would introduce certain qualitative and

substantive changes that would obstruct the road to peace.

I trust that it has become quite evident that if we are really concerned with an overall settlement, we have to address ourselves to the core of the problem—namely, the Palestinian question. The Palestinian people have been deprived for over 27 years of having their own state where they can lead a productive and fulfilling life.

Are they not entitled to their national rights like all other peoples? Would it not be a travesty of justice to deny them the inalienable right to live in peace and dignity? Does it serve any useful purpose to perpetuate the state of strife and frustration? Fortunately, there are increasing signs that their cause is gaining more international support every day. Nations are coming to grips with the reality of the Palestine people as an indispensable factor in the equation of peace in the Middle East.

Many Arabs are confident that the United States will not dissent from this irreversible trend. They feel, not without reason, that faithfulness to the essence of the American Revolution and the heritage bequeathed upon this Nation by its Founding Fathers entail lending the Palestinians your understanding and support, thus reinforcing the road to peace.

We can all be assured that once the Palestinians have been accorded their basic right as a free people, they will become a force for peace, stability, and human progress. Reason and reconciliation would prevail over animosity and hostility.

Americans can understand, perhaps better than any other people, man's attachment to his land, for this has been one of the main characteristics of the American culture. Such relationship instills in us a strong love for our country and a devotion to defend it, no matter what the sacrifice is.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased to say that you have a President you can be proud of. Throughout my contacts with him, I have found him a statesman of great ability, vision, and understanding. He is a genuine man who radiates sincerity and honesty. It shall give me and the Egyptian people immense pleasure to welcome him and Mrs. Ford in Egypt in the near future.

May I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to join me in a toast in honor of President and Mrs. Ford, wishing them health, happiness, and fulfillment.

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**Toasts of the President and President Sadat of Egypt at a  
Dinner Honoring President Ford. October 28, 1975**

*Mr. President, Mrs. Sadat, ladies and gentlemen:*

First, may I express on behalf of my wife, Betty, and all the ladies that she represents in the United States, and on behalf of myself as well as my countrymen, your thoughtfulness for the wonderful recognition that you have given to us and to those we represent. We in the United States are most grateful for these wonderful awards, and I can't express deeply enough our personal appreciation for your thoughtfulness.

Obviously it is very difficult, Mr. President, to match your eloquence in the circumstances here this evening. I want to express as best I can the appreciation that all of us have for your visit to the United States. You have in this audience here this evening many outstanding Members of the legislative branch, Members of the House and Senate, leaders, individuals who you have met and I hope you will get better acquainted with, so that they can have an opportunity of getting to know you as I have from our first meeting in Salzburg. Because I am convinced that they will share with me, once that acquaintanceship begins and develops, the strength and the statesmanship that you have exhibited in the Middle East during a most trying and a very difficult time.

So, as you meet my former colleagues, the Members of the legislative branch of the Government of the United States, I am sure that you will learn of their importance and their significance in the development of our friendship between your Government as well as ours.

Your hospitality this evening, Mr. President, is almost overwhelming, not only for Mrs. Ford and myself but all of our guests—your guests, I should say.

Your historic visit to this country, and it is historic, will lead, I am certain, as you travel from here to New York, to Chicago, to Houston, to Florida, to a breadth of understanding between not only yourself and our people but between your people as well as ours.

I think this opportunity for you to be here and to travel is unique in that they find in you a leader in the Middle East who has not only had the statesmanship to strive for peace but the leadership to achieve and accomplish peace, and to broaden and to deepen it, not only on behalf of your people but all of the Arab people.

We feel that your presence here in the Capital of the United States is of a special significance. We were delighted to have you in the White House last

night with Mrs. Sadat. And I know the Secretary hosted some outstanding American citizens, including Members of the legislature, with you as his principal guest today, which gave to them, as I have had the opportunity, to see and to hear the breadth and strength of your leadership in the Middle East.

I can assure you that we in the United States cherish and will further the same ideals in the future that we have in the past. And we are pleased to know that those are likewise the same ideals and aims and ambitions that you have for your people in your country.

It seems to me that as we work together—and we do have the need and necessity to do that—we can convince others in the Middle East that progress is essential not only in that area—a stalemate and stagnation cannot be condoned—that it is in the best interest of Egypt and Israel, the United States, and all Middle Eastern countries. And I can assure you, Mr. President, that the American people will work with you and seek to achieve with you the aims of your people and yourself for the kind of a peace on a broad, firm, equitable, secure basis that is in the dreams of people in all of the Middle East.

Let me conclude, Mr. President, that Mrs. Ford and I have been delighted to have the opportunity to get better acquainted. And let me add in closing that I have instructed our Secretary of State to continue to explore every possibility to continue the diplomatic successes that were achieved in recent months.

I know that he will continue to work with the Foreign Minister, Foreign Minister Fahmy. They have been a good team in the step-by-step process that was essential to keep the momentum going. Both are seasoned, tireless, effective, dedicated diplomats that have and will contribute to the success in the future.

Let me simply conclude by saying that we are honored to have you in America, with Mrs. Sadat, and let me say that it is a pleasure and a privilege for me to offer a toast to you and the people that you represent, the great people of the Government of Israel—Egypt, excuse me.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:35 p.m. at Anderson House in response to a toast proposed by President Sadat. President Sadat spoke as follows:

*President and Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen:*

I hope I have adequately expressed my feeling, and that of the Egyptian people, towards President Ford and the people of the United States. What I would like to add, however, is that the more I meet with President Ford and pursue with him the stimulating talks and pleasant conversations, the more confirmed becomes the initial impression I got when I first met him. His personality conveys to anyone who gets to know him a sense of confidence, genuineness, and warmth.

As you know, President Ford and I will meet again more than once before I leave your beautiful country. And we will have the chance to solidify our relations even further. But let me now express my admiration and deep appreciation of President Ford's method of dealing with different situations, and his enlightened approach to people and human relations. From this standpoint, he can achieve tremendous progress in various domains, and the United States, under his leadership, can reach new horizons commensurate with the challenges of our time. I have no doubt that he will play a most constructive role, both in bringing about peace in the Middle East and in solving complex international problems. It is an asset that he has an able and

dedicated Secretary of State who is a man of experience and vision.

While I propose a toast for President Ford, his charming wife, and for the friendship between the American and Egyptian peoples, I am sure that I am expressing sentiments which are genuinely reciprocated by President Ford, his assistants, and compatriots towards a country that is known for its fortitude, culture, and historical heritage.

I am certain that when my visit is completed, the picture will be clearer to the American public, to government officials, and legislators. This would definitely lead to cementing the relations between

the American people and the Egyptian people as well as the entire Arab nation.

May I propose a toast to the health of President Ford and Mrs. Ford, our dear friends.

Ladies and gentlemen, I seize this opportunity and present to our dear friend, President Ford, our highest decoration. It is the Nile decoration. This is a sign of great respect to himself and to the whole American people.

As a token of our friendship and our admiration to the First Lady and the ladies of the United States, may I present our highest decoration, El Kemal.

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### Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the National Press Club on the Subject of Financial Assistance to New York City. *October 29, 1975*

*Mr. President, fellow members of the Press Club, ladies and gentlemen, guests:*

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to join you today and talk to you about a matter of very deep concern to all Americans.

New York City, where one out of every 25 Americans lives, through whose "Golden Door" untold millions have entered this land of liberty, faces a financial showdown.

The time has come for straight talk—to these 8 million Americans and to the other 206 million Americans to whom I owe the duty of stating my convictions and my conclusions, and to you whose job it is to carry them throughout the world as well as the United States.

The time has come to sort facts and figures from fiction and fear-mongering in this terribly complex situation. The time has come to say what solutions will work and which should be cast aside.

And the time has come for all Americans to consider how the problems of New York and the hard decisions they demand foreshadow and focus upon potential problems for all governments—Federal, State, and local—problems which demand equally hard decisions for them.

One week ago, New York City tottered on the brink of financial default which was deferred only at the eleventh hour. The next day, Mayor Beame testified here in Washington that the financial resources of the city and the State of New York were exhausted. Governor Carey agreed.

They said it is now up to Washington, and unless the Federal Government

intervenes, New York City within a short time will no longer be able to pay its bills.

The message was clear: Responsibility for New York City's financial problems is being left on the front doorstep of the Federal Government—unwanted and abandoned by its real parents.

Many explanations have been offered about what led New York City deeper and deeper into this quagmire. Some contend it was long-range economic factors such as the flight to the suburbs of the city's more affluent citizens, the migration to the city of poorer people, and the departure of industry.

Others argued that the big metropolitan city has become obsolescent, that decay and pollution have brought a deterioration in the quality of urban life, and New York's downfall could not be prevented.

Let's face one simple fact: Most other cities in America have faced these very same challenges, and they are still financially healthy today. They have not been luckier than New York; they simply have been better managed. There is an old saying: "The harder you try, the luckier you get." And I kind of like that definition of luck.

During the last decade, the officials of New York City have allowed its budget to triple. No city can expect to remain solvent if it allows its expenses to increase by an average of 12 percent every year, while its tax revenues are increasing by only 4 to 5 percent per year.

As Al Smith, a great Governor of New York who came from the sidewalks of New York City, used to say, "Let's look at the record."

The record shows that New York City's wages and salaries are the highest in the United States. A sanitation worker with 3 years experience now receives a base salary of nearly \$15,000 a year. Fringe benefits and retirement costs average more than 50 percent of base pay. There are 4-week paid vacations and unlimited sick leave after only 1 year on the job.

The record shows that in most cities, municipal employees have to pay 50 percent or more of the cost of their pensions. New York City is the only major city in the country that picks up the entire burden.

The record shows that when New York's municipal employees retire, they often retire much earlier than in most cities and at pensions considerably higher than sound retirement plans permit.

The record shows New York City has 18 municipal hospitals; yet, on an average day, 25 percent of the hospital beds are empty. Meanwhile, the city spends millions more to pay the hospital expenses of those who use private hospitals.

The record shows New York City operates one of the largest universities in the world, free of tuition for any high school graduate, rich or poor, who wants to attend.

As for New York's much-discussed welfare burden, the record shows more than 1 current welfare recipient in 10 may be legally ineligible for welfare assistance.

Certainly, I do not blame all the good people of New York City for their generous instincts or for their present plight. I do blame those who have misled the people of New York about the inevitable consequences of what they were doing over the last 10 years.

The consequences have been a steady stream of unbalanced budgets, massive growth in the city's debt, extraordinary increases in public employee contracts, and total disregard of independent experts who warned again and again that the city was courting disaster.

There can be no doubt where the real responsibility lies. And when New York City now asks the rest of the country to guarantee its bills, it can be no surprise that many other Americans ask why.

Why, they ask, should they support advantages in New York that they have not been able to afford for their own communities?

Why, they ask, should all the working people of this country be forced to rescue those who bankrolled New York City's policies for so long—the large investors and big banks?

In my judgment, no one has yet given these questions a satisfactory answer. Instead, Americans are being told that unless the rest of the country bails out New York City, there will be catastrophe for the United States and perhaps for the world.

Is this scare story true? Of course, there are risks that default could cause temporary fluctuations in the financial markets. But these markets have already made a substantial adjustment in anticipation of a possible default by New York City.

Claims are made that because of New York City's troubles, other municipalities will have grave difficulty selling their bonds. I know that this troubles many thoughtful citizens.

But the New York City record of bad financial management is unique among municipalities throughout the United States. Other communities have a solid reputation for living within their means. In recent days and weeks, other local governments have gone to investors with clean records of fiscal responsibility and have had no difficulty raising funds.

The greater risk is that any attempt to provide a Federal blank check for the leaders of New York City would ensure that no long-run solution to the city's problems will ever occur.

I can understand the concern of many citizens in New York and elsewhere. I understand because I am also concerned. What I cannot understand—and what nobody should condone—is the blatant attempt in some quarters to frighten the American people and their representatives in Congress into panicky support of patently bad policy.

The people of this country will not be stampeded; they will not panic when a few desperate New York City officials and bankers try to scare New York's mortgage payments out of them.

We have heard enough scare talk. What we need now is a calm, rational decision as to what is the right solution—the solution that is best for the people of New York and best for all Americans.

To be effective, the right solution must meet three basic tests:

It must maintain essential public services for the people of New York City. It must protect the innocent victims of this tragedy. There must be policemen on the beat, firemen in the station, nurses in the emergency wards.

Second, the solution must assure that New York City can and will achieve and maintain a balanced budget in the years ahead.

And third, the right solution must guarantee that neither New York City nor any other American city ever becomes a ward of the Federal Government.

Let me digress a minute to remind you that under our constitutional system, both the cities and the Federal Government were the creatures of the States. The States delegated certain of their sovereign powers—the power to tax, police powers, and the like—to local units of self-government. And they can take these powers back if they are abused.

The States also relinquished certain sovereign powers to the Federal Government—some altogether and some to be shared. In return, the Federal Government has certain obligations to the States.

I see a serious threat to the legal relationships among our Federal, State, and local governments in any Congressional action which could lead to disruption of this traditional balance. Our largest city is no different in this respect than our smallest town. If Mayor Beame doesn't want Governor Carey to run his city, does he want the President of the United States to be acting mayor of New York City?

What is the solution to New York's dilemma? There are at least eight different proposals under consideration by the Congress intended to prevent default.



They are all variations of one basic theme: that the Federal Government should or would guarantee the availability of funds to New York City.

I can tell you, and tell you now, that I am prepared to veto any bill that has as its purpose a Federal bailout of New York City to prevent a default.

I am fundamentally opposed to this so-called solution, and I will tell you why. Basically, it is a mirage. By giving a Federal guarantee, we would be reducing rather than increasing the prospect that the city's budget will ever be balanced. New York City's officials have proved in the past that they will not face up to the city's massive network of pressure groups as long as any other alternative is available. If they can scare the whole country into providing that alternative now, why shouldn't they be confident they can scare us again into providing it 3 years from now? In short, it encourages the continuation of "politics as usual" in New York, which is precisely not the way to solve the problem.

Such a step would be a terrible precedent for the rest of the Nation. It would promise immediate rewards and eventual rescue to every *other* city that follows the tragic example of our largest city. What restraint would be left on the spending of other local and State governments once it becomes clear that there is a Federal rescue squad that will always arrive in the nick of time?

Finally, we must all recognize who the primary beneficiaries of a Federal guarantee program would be. The beneficiaries would not be those who live and work in New York City, because the really essential public services must and will continue. The primary beneficiaries would be the New York officials who would escape responsibility for their past follies and be further excused from making the hard decisions required now to restore the city's fiscal integrity.

The secondary beneficiaries would be the large investors and financial institutions who purchased these securities, anticipating a high rate of tax-free return.

Does this mean there is no solution? Not at all. There is a fair and sensible way to resolve this issue, and this is the way to do it.

If the city is unable to act to provide a means of meeting its obligations, a new law is required to assure an orderly and fair means of handling the situation.

As you know, the Constitution empowers the Congress to enact uniform bankruptcy laws. Therefore, I will submit to the Congress special legislation providing the Federal courts with sufficient authority to preside over an orderly reorganization of New York City's financial affairs—should that become necessary.

How would this work? The city, with State approval, would file a petition with the Federal District Court in New York under a proposed new Chapter XVI of the Bankruptcy Act. The petition would state that New York City is

unable to pay its debts as they mature and would be accompanied by a proposed way to work out an adjustment of its debts with its creditors.

The Federal court would then be authorized to accept jurisdiction of the case. There would be an automatic stay of suits by creditors so that the essential functions of the city would not be disrupted.

This would enable an orderly plan to be developed so that the city could work out arrangements with its creditors. While New York City works out a compromise with its creditors, the essential governmental functions of the city would continue. In the event of default, the Federal Government will work with the court to assure that police and fire and other essential services for the protection of life and property in New York are maintained.

The proposed legislation will include a provision that as a condition of New York City petitioning the court, the city must not only file a good faith plan for payment to its creditors but must also present a program for placing the fiscal affairs of the city on a sound basis.

In order to meet the short-term needs of New York City, the court would be empowered to authorize debt certificates covering new loans to the city, which would be paid out of future revenues ahead of other creditors.

Thus, the legislation I am proposing will do three essential things:

First, it will prevent, in the event of default, all New York City funds from being tied up in lawsuits.

Second, it will provide the conditions for an orderly plan to be developed for payments to New York City's creditors over a long term.

Third, it will provide a way for new borrowing to be secured by pledging future revenues.

I don't want anybody misled. This proposed legislation will not, by itself, put the affairs of New York City in order. Some hard measures must be taken by the officials of New York City and New York State. They must either increase revenues or cut expenditures or devise some combination that will bring them to a sound financial position.

Careful examination has convinced me that those measures are neither beyond the realm of possibility nor beyond the demands of reason. If they are taken, New York City will, with the assistance of the legislation I am proposing, be able to restore itself as a fully solvent operation.

To summarize, the approach I am recommending is this: If New York fails to act in its own behalf, orderly proceedings would then be supervised by a Federal court.

The ones who would be most affected by this course of action would be those who are now fighting tooth and nail to protect their authority and to protect their investments—New York City's officials and the city's creditors. The creditors will not be wiped out; how much they will be hurt will depend upon the future conduct of the city's leaders.

For the people of New York, this plan will mean that essential services will continue. There may be some temporary inconveniences, but that will be true of any solution that is adopted.

For the financial community, the default may bring some temporary difficulties, but the repercussions should not be large or longstanding.

Finally, for the people of the United States, this means that they will not be asked to assume a burden that is not of their own making and should not become their responsibility. This is a fair and sensible way to proceed.

There is a profound lesson for all Americans in the financial experience of our biggest and our richest city. Though we are the richest nation, the richest nation in the world, there is a practical limit to our public bounty, just as there is to New York City's.

Other cities, other States, as well as the Federal Government, are not immune to the insidious disease from which New York City is suffering. This sickness is brought on by years and years of higher spending, higher deficits, more inflation, and more borrowing to pay for higher spending, higher deficits, and so on, and so on, and so on. It is a progressive disease, and there is no painless cure.

Those who have been treating New York's financial sickness have been prescribing larger and larger doses of the same political stimulant that has proved so popular and so successful in Washington for so many years.

None of us can point a completely guiltless finger at New York City. None of us should now derive comfort or pleasure from New York's anguish. But neither can we let that contagion spread.

As we work with the wonderful people of New York to overcome their difficulties—and they will—we must never forget what brought this great center of human civilization to the brink.

If we go on spending more than we have, providing more benefits and more services than we can pay for, then a day of reckoning will come to Washington and the whole country just as it has to New York City.

And so, let me conclude with one question of my own: When that day of reckoning comes, who will bail out the United States of America?

Thank you very much.

## QUESTIONS

WILLIAM W. BROOM [president, National Press Club]. Now we have time for just a few questions, haven't we, Mr. President? The first one asks, Mr. President, you say that in the event of a default, the Federal Government is prepared to work with the courts to assure that the city can continue to maintain its essential services, such as police and fire protection. Does this mean the Federal Government will provide cash or guarantees or Federal troops?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, I don't assume that the city will default, because I think the capacity in the city and the capacity in the State is there to avoid default. But in the eventuality that those in control of the city and State refuse to step up to that responsibility and that capability, then the court will have to go through the default process.

And I can only say that the Federal Government will work with the court. I do not want to prescribe precisely the means or methods, but I can say that in working with the court after the refusal of local and State people to assume their responsibility, this Federal Government will see to it that essential services are maintained.

MR. BROOM. If it comes to default, how much do you estimate it will cost the United States Government at a minimum?

THE PRESIDENT. Again I do not assume that default is absolutely certain for the reasons that I, a few moments ago, said. It is my judgment that the Federal court under the default procedure and the jurisdiction that the court has, that it can issue on behalf of the city and/or the State certificates that will have a prior lien on any revenue that comes in while other creditors are held off from getting any benefits in the interim period. So, I foresee no loss to the Federal Government whatsoever.

MR. BROOM. Mr. President, this next question has been asked in about 15 different ways, and I have chosen this version: The questioner asks, what is the difference between the Federal Government's bailing out Lockheed and bailing out New York City?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in retrospect we may have made a mistake in bailing out Lockheed. And yet I think you can draw a distinction. In the case of Lockheed, the Federal Government contributes in defense contracts a very substantial portion of the revenue that comes to the company—I have forgotten the exact percentage, but it is 75 or 80 percent or perhaps even more—and the Federal Government as a result of that tremendous control over funding had a capability of maintaining control precisely without other public officials being involved.

I think that is a fair distinction, but in retrospect, as I said at the outset, I am not sure we didn't make a mistake.

MR. BROOM. Thank you, sir. Another questioner asks: In order to ensure a continued flow of private funds to public-related entities, how does the Administration intend to assure future investors that their interests will also be protected when financial difficulties arise?

THE PRESIDENT. The best way for that to occur, Mr. President, is to say that in the case of New York City, that if there is mismanagement, as there has been, the city must go into court in bankruptcy, in default. And when that happens, as every investor knows, their obligations which they bought in the free market, hoping for a good return on a tax-free basis, was not a good investment.

I think investors will be more discerning. They will be much more discerning, and they will insist that municipal and State officials manage their affairs in a way that will assure credibility to the investor.

I think this course of action that I am suggesting is the greatest deterrent to mismanagement of municipal and State action, and it is the greatest assurance to future investors that when they buy municipal securities or State securities, they are making a good investment. I think that will be the end result.

MR. BROOM. Another questioner wonders, why will people buy the debt certificates that you propose when they would not buy "Big Mac"<sup>1</sup> bonds which also were backed by assured revenues?

THE PRESIDENT. The legislation would provide that the court could cooperate in the issuance of these certificates with those certificates having the highest priority on any revenues that come into the city—priority above any other—which means that revenues from taxes, revenues that might come from the Federal Government under general revenue sharing or otherwise, would be earmarked for precisely those court-backed certificates.

Every other creditor stands in line, and as I understand it, this current problem that may come in the middle of November, certainly in December, is more of a short-term cash flow problem, providing the local officials and the State officials face up to the long-range difficulty.

MR. BROOM. Another questioner says your prescription for New York City sounds fine, but would it work for management of the Federal Establishment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have a little different situation here, but I think the basic problem, as I said in my remarks, is exactly the same. And if we don't start getting a handle on these long-range commitments in a wide variety of cases,

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<sup>1</sup>The Municipal Assistance Corporation was created by the State of New York and was empowered to issue bonds. Funds from the bond sales were intended for the assistance of New York City.

both in our domestic programs as well as our defense, we are going to be faced in a relatively short period of time in the history of this country with the same problem that the city of New York faces today.

We have a different power than New York City has, that we can print money, in effect, but that is not an honest decision or an honest course of action for the American people or the country.

MR. BROOM. Mr. President, before we go to the final question, I would like to give you the traditional gift that we give all of the proper speakers. It is a National Press Club tie, and it is as close as we could get to the maize and blue of Ann Arbor, and also with it goes a certificate from us for appreciation, awarded in recognition of your appearance as guest speaker here today.

And now we have one final question: Do you think you will carry New York City in the next election? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I will take my chances on New York City, because I think there is a substantial number of people in New York City who have known for a long period of time that their great city was being misled, and they are now ripe for some straight answers, some straight talk. And I am confident that we can solve the problem, and when we do it, and do it right, I think I will have a friend or two in New York City.

MR. BROOM. Mr. President, we will get a chance for a reaction to that question next Wednesday when Mayor Beame speaks to this audience.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:02 p.m. in the Building. His remarks were broadcast live over the National Press Club Ballroom at the National Press Public Broadcasting Service radio network.

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**Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposed Municipal Bankruptcy Legislation.**  
*October 29, 1975*

ENCLOSED for your consideration and appropriate reference is a legislative proposal to amend the Bankruptcy Act to add a new Chapter XVI dealing with the adjustment of debts of major municipalities.

This legislative recommendation is submitted because of the inadequacies of Chapter IX of the current Bankruptcy Act in its application to the problems of major municipalities. The attached draft legislative proposal would provide a desirable alternative to Chapter IX of the Bankruptcy Act.

A major concern of all of us is the need for meaningful action to bring into

balance the revenues and expenditures of a city which may need to seek relief under the Bankruptcy Act. The attached legislative proposal will provide the incentives needed to force such a city to make the hard decisions required to achieve this important objective. The draft legislation will accomplish this without improper intrusion into the internal governmental affairs of any State.

We do not wish for any city to have to undergo bankruptcy. However, recent events remind us we cannot ignore the fact that there must be relief legislation ready and available in the event insolvency forces resort to relief under the Bankruptcy Act. I can assure you that the Executive Branch would be prepared to work with the bankruptcy court in a proceeding under the proposed Act.

Administration witnesses will be pleased to consult with and advise the Committee to which this legislation is assigned. This legislation is urgently needed. I respectfully urge its early consideration by the Congress.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed of Representatives, and the Honorable Nelson A. to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House Rockefeller, President of the Senate.

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### Remarks in Los Angeles at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner. *October 29, 1975*

CHUCK, I can't express deeply enough—and as deeply appreciative that I am—of those more than generous words. Let me add, if I might, my great gratitude for the tremendous turnout here tonight that expresses a faith, a conviction, a dedication to the principles and the things that all of us believe in as Republicans in effectuating what we seek and desire at the local, the State, and the Federal level.

But, let me say first I am delighted that Andy Hinshaw and Don Clausen are here, Ev Younger, of course Paul Haerle, and your incomparable leaders in the State, Margaret Brock and Bill Banowsky.

I have had the opportunity in several meetings this afternoon and this evening to meet or renew acquaintanceships with some of the members of the legislature that I have met and, of course, those local officials that are so essential and vitally important. And I had the privilege again of renewing acquaintances with individuals I served with in both the House as well as the Senate. It is just nice to be here, and I can't express adequately my appreciation for the warm welcome.

You know, it is always a great enjoyment coming back to California, particularly when it is so close to October 31—[*laughter*]*—*a very special time when we observe the mysterious and the supernatural, when people tell strange tales about big, empty houses where rooms lay ghostly silent, where lights are never seen, where mortals never tread. In most places, it is called Halloween; in California, it is called the Governor's Mansion. [*Laughter*]

I deeply appreciate your kindness in tendering this "Salute to the President" dinner, but I would prefer to designate—and I say this most sincerely—this evening as a salute to all the men and women of the Republican Party of California and throughout the Nation who are working to prove that the elephant has not forgotten how to win elections or provide good government.

Ladies and gentlemen, our Republican elephant will neither be stampeded nor exterminated. We are full of energy. We are full of fight. We will prove the rumors of our political extinction have been greatly exaggerated and certainly have no foundation in this great State of California.

California and the Republican Party started going together with: Free Soil, Free Speech, John C. Frémont—in your great State of California. Unfortunately, in 1856, California had only four electoral votes, and Frémont didn't get them.

But let me say this with emphasis and reiteration, if I might: I can assure you, as Republicans we are going to get a lot better deal in California and the rest of the Nation in 1976 than we did in 1856. But even more significantly and far more importantly, we will do much, much better than we did in 1974, here as well as elsewhere in this great Republic.

The reason I am confident—and I can say this from traveling the length and the breadth of this country—is the hard spade work that you are doing right here in California that is being repeated throughout the country. You are rescuing votes we would otherwise lose—the votes of over 1 million registered Republicans who did not go to the polls last November.

You can be proud—and I say this as a former precinct worker myself—of the dynamic job being done by Walt Smith and Alice Ogle. They and many other California stalwarts have reregistered nearly 400,000 voters in this State alone.

Your voter registration drive is giving new life to the precincts, and as I said a moment ago, that is where I started, and I am proud of that heritage and that experience.

Your 1975 fundraising, including the great work of the Golden Circle Club, is having its best year yet. You are building the Republican Party on the local level, where it really counts. And every elected official in this hall this evening knows that to be true. There is no substitute for it.



We approach a year of decision, as I see it, for all Americans. It is the year to save the two-party system or abandon America to a one-party rule. It is a year to stop the annual growth of Federal budgets that already have amounted to more than we spent to win World War II. It is a year Republicans must stress our differences with Democrats rather than with other Republicans. It is a year to win elections instead of arguments. It is, above all, the year to build a platform big enough to hold all who care about America and believe in the principles of the Republican Party.

Two hundred years ago our forebears set out to build a new kind of a nation which would govern itself through the political mechanisms of self-correcting balance. The governmental balance of powers which they envisioned and which we have perfected over the years is not limited to the constitutional separation of legislative, judicial, and executive branches of the Federal Government, nor are the balance scales of justice the property of the judiciary alone. Justice, as Hamilton and Jefferson for once agreed, is the goal of all government.

Balance is essential among the Congress and the President and the Federal courts, but so is balance among the States and the cities and the Federal establishment; so is balance among the conflicting needs and interests of the rich, the poor, and the majority in the middle; so is balance among all the conflicting claims of pressure groups and special interests within our complex society—and it is so complex—and if freedom is to endure, so is balance between our two great political parties.

And so is balance in our bookkeeping. If you don't believe it, just look what is happening to New York City. The only thing wrong with New York City—and I had a few words to say about that today—is that too many things have gotten out of balance, including far, far too many budgets. The only thing wrong with this country is that too many things have gotten out of balance, including too many budgets.

The balance has shifted against business and industry to the degree that both the freedom and the enterprise are being taxed and regulated right out of the free enterprise system.

The balance on taxes has shifted to penalize hard-working, law-abiding Americans, and especially taxpayers in the middle-income groups, and to reward able-bodied adults who want benefits without work.

The balance has shifted against the disadvantaged, the poor, and the pensioners who live on fixed incomes as the Congress fires up inflation by voting benefits for many, many who don't need them at the expense of those who do.

The balance has shifted against the States, counties, and cities that practice

sound fiscal management and in favor of those communities which spend beyond their means and look to Washington for a bailout.

The balance on crime has shifted so heavily on concern for the rights of the criminals that the rights of their victims are almost forgotten. I say this with emphasis. This must stop.

The balance on national defense has shifted against our Armed Forces to the point where many Members of the Congress would rather spend your money for controversial social experiments than for the essential insurance of a defense second to none. You and I know that America's strength is the only solid basis for peace in the world and that weakness is the surest way, the surest path to war.

The balance of world power must not be shifted against us and the free world, because without freedom, nothing else is of value. Freedom must always come first.

Fortunately, there is a way to correct all these imbalances. We have weights with which to right every balance. We do not call them weights, we call them ballots. For too long many Americans have been putting their weights, their votes, under the wrong side of the scales. Balance can be restored to this country's affairs, and I stand here to ask for your help in this critical and crucial moment. With all our weights put together, yes, our ballots, we will do the job.

The job starts with the Congress. A Congress that refuses to cut taxes and spending is drastically out of balance and drastically out of touch with you and others who will go to the polls in November of 1976.

America's vitality and prosperity is being sapped by the irresponsibility of the Congress, the irresponsibility of their spending; a Congress dominated 2 to 1 by Democrats; a Congress controlled by Democrats for 38 out of the last 42 years—and, I might add, for 33 of those 38 years there have been substantial Federal deficits.

What have those deficits brought, or what have they brought to us? You are painfully aware of how a massive bureaucracy is running more and more of your individual daily life. You know how Democratic-controlled Congresses have discouraged your enterprise and your initiative, encouraged and enforced the unfair redistribution of your efforts and your incomes to others.

For the last 20 years, Congress after Congress, all controlled by Democrats, has spent and spent and elected and elected. In 1962—let me illustrate if I might very quickly—the Federal budget for the first time in American history exceeded \$100 billion. I can recall that vividly. It was a headline. It startled us; it shocked us.

I had been in Congress roughly 13 years and I couldn't believe it. Democratic

Congresses then doubled the budget to \$200 billion in only 8 more years. Unless we bring sanity to the spending madness of the present Congress, the Federal budget in the coming fiscal year will more than double again to an estimated \$423 billion.

Where did these massive increases come from? That is a good, legitimate, honest question that ought to be asked by all people, Democrat, Republican, or otherwise. Because of the mountains of Federal debt incurred through soaring Congressional spending, annual interest—annual interest—on the public debt almost tripled in the last 10 years. From \$11 billion in a period of 1 year, interest has grown to \$32 billion in 12 months.

Another example. Between 1965 and 1975, Democratic-controlled Congresses increased spending for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by nearly 400 percent—400 percent. Ladies and gentlemen, how can this Democratic Congress now tell the American people—and listen, because this is the crux of the issue that we are to be faced with in the months ahead—how can the Democratic Congress now tell the American people that it cannot hold down anticipated spending for fiscal 1977 by a mere 7 percent? They have no answer.

Just over 3 weeks ago, I made the Congress a perfectly reasonable proposition. The Congress wanted to cut income taxes again next year, but go right on spending to the tune of another \$60 billion deficit.

I said, okay, let's have a tax cut, an even bigger, more equitable, and permanent tax cut than you are considering, a tax cut of \$28 billion. Americans do need more of their own paychecks to spend. But along with a tax cut, let's have a comparable \$28 billion cut in the growth of Federal spending. They go hand in hand, partners in trying to save America's fiscal situation now and in the future. Let's set a spending ceiling of \$395 billion instead of the projected \$423 billion, and start right now to cut back our annual deficit so that we can have a balanced budget, an honest one, a certain one within 3 years.

Did Members of the Congress say okay, we will try? You know the answer. They didn't. They howled, they cried, they said I was being political. Tell me—and this is a thoughtful distinction—tell me why is it political to want to cut spending along with taxes, but it is not political to cut taxes and go right on spending for politically popular programs?

Do you realize that under the laws Democratic Congresses have already written—they are in the statute books right now and have been for the last several years—without a single new appropriation or program, and despite everything I can do as President by vetoing further increases, our Federal expenditures will automatically increase next year by \$50 billion? No new programs, no changes

in any laws, just the automatic increase because more people are eligible, or their escalation clauses, or a wide variety of other reasons, an increase automatically of \$50 billion.

Fifty billion dollars in spending growth—think of it for a minute. That is nearly five times the total annual spending of the great State of California.

The majority in Congress—as Chuck Reed said—don't like my vetoes. If I could reiterate, those vetoes have already saved the taxpayers some \$6½ billion, and I will go on vetoing unwise, unnecessary spending bills again and again and again.

The sole criteria will be, will it save you money and save our country's future? Now, the Congress obviously doesn't like my combination of a tax cut and a spending cut proposal. Having served 25 years in the Congress, I understand it. I know why. Without being seriously unkind to my former colleagues and some of their new Members, you know, some call this a spendthrift Congress.

I will say this: It is sure a lot more spend than thrift. But to be more emphatic and more deliberate and more specific, I call it a "Can't Do Congress." They can't pass an energy bill, they can't face up to one issue after another. But most of all, on the issue I am discussing, they say, we can't cut the budget. They complain, they tell us we are to cut it, they ask, where do we start?

Very well. Let me tell them. For a starter, Congress can begin by slashing the food stamp program. Every Congressman, Democratic as well as Republican, knows the abuses of the food stamp program are notorious. Congress has no excuse whatsoever not to begin the \$28 billion reduction right here in this program. Congress can save taxpayers more than \$1 billion in 12 months by passing my proposed food stamp reform program.

This Democratic Congress knows as well as I do that approximately one—unbelievable—one out of every five Americans has now become eligible for food stamps. Congress knows that 57 percent of those eligible for food stamps are above the nationally defined poverty level—57 percent.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Bill Simon, who was here just a few days ago, he and his department have calculated that 43,000 American families with annual incomes above \$18,000 per year received food stamps last year—43,000 families. Why? You tell me why. Why does a family earning \$18,000 a year need food stamps? Better still, tell your Congressmen and your Senators.

Since 1965, the cost of this experiment has increased from \$34 million annually to nearly \$6 billion for every 12 months. Twenty-one million people, 41 times more than recipients in 1965, are now getting food stamps. It is unbelievable.

My policy in food stamps is simple, fair. The Federal Government should,

within the limits of its resources, help Americans in need who cannot help themselves. We should not give Federal assistance—and I emphasize “we should not give Federal assistance”—to able-bodied adults without dependents who do not choose to work.

I simply don’t understand the logic of this Democrat-controlled Congress. If every housewife can revise her budget and every businessman can cut the frills out of his office or industrial activity on spending, why can’t the free-spending Congressional Democrats do the same?

I say, in all sincerity, I will work with the Congress to ensure that those who deserve the help of our Nation will continue to get it. The elderly, the poor, the men and women who have borne our Nation’s arms—the Federal Government must and will meet these legitimate obligations. But we must not pay one more cent of tribute to interest groups with frills who can afford to work and we cannot afford to support.

I will also keep faith with those who innovate and invest, those who work, those who pay their taxes, those who obey the law, and those who save for their children’s future. I speak to you in these very frank and categorical terms tonight to underscore my deep conviction and greatest concern, that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

While serving in the Congress, I won five “Watchdog of the Treasury” awards. I am very proud of that. I am and will be a watchdog of the Treasury in the White House now and in the future.

You know some of my friends told me I shouldn’t come to California again. [*Laughter*] They say there is nothing a President can learn by leaving Washington and meeting Americans face to face. Apparently only Congressmen, columnists, and pollsters should talk to people. Well, I kind of prefer to get my information firsthand and speak to all of you face to face.

As President, I can advance programs, I can prod the Congress, but I need your voices, loud, clear, telling me where you stand and where you want to go individually and collectively.

Tonight as I conclude, I will tell you where I stand.

Your President will not cave in to the big spenders and the budget busters in the Congress.

Your President will not fling open the U.S. Treasury to every city with a hole in its pocket.

Your President will not let a massive bureaucracy dominate your State, your cities, your business, and more importantly, your lives.

Your President will not play dead while the foreign oil cartel drains off \$25 billion-plus a year from our economy.

And your President will never stand idly by while the Congress downgrades America's defenses and dismantles America's intelligence-gathering capability.

I believe America wants a President who is a fighter, not a patsy. And as President, I will join with you in the fight for the enduring principles of the Republican Party, those principles for which we have always stood: fiscal responsibility in government, local control over local affairs, the freeing of the free enterprise system, a national defense second to none, and the realization of individual freedom for each and every one of us and 214 million other Americans.

With your talent, with your enthusiasm, with your help, and yes, appreciatively, with your dollars, we can make 1976 a year for all Republicans and Independents, a year that they will remember fondly, constructively, and wholesomely, and a year the Democrats may never forget.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 p.m. in the Los Angeles Ballroom at the Century Plaza Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Charles C. Reed, cochairman of the dinner; Representatives Andrew J. Hinshaw and Don H. Clausen; Evelle J. Younger,

State attorney general; Paul Haerle, State Republican chairman; and Margaret M. Brock and William Banowsky, Republican national committeemen for California.

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### Interview in Los Angeles With Metromedia Reporters. *October 30, 1975*

HERBERT G. KLEIN [vice president, Metromedia, Inc.]. *Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.*

Mr. President, it is a pleasure to welcome you to this unique Metromedia news team presentation of an interview based on the problems of the cities and many other current issues facing the country at this time. It is a pleasure. Welcome, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Herb. I am delighted to have an opportunity of seeing some old friends and making some new acquaintances, and I look forward to a very active discussion of some of the problems that I know are on the minds of these gentlemen as well as others.

MR. KLEIN. Thank you. Our first question will be from a man you know from New York, Mr. Gabe Pressman, from WNEW, Channel 5, New York City.

## NEW YORK CITY

[1.] Q. Mr. President, the New York Daily News today carried the following headline bannered on its front page, "Ford to the City: Drop Dead." Is that what you were saying yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT. Gabe, not at all. I was saying to the city of New York that the best way is for we in the Federal Government to put pressure on the responsible officials in the State and in the city to do some things that had to be done that have been neglected, have not been done over a period of time, and indicate to the city that if responsible officials at the State and local level don't act, then there was a way in which the Federal Government, after default, could come in and participate in providing what we call essential services.

But the people in New York have been the victims of mismanagement by public officials, and the only way to get that situation straightened out is to put the pressure on those people to do what they should have done over the years. I have great sympathy for the people of New York, the 8 million people who have been misled, who have not been given the leadership that they need.

Q. Mr. President, you made two speeches yesterday, one in Washington in which you said that our leaders in New York have to take the responsibility for past follies, what you have just said. You also made one here in Los Angeles to a Republican fundraising dinner in which you expressed great sympathy for the middle Americans, the middle-class Americans, and the pensioners, and the people who are really footing the bill and taking the punishment in this country. Isn't it a fact that default in New York City is going to affect tens of thousands of these people, both civil servants who will be laid off and people who work for private vendors that aren't going to be paid by the city of New York? So, is there an inconsistency between your attitude on default and your sympathy expressed for the little guy?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all, Gabe. The principal investors in the securities, the long-term bonds, and the short-term notes are the banks in New York City and throughout the country. They have made an investment in a free market. They took a gamble on a tax-free investment; they expected to get a good return. If the city officials of New York don't do something properly to correct the situation, these investors, yes, will have to defer the receipt of their interest and the repayments on principal. But they made an investment in a free market. They should have known that the circumstances weren't as good as they might have been told they were.

On the other hand, we have said to the fireman, to the policeman, to the nurse in the emergency ward, we will help and work with the court if default comes,

and there is no need for it to come in the first place. But if it does, we will help that group of people to provide those essential services to the 8 million people in the city of New York. I don't think there is any inconsistency at all.

Q. Granted what you just said, and I will just make a very short question, Mr. President. There are thousands of people, it is a fact, who are not big banks, who have New York City bonds, including widows and orphans and little people who thought that this was a good way to spend much of their life savings in buying these bonds. What about them? Should they be punished for the sins of our politicians?

THE PRESIDENT. It is a relatively small proportion of the total amount owed by the city of New York. I think the city owes in the magnitude of about \$12 billion, short-term, long-term obligations. Those obligations can and will be paid.

There may be a temporary deferral in order to give the city an opportunity to straighten out its situation so that current bills can be paid. But if the city is properly led, those small investors will get their money, but there may be some slight delay.

MR. KLEIN. Mr. Alan Smith, WTTG, Channel 5, Washington.

Q. Mr. President, we have seen for some time now the long stalemate over an energy policy, an energy program. Now we have New York City, and we supposedly have a time element there of November 30. Now, you have asked Congress to pass bankruptcy legislation. If Congress refuses to do that and you follow through on vetoing any legislation they may come up with for Federal loan guarantees, what happens to New York City after November 30?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think I made it extremely clear, Alan, that the eight or more proposals that have been floating around in the House and the Senate were totally inadequate. They wouldn't have been any answer or won't be any answer to the problem, because they just delay, delay; they carry on, perpetuate the mismanagement we have really had in New York City.

I am not sure, to be honest with you, that any legislation can pass the Congress. I think the only legislation that will pass the Congress is the proposal that I made.<sup>1</sup> So, it is not a choice of what others have recommended, eight or more bills and mine. That is not the choice.

I don't think there is a majority in the Congress to pass any one of those eight other bills—I know there aren't enough to override a veto—so, the real alternative, unless the city and the State do something affirmatively to avoid the problem in the first place, I think the only choice is my proposal.

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 646.



MR. KLEIN. Mr. President, our next question will be from Larry Moore, KMBC, Kansas City.

Q. Mr. President, what can you tell the taxpayer in Kansas City or elsewhere in the country who is concerned about the situation in New York because he hears that if his public school district or if his city wants to build a new building, in order to get bonds, the district or the city would have to pay a higher interest rate, then he would have to pay higher taxes to finance the bond issue. What can you tell him with the New York crisis?

THE PRESIDENT. Larry, there is a very good answer to that. As Alan knows, the last week or so in the metropolitan area of the city of Washington, or the District of Columbia, two or three well-run local units of government sold bonds at a better price than they had ever gotten in recent years.

Those communities, those local units of government that are well-managed—people want to buy them. Investors want to invest because they are good securities. So, the message is really to local officials: “You run your city, your school board, or any other local unit of government well and you will have plenty of investors and you will not have to pay a high interest rate.”

Q. If that situation would change, if there would become extreme fear even with well-managed units of government because of the situation in New York, if New York defaults, would you consider altering in any way your position of yesterday that you would veto any measure Congress would pass to bail out New York City?

THE PRESIDENT. I think you are approaching it in the question from the wrong end. We have to assume that locally elected officials will do a good job, and 99.9 percent of them do a good job. So, there is no need to worry.

I don't think we should be scared. And I don't think the American people should be frightened by the very small percentage of local officials who don't measure up and handle their affairs in a proper way.

The history of this country is that we have had good local government, and we shouldn't be terrified by the mistakes of a limited few. I think Kansas City, Minneapolis, many other cities throughout the country are well managed. And we should make sure that they have an open market where they can sell their securities at a fair price. And if they are well managed, those markets will be available.

MR. KLEIN. Our next question will be from our Metromedia newsman from WTCN, Channel 11, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Gil Amundson.

Q. Mr. President, critics of your stand on New York have said it is insensitive

and punitive, and in reality it will cost the Nation more to default in New York rather than to prevent it. How do you respond to that?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't see how it possibly can cost more. The city of New York and the State of New York have ample resources. They can raise taxes. They can cut down expenditures. They can modify spending programs. If they do those corrective actions, which they failed to do for the last few years, there is no loss at all.

I think it is a warning to the public and every city in the whole United States—make doggone sure you have mayors and aldermen and councilmen who are going to manage your city properly.

Fortunately, that has been the case. And if it continues, there won't be any cost at all. In fact, it will be better. In the meantime, New York City has an opportunity to do something correctively, and it won't have any problems either.

MR. KLEIN. Mr. President, Mr. Ken Jones of KTTV-TV, Channel 11, Los Angeles.

Q. Mr. President, who specifically is to blame for New York's problems? Is it the former administration of Mayor John Lindsay, and did it carry to the statehouse and Nelson Rockefeller—now the Vice President—or is it the current administration of Abraham Beame?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't like to point a finger, Ken, at any one individual. I think the record is very clear that the city of New York in the last 10 or 12 years has had an escalating budget. Their expenditures have risen at the rate of about 14 percent per annum, their income at the rate of about 4 to 5 percent per annum.

And the net result is they have had an escalating obligation, a debt they had to carry, about \$12 billion. The record shows who was in charge of the city, and as Al Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record," and we will see what the public reaction is.

Q. And your investigation—did it carry to the statehouse under Governor Rockefeller?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in this particular case, the city of New York itself, there is no history of the State being involved. In the recent months, of course, the State has gotten involved by what they call the "Big Mac."<sup>2</sup> But the primary responsibility rests with the locally elected officials over a period of 10 or 12 years in the city of New York.

Q. One other question. Governor Carey said yesterday that you have said

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<sup>2</sup> The Municipal Assistance Corporation was created by the State of New York and was empowered to issue bonds. Funds from the bond sales were intended for the assistance of New York City.

you did not want to make the State or the city a ward of the Federal Government. Yet he says your proposal does in fact do that. It puts the Federal keeper in and makes it a ward of the Federal Government.

THE PRESIDENT. There is a difference. Under the plan that I propose, the city of New York, for a temporary period of time, would come under the jurisdiction of a Federal court—not a politician, a judge. It can get out of that situation as quickly as it gets its finances in order. I think it is a much more responsible place for this problem to be resolved than to make the President of the United States mayor, on a temporary basis, for the city of New York.

A Federal judge who is under no political pressures can handle properly the readjustment of investments, the carrying on of essential services. That is something that can be done by a Federal judge in New York City, not by some elected or nonelected official in the city of Washington, D.C.

MR. KLEIN. Gabe Pressman.

Q. Following up on Ken's first question, Mr. President, you noted yesterday that in addition to the high salaries and the other burdens, there were fat pensions that were negotiated during those years. Now, no pension in New York—no pension improvement could be made without the approval of the legislature and the Governor. And it is a historic fact that Lindsay started the pension improvements, but that it was Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the legislature that put those fat pensions through that, many civic leaders agree with you, are part of the cause of the financial mess we are in. You say you blame those who misled the people. Do you blame your own Vice President?

THE PRESIDENT. I was not cognizant that the State legislature and the Governor had to approve a particular pension program. If it is, it is unique in New York State. Those are usually negotiated between the mayor and/or his authorities and the representatives of the labor organizations. In no other State that I am familiar with does the Governor and the State legislature have to have anything to do with the details of pensions—

Q. Well, I wouldn't presume to educate the President of the United States, but it is a fact that all messages involving basic changes in law, including pension bills, have to be approved by the State legislature and the Governor, and as a reporter over the last 15 years, I observed both Lindsay and Rockefeller negotiating with the union leaders for these pension benefits that became staggering.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, those pension programs by any other standard, let's be frank and honest, are far more generous than in any other community. As I noted in my remarks yesterday, those pension programs are noncontributory. If

the information given me is accurate, that is the only case in any major pension program throughout the United States for municipal employees. That is a very, very generous program. And I think it has contributed significantly, and those who participated have to be responsible.

Q. Including Mr. Rockefeller?

THE PRESIDENT. Anybody.

MR. KLEIN. Alan Smith.

Q. Mr. President, in response to Larry Moore's question a few moments ago, you said that New York must practice budget balancing, budget austerity, by raising taxes, cutting expenses, perhaps halting capital construction projects. You have said that before.

However, there are those New Yorkers, and one, for example, Teachers Union President Albert Shanker, who says that cuts imposed already by the State Control Board would eliminate another 50,000 city jobs in New York, and that over a 2-year period several billions of dollars would be taken out of the New York spending economy which could be used to help New York right itself. In addition, he speaks of further cuts that you suggest, and he says this would be counterproductive. Mr. Shanker contends that it would be a vicious circle, that it would not bring New York out of its solvency, that New York does need Federal aid. What is your response to that?

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, let me say the Federal Government does contribute significantly right now on an annual basis to New York. New York City's budget on an annual basis is roughly \$12.2 billion a year. The Federal Government contributes approximately 25 percent of it. So, the Federal Government has been very generous with New York City. We have paid 25 percent of the costs of running New York City today.

Now, that is pretty high. I happen to think that that generosity has been, in many cases, misapplied by the responsible public officials in the city of New York. A further bailout is not essential, providing the local people do the things that are necessary.

Now, under the theory that was set forth by one or more of the gentlemen you mentioned, under that theory, the more you spend over the long run, that is the quickest way to get out of a problem. I have never known anybody in private business or any family or any church or any government that followed that theory that survived very well.

It sounds good, but in practicality each and every one of us know it never works. And the only way for New York City to straighten out its problems is

to tighten its belt. And if they haven't done it enough, and if they do it right, New York City can get straightened out.

MR. KLEIN. Larry Moore.

#### SCHOOL BUSING

[2.] Q. Mr. President, school busing is a problem affecting Kansas City and many other cities in the country. You have not exactly endorsed school busing to achieve integration in the schools, but at the same time, you haven't exactly outlined an alternative. What hope can you hold out for cities like Kansas City that run the risk of losing millions of dollars in Federal aid in the not too distant future if they don't use school busing?

THE PRESIDENT. Really, I have spoken out consistently and for some time on this problem. I was one of the original Members of the House or the Senate that said that court-ordered forced busing to achieve racial balance was not the way to accomplish quality education.

That has been a consistent statement, view, policy of mine for a number of years. I believe it even more fervently today than I did before. So, we have to start out with the assumption that education, quality education, is what we are all seeking to accomplish.

Now, some people say we ought to spend more money, and I think there are programs where you can spend more money at the local level to upgrade schools in disadvantaged areas; there are others who say the long-range and, even to a substantial degree, short-range is better distribution of housing, so we achieve integration in a different way and you can still rely on the neighborhood school system.

Dr. Coleman,<sup>3</sup> who testified before the Senate Committee on Judiciary just a few days ago—he had some thoughts on it. And it is interesting that Dr. Coleman, who was an initial proponent on busing to achieve quality education, has now—after studying the problem in a number of cities—come to the conclusion that it is not the answer.

I don't think there is any patent medicine that can give us the answer, but I think we ought to spend whatever money is necessary for what we call magnet schools, to upgrade teachers, to provide better facilities, to give greater freedom of choice—these are the kind of things that we ought to push hard.

#### EDUCATION

[3.] Q. There are those who say, including Congressman Jerry Litton from Kansas City, that a separate Department of Education should be established,

<sup>3</sup>James S. Coleman, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago.

taking it away from HEW. Would you be in favor of establishing a separate Department of Education to handle the complex problems of public schools?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that in and of itself is a solution. That sounds good. Maybe it ought to be justified on other grounds, but I don't think it is necessarily the answer to this problem.

MR. KLEIN. Gentlemen, our time is limited. Gil Amundson.

#### CANADIAN OIL AND NATURAL GAS

[4.] Q. Mr. President, my cities—Minneapolis and St. Paul—much of that region face some serious economic pressures because of the impending cutoff of oil and natural gas from Canada. It means we will have to bring it in from more expensive sources. And the shortage of natural gas could even lead to higher unemployment. Has the Administration given this any attention?

THE PRESIDENT. We certainly have. Our Secretary of Interior has been working with the proper officials in the Government of Canada. I have talked to the former Natural Resources Minister, Mr. Macdonald. We have groups working together.

As I understand it, Canada has agreed not—for the next 12 months—to have any significant change in the supplies, either crude oil or natural gas.

In the meantime, Congress has to pass an energy program so we can solve those problems in the upper tier, the northern tier, including Minnesota, Michigan, North Dakota, et cetera. If we can get a bill through Congress to provide more domestic sources of energy—making us less dependent on foreign oil cartels—the problems of Minnesota, Michigan, and others will be resolved.

MR. KLEIN. Ken Jones.

#### RONALD REAGAN

[5.] Q. There is a story in the Los Angeles Times this morning that your campaign committee has or is about to ask the Federal election committee to investigate former Governor Ronald Reagan, that he is an acting candidate, that he is a candidate now. Do you believe he is a candidate?

THE PRESIDENT. As I understand it, Ken, technically he is not, no more so than Governor Wallace is. There are really two steps as the law has been written and as it has been implemented. Technically, I don't believe that Governor Reagan is a candidate, and I certainly will give him or any others in similar circumstances the benefit of the doubt. I don't think I ought to argue the details of that. That is something for the Federal Election Commission to decide, and I am sure they will.

MR. KLEIN. Gabe Pressman.

## NEW YORK CITY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, yesterday you noted that tens of millions of Americans have entered the "Golden Door" in search of liberty through New York. Since World War II, there has been a tremendous migration within this country of Puerto Ricans and of black Americans up to New York from the South. New York has a tremendous welfare bill, and while we get some help from the Federal Government, we foot an awful lot of that bill ourselves. Do you think it is time the Federal Government did more to help us in that regard?

THE PRESIDENT. Gabe, the Federal Government pays at least 50 percent of the welfare bill in the city of New York. We are very substantial contributors. The extra benefits over and above the Federal payment is a decision made itself by the city of New York or the State of New York.

We are in the process, quite frankly, Gabe, of reviewing the whole welfare program. There are so many pieces and parts of it, it is so uncoordinated, we either have to junk it all and come up with a new one or we have to find ways as an alternative to tighten up to give more to the people who deserve it and less or nothing to the people who don't. And this is the problem we are facing, and we hope to do something about it.

Q. Do you think the taxpayers of New York should be punished for their compassion to fellow Americans?

THE PRESIDENT. We all have to live within our income, Gabe, and if they have been overly generous over and above what the Federal Government contributes, I think they have to be faulted.

MR. KLEIN. Alan Smith.

## THE MIDDLE EAST

[7.] Q. Mr. President, we don't have much time, and this program has been devoted primarily to the cities—that's as it's billed. However, I would be remiss if I didn't mention another November 30 deadline, the end of the U.N. mandate in the Golan Heights. Inasmuch as President Sadat of Egypt is in this country now, might we expect some announcement from you or from Secretary Kissinger in the not-too-distant future about any potential for movement toward an accord between Syria and Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. I have said that the United States will not tolerate stagnation or stalemate in the Middle East. I meant it. We are hoping that the parties involved in that area of the world will participate in preliminary negotiations, discussions, because we do have to go from the Sinai step to another step or to an overall. And they all understand it. We are anxious that it take place, but we

are not in a position to tell them precisely where or when. We are going to keep the pressure on.

Q. We do have that November 30 Golan Heights date.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is a decision under UNDOF [United Nations Disengagement Observer Force] for Syria to make its decision. We hope, of course, that Syria will be responsive to an extension of it. We certainly will do our best to give assurances that there will be the right kind of movement in the diplomatic field to convince them that they ought to do it.

MR. KLEIN. We have less than a minute.

#### FBI DIRECTOR KELLEY

[8.] Q. Mr. President, crime is a problem in our cities, of course, and the news media reports in St. Louis are saying the top White House people do not like the job that Clarence Kelley is doing as head of the FBI. What is your assessment of Clarence Kelley as Director of the FBI?

THE PRESIDENT. I think he is a first-class Director of the FBI. And I read some of these rumor stories, and I sought to hit them hard and to reassure him that he has done and is doing a first-class job. Well, I am perfectly satisfied with the way he is running the FBI, and I have so told him.

MR. KLEIN. Time has gone rapidly, Mr. President. There are other topics we would like to have covered. We would like on behalf of Metromedia and our news audience to thank you very much for joining us tonight.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Herb. Thank all of you.

NOTE: The interview began at 7:44 a.m. in the Santa Monica Room at the Century Plaza Hotel. It was taped for broadcast the evening of the same day.

## 649

### Special Message to the Congress Proposing Legislation to Fund Security Assistance Programs. *October 30, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I sent to the Congress on May 15 draft legislation to authorize foreign assistance programs for fiscal years 1976 and 1977, and for the transition period July 1, 1976, through September 30, 1976. At that time, because of uncertainties caused by changing events, particularly in the Middle East and Indochina, I was unable to propose specific amounts for security assistance programs. I said I would



return to the Congress with specific proposals for these programs as soon as possible.

The review of security assistance programs now has been completed and my revisions to the draft legislation are being transmitted today. My initial legislative proposal was printed in the House of Representatives as House Document No. 94-158 and was introduced in the Senate as S. 1816. The revisions transmitted with this message will supersede sections 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17 and 18 of that proposal.

The world is different and far more complex than the world we knew in the 1950's. So are the problems confronting it. However, the United States Government still has a primary responsibility to take the lead in creating conditions which will insure justice, international cooperation and enduring peace. The program of security assistance I am transmitting today will contribute significantly toward meeting this responsibility.

#### PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Nothing so underscores how essential the American peacekeeping role is than our current efforts in the Middle East. Since the October 1973 War, our Middle East policy has been based on the following three principles.

—First, a firm resolution to work for a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict taking into account the legitimate interests of all states and peoples in the area, including the Palestinians.

—Second, a commitment to the improvement of our relations with all the states of the Middle East on a bilateral basis, maintaining our support for Israel's security while strengthening our relations with the Arab countries.

—Third, continued dedication to avoiding great power confrontation in the Middle East.

The October 1973 War was the fourth, and most devastating, round of hostilities between Arab and Israeli forces. Moreover, the impact of this last collision between opposing forces was not confined to the Middle East. The spectre of armed confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union hung over the crisis. Disruption of the economies of Western Europe, Japan and other nations was an important by-product of the conflict. In addition, the likelihood existed that the period immediately after October 1973 would merely represent a pause between the fourth and fifth rounds of conflict.

The quest for peace in the area was of the highest priority. Our most immediate objective was to encourage the disengagement of the contending military

forces. Disengagement was accomplished in 1974. This year, we dedicated ourselves to the goal of withdrawal in the Sinai—and an agreement was negotiated as a result of the efforts of Secretary of State Kissinger. We believe that the step-by-step approach to negotiations offers the best prospects for establishing an enduring peace in the region. We expect to proceed on an incremental basis to the next stage of negotiation within the near future.

I believe the hope for a lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute is stronger today than at any time in the previous quarter century. A new era also is opening in our relations with Arabs and Israelis. This security assistance program will give substance to these new relationships and help preserve the momentum toward peace.

My proposals have three basic purposes:

—First, to provide Israel with the assistance needed to maintain security and to persevere in the negotiating process.

—Second, to give tangible expression to our new and fruitful relations with the Arab nations most directly involved and to encourage those which are seriously prepared to work for peace.

—Third, to encourage the peaceful development of the area, thereby reducing the incentives to violence and conflict.

The Security Assistance Program I am transmitting to Congress is heavily weighted with requirements to sustain the peace in the Middle East. Fully 70 percent of the program for fiscal year 1976 is to be concentrated in this region.

It proposes:

—For Israel, \$740 million in security supporting assistance and \$1,500 million in military credits. Israel's ability to defend herself and to relieve some of the burdens of her defense reduces the prospect of new conflict in the Middle East.

—For Egypt, \$750 million in supporting assistance. Egypt has made the bold decision to move from confrontation to negotiation as a means of resolving the Arab-Israeli dispute. Its leaders also must cope with serious economic problems whose resolution the United States is in a position to assist.

—For Jordan, \$100 million in military assistance grants, \$78 million in security supporting assistance, and \$75 million in military credit sales. This assistance will strengthen Jordan's ability to hold to the course of moderation it has consistently followed.

—For Syria, \$90 million in security supporting assistance. This assistance will enable our development cooperation with Syria to go forward, furthering our efforts to re-establish more normal bilateral relations.

—In addition, I am recommending a Special Requirements Fund this fiscal

year of \$50 million. The fund is to be used to reinforce the peace process in the area and, in particular, to defray the costs of stationing American civilian technicians in the Sinai area.

All of this aid will contribute to the confidence that Middle Eastern nations must have in the United States if we are to maintain our momentum toward peace.

#### EAST ASIA

The collapse of friendly governments in Indochina has necessitated a thorough review of the situation and of our policies and objectives throughout East Asia. The program I am proposing therefore recognizes the new realities as well as our enduring responsibilities as a leading participant in the affairs of the Asia Pacific region. For the first time, military sales credits exceed grants in our proposals for security assistance to Asian countries. These proposals include Foreign Military Sales credits in the amount of \$80 million for the Republic of China, \$126 million for Korea, and \$37 million for Thailand, with smaller but no less significant amounts for Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Grant assistance programs include \$19 million for Indonesia, \$74 million for Korea, \$20 million for the Philippines, and \$28 million for Thailand. This funding pattern reflects the improved economic circumstances of several of our allies, their decreasing dependence on grant aid, and a greater ability to pay for defense purchases on a deferred basis.

#### EUROPE

The program that I am proposing for Europe is focussed primarily on two countries with whom the United States shares extraordinary mutual defense interests: Greece and Turkey. For Greece, I am proposing more than \$50 million in MAP and \$110 million in FMS credits. Over the same period, Turkey would receive \$75 million in MAP and \$130 million in FMS credits. These amounts take into consideration urgent needs for defense articles and services on the part of these two important NATO allies. Implementation of the respective programs would allow the United States to resume its traditional cooperative role following the unfortunate disruptions occasioned by the Cyprus crisis. In this traditional role, the United States can work more effectively to alleviate regional tensions and rectify recent misunderstandings which have had an adverse impact on the interests of all our European allies.

## AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

In these two geographic areas where there were widespread special development problems, I am proposing security assistance programs with emphasis on training as a common denominator. While the training programs are not individually costly, the fact that they are distributed among many countries should contribute to the strengthening of our regional relations well beyond the military sector. The only significant MAP proposal in either area involves a \$12 million program for Ethiopia, where we have been committed to an armed forces modernization program of reasonable dimensions. No other grant aid funds are envisioned elsewhere in Africa. MAP proposals throughout Latin America are confined to small sums, mainly for vehicles, communications equipment and spare parts. FMS credits for Latin America are proposed in amounts commensurate with the relative sizes of the recipients' armed forces, their repayment ability and overall development needs. In Africa, the only significant FMS credit proposals are \$10 million for Ethiopia and \$19 million for Zaire.

## SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE

Aside from the special programs for the Middle East states which I have described previously, my proposals for security supporting assistance include \$35 million for Cyprus, including \$10 million for the United Nations Forces there, \$55 million for Portugal, \$65 million for Greece, and \$23 million for Zaire. Other small programs and administrative expenses will total \$33 million. In all instances, these programs reflect enlightened self-interest for the United States and a carefully documented need.

## CONCLUSION

While the extraordinary recent developments in Indochina and the Middle East have necessitated a re-examination of our policies and changes in the focus of our security assistance programs, there can be no doubt that bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the defense sector remains a vital and necessary component of American foreign policy. The proposals that I am now able to make after this reappraisal are addressed specifically to a new global situation and to the extraordinary challenges and opportunities confronting us in the international sphere. Just as it would be a grievous mistake to base our current and future security assistance programs on the precepts of the past, it would be an even greater error to ignore our enduring responsibilities as a major world

power by failing to exploit these opportunities. After twenty-five years of seemingly irreconcilable differences, two parties to the Middle East dispute at last have taken a decisive stride toward settling their differences, in joint reliance on our good offices and continuing support. In the strategic Eastern Mediterranean, two of our long-standing NATO allies look to us for a tangible sign of renewed support and traditional friendship. In East Asia, friends and allies are anxiously awaiting evidence that the United States intends to maintain its stabilizing role in Pacific affairs.

#### DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

I am also pleased to note the progress made by the Congress on H.R. 9005, the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975, which authorizes funds for our development and disaster assistance programs. Although we have minor differences with the Congress on the formulation of this legislation, I expect these to be resolved in the legislative process. The 244-155 vote in the House clearly indicates that the Congress and the Executive Branch jointly endorse the current reorientation of our bilateral development assistance program focusing on basic human problems in the poor countries.

We must reaffirm our humanitarian commitment to some 800 million people in the Third and Fourth World, who live in poverty, facing the daily reality of hunger and malnutrition without access to adequate health and education services and with limited productive employment. Improving the quality of life for one-third of mankind living in conditions of despair has become a universal political demand, a technical possibility, and a moral imperative.

Our foreign assistance programs, both development and security, are essential for achieving world peace and for supporting an expanding international economy which benefits all nations. Our national security and economic well-being in a world more interdependent than ever before in the history of mankind warrant the fullest support of the American people and the Congress for our foreign assistance programs.

In regard to the impact of these proposals on overall federal budget levels, I fully recognize the proposed amounts are substantial. I should emphasize, however, that total fiscal year 1976 expenditures for all types of foreign aid including economic and military will still be roughly ten percent below the amounts originally contained in my January budget because of the withdrawal of the request for Indochina funding.

I am confident the Congress shares my desire to see the United States continue to manifest to all nations its determination to play a role in the search for a

more secure international environment which is worthy of its greatness as a nation.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
October 30, 1975.

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**Remarks in San Francisco at a Republican Party Fundraising Luncheon. *October 30, 1975***

*Ben, Archbishop McGucken, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Don Clausen and Andy Hinshaw, my very good friend Ev Younger, Paul Haerle, Margaret Brock, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of participating in this really unbelievable luncheon.

I think most of you know that I have always enjoyed coming back to California, particularly when it is so close to October 31—[*laughter*—a very special time when we observe the mysterious and supernatural, when people tell strange tales about big, empty houses where rooms lay ghostly silent, where lights are never seen, and where mortals never tread. In most places it is called Halloween. In California it is called the Governor's Mansion. [*Laughter*]

But may I say most seriously that I can't thank Ben Biaggini sufficiently for his chairmanship of this superlative luncheon. Ben, I am most grateful, and I say it on behalf of all of us who are on the firing line trying to achieve and accomplish what you and all of these fine people represent.

But may I express to all of you who are here, who have contributed, who are not only here in your presence but with your contributions, we can do the job better with this kind of support, and I thank you very, very much.

I think it would be appropriate to make one observation. We have a lady in this audience this afternoon who has really reached a milestone in 1975—her 100th birthday anniversary, Mrs. Alma Walker, Table 25. We should give her a great big hand.

A visit to San Francisco never fails to bolster my optimism, and what I see here today verifies it without any question. When I returned from the Pacific in 1945 and saw the Golden Gate, I realized that I, too, had left my heart in San Francisco.

Next year marks the 70th anniversary of the San Francisco fire. San Francisco

passed the ultimate test of the recuperative power of an American city. Local courage and local determination prevailed. The reconstruction of San Francisco was not a Federal bailout; it was a local undertaking. [*Laughter*] It was the work of dedicated San Franciscans.

American cities which are now quaking from financial fears arising from faults in their own fiscal policies can today profit from the example set by San Francisco. California actually has shown the world what Americans can do. It has demonstrated the unique California spirit of “can do” and the unique Republican spirit of “can do.” I have a full, full confidence in the capability of the American economic system to come back, just as San Francisco demonstrated that a city can come back. We have had a tough 14 months in this country, economic problems that would have discouraged many and caused expedient answers to problems that needed to be solved by sound solutions.

Last January, in my first State of the Union Message to the Congress, I reported, as Don and Andy know, that the state of our economy was not good. Today I can say that our economy is moving up, not down—forward and not back. And that is because of good policies and dedication and strength of the American people. And I thank 214 million Americans for standing steady in their great adversity.

Let me cite a few examples, if I might. Our gross national product for the third quarter increased in real terms—to an annually adjusted rate of 11.2 percent. This was the greatest quarterly increase since 1955.

The industrial production index rose at an annual rate of 20 percent between June and September, and some recently released figures indicated that productivity in our society has really surged forward under the stimulant of a free enterprise system and the competition that we face from abroad, as well as with ourselves.

The total number of people employed went up between March and September of this year by 1,769,000. This is real progress. It means a paycheck and dignity to 1,769,000 individuals, to their families, and real strength to the entire American economy.

Unemployment dropped from 9.2 percent in May to 8.3 percent in September. Let me say categorically, emphatically, there is no rate of unemployment that I consider acceptable as long as any American wants to work and can’t find a job. But unemployment is going down, and it will continue to go down with the kind of right, solid policies that we are pursuing in the Nation’s Capital.

Inflation has been reduced from an annual rate of 12.2 percent in 1974 to 6.8 percent so far in 1975. We have reduced the rate of inflation by almost half. That

is not good enough, but we are doing better than the experts predicted or forecast. And I will stick my neck out and say we will continue to do better and better and better. Every economic indicator suggests that we have already been on the road to recovery for approximately 6 months.

But we must not allow a resurgence of the double-digit inflation which did so much damage to our economy in recent years.

Two consecutive Federal deficits of \$60 billion or more are bound to rekindle inflation in this great country. That is why I have insisted that the Congress reduce Federal spending by \$28 billion while at the same time reducing taxes by an equal amount—\$28 billion. Now, if the Congress would cooperate by combining a tax cut and a reduction in the growth of Federal spending, we could sharply cut the Federal deficit for the fiscal year 1977 while providing equitable and permanent tax reduction and relief in the right way.

I call upon the Congress to meet this challenge. It is fair, it is right, it is good for America. When I hear the howls and screams and attitudes that we can't do it, the rules of the House or the Senate won't permit it, or this excuse or that excuse, that is not acceptable when we have a good program that is good for the country.

I know that Don and Andy and our delegation in California understand, as I do, that it is "do-able," it can be accomplished. I just hope that you communicate with those who say it can't be done. It can and must be done for the benefit of the country.

Now, to keep the economy moving in the right direction, this tax cut is essential, especially for those in the broad, middle-income area, those who have suffered the most with the inequitable tax policies we have had in this country for too long a time.

To make sure that a tax cut will not add to inflationary pressures, we must have this budget reduction. The combination is the key to it all.

Do you realize that if we don't change the law and if no other action is taken, in a period of 12 months there will be a \$50 billion increase in Federal spending, period.

I think we checked the figures, and that is five times the total expenditures for the great State of California on an annual basis. That is just the growth in Federal spending.

So, what we are trying to do is to combine equity in a tax reduction and a lid on the spending trends in the Federal Government.

Well fortunately, aside from that, we have begun to see more and more good economic news. Coming from the State that I come from—but I understand



you make more automobiles in California than we do in Michigan—[*laughter*]*—*I am delighted at the great upsurge in automobile buying and the popularity of new American cars that use less gas. The 1976 models average nearly 13 percent better in fuel economy than last year's cars. This is on top of an improvement of almost 14 percent from '74 through '75.

It is an interesting statistic, but I think it shows the ingenuity of the American businessman to meet a challenge. This increase in efficiency means that if every car in America operated with fuel efficiency of the average of the 1976 model, America would save 17 billion gallons of gasoline each year. Even more significant, American motorists would save nearly \$11 billion in the cost of gasoline each year.

We have also had a turnaround from the danger of large foreign trade deficits. We are now achieving \$1 billion a month U.S. trade surplus, and we have accomplished this change from a year ago for the last 8 consecutive months, an average of \$1 billion trade surplus for America.

We should be proud that we are competitive in the world, and this is the best indicator of America's products, America's ingenuity, and America's labor. But we are not only progressing at home but also advancing into a stronger position internationally.

Thirty years ago this month, the Charter of the United Nations, drafted here in San Francisco, went into effect. This charter pledged that the peoples of the United Nations were determined to reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and the worth of the human persons, in the equal rights of men and women and the nations large and small.

The American people firmly believe in these principles, and we have had great hopes for the United Nations in the generation since then. The United States has always acted in the U.N. to defend these principles.

At the beginning of September of 1975, the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly took place on the subject of economic development and global cooperation. The United States assumed a firm leadership role at this session. We made clear that economic pressures and attempts at economic blackmail would never succeed. Instead, if any nations, rich or poor, were going to achieve their objectives of progress and well-being, the only possible approach was realism and a cooperative attitude.

In this spirit, the United States offered a series of constructive and realistic proposals, in whose implementation the other nations would share a responsibility. Our proposals formed the basis of recommendations that were finally

adopted at the end of that session by the world community. This was an extraordinary example of reasoned deliberation, consensus, and practical action.

There have been other encouraging developments. The U.N. Security Council recently renewed the mandate of the U.N. emergency force in the Sinai, with a minimum of debate and acrimony. This force is vital to the maintenance of peace and of our efforts for further diplomatic progress in that turbulent area of the world.

The original peacekeeping role of the U.N. is more important now than perhaps at any time in the history of the United Nations. That is why we are disturbed by signs of contrary trends and actions in that world body.

We have seen bloc voting, one-sided resolutions, and violations of fair procedures and principles of the United Nations Charter. We have seen attempts to interfere, for example, in the affairs of Puerto Rico, flouting the clearly expressed will of the Puerto Rican people. And we have seen a committee of the United Nations vote to characterize Zionism as a form of racism.

The United States, through Secretary Kissinger and Ambassador Moynihan, has made it clear that this resolution undermines the United Nations' necessary and valuable campaign against racial discrimination and threatens the U.N.'s crucial role as a mediator in the Middle East. I take grave exception to any action that weakens the United Nations as an effective forum for peaceful settlement of disputes. The United States deplores this resolution in the strongest possible terms and will work for its defeat if it comes before the General Assembly.

The U.N. Charter sets a standard in the basic truth that diversity of principles and beliefs must be respected. We believe in this truth and will defend our values and our principles in the U.N. without any apology whatsoever. We will participate constructively in U.N. deliberations and actions, and we expect to be met in the very same spirit by others. That is my position, and I believe it represents the views and the attitudes of 214 million Americans.

In my Administration, America will hold its head high in the world. We are proud of the contribution this country has made for peace. And I promise you our efforts and our determination in this area will never, never falter.

Earlier this week I had several very important meetings with President Sadat of Egypt. His visit—the first time a President of Egypt has ever come to the United States—is one of the most significant new developments in international affairs.

American concern for the Middle East is not a matter of choice, but a matter of vital necessity. It is a strategic part of the world and the source of a significant and growing portion of our energy resources and those of Western Europe and

Japan. We want to maintain and encourage our friendly relations with the 150 million people of the Arab world. And we have a basic moral commitment to the survival and security—and I say this with emphasis—of the State of Israel.

The October 1973 war and oil embargo taught us that conflict in the Middle East can quickly spread and cause serious international repercussions. Therefore, our success in beginning the process of negotiations toward peace serves the vital interest of this country while contributing to the well-being of the peoples of the Middle East and peace of the world as a whole.

The recent Sinai agreement between Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other will maintain the momentum of this peacemaking process. There is a long, long, hard road ahead, with many pitfalls, but I intend to continue what may prove to be one of the most important achievements of American foreign policy in a generation. We Americans—and I mean all inclusively—are writing a page of world history that we can all be proud of.

And as I look around the world, I see our alliances with the Atlantic Community and Japan in better shape than at any time in the last decade. And I thank all of you in this great Bay Area for the hospitality and thoughtfulness you showed to our distinguished guests, the Emperor and the Empress of Japan. Our cooperation on defense matters in these areas—the Atlantic Community and Japan—our cooperation is sound, effective, and constantly being improved.

But Allied cooperation goes far beyond national security and defense. It reaches out to include new areas of energy cooperation and now intensive consultation to expedite our economic recovery.

In 2 weeks I will meet in Paris with the leaders of the large industrial nations of the free world in an economic summit. If we all coordinate our strategies for economic recovery, it is obvious that our joint efforts will reinforce one another and benefit the peoples of all free nations.

The strength and solidarity of the free world, in my view, is the only basis for seeking a reduction of tensions with our Communist adversaries. It is not we who want confrontations. And I have made it clear that my Administration will maintain a national defense second to none, and I will defend the defense budget against all dangerous and ill-considered attacks or cutbacks. May I say parenthetically, I will resist just as strongly those who want to dismantle our intelligence-gathering community, which is a bulwark of America's strength. And in dealing with any or all nations, I have made it clear that when we, the United States, are challenged, we will respond with resolution.

We have a stable relationship of mutual respect with the People's Republic of China. My visit there this year in a few weeks will be an undeniable demon-

stration of the continuity of our new relationship, on the basis of the principles of the Shanghai communique.

With the Soviet Union, we will pursue practical agreements where it serves our mutual interest as a two-way street. In SALT, the strategic arms limitation area, we will negotiate a balanced and reliable agreement limiting strategic arms on both sides. It will follow the principles of equality. I want a good agreement. If it takes a little more time to negotiate a good agreement, I will spend that time. I will not be rushed by any artificial deadlines.

Earlier this month the United States and the Soviet Union signed a 5-year agreement for grain purchases. We had gone through previous years, 5 or 6 years, where we had had peaks and valleys. One year they would buy little, the next year they would buy much. It was not good for the farmer, it was not good for the consumer, it was not healthy for the Nation as a whole. But through some hard negotiations, we have achieved a 5-year agreement. This agreement now ensures that grain purchases by the Soviet Union will add roughly a billion dollars each year to the American economy over the next 5 years and without disrupting American markets or adding inflation to our country here at home. It will mean jobs for rail employees, longshoremen, port workers, and many, many others in our society. Twenty-five privately owned American ships that were laid up in port because of the recession are now taking on crews because of this grain agreement. Hundreds of seamen are going back to work as a result. American farmers, workers, consumers—all of us—are going to benefit.

In short, we have injected the American spirit of “can do” in our policies at home as well as abroad. A strong surge of confidence, I detect as I travel around the country, is moving across the United States. It is a surge of self-confidence well known to you here in the Bay Area. It is the spirit that rebuilt San Francisco 70 years ago. It is the spirit that will continue to build America in '75 and the years ahead.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the St. Francis Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Most Rev. Joseph T. McGucken, Archbishop of San Francisco, Evelle J.

Younger, State attorney general, Paul Haerle, State Republican chairman, and Margaret M. Brock, Republican national committeewoman for California.

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**Remarks in Milwaukee at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner.  
October 30, 1975**

*Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

What a wonderful group of people, what a wonderful occasion, and I thank Fran and all who have put it together. Obviously, I thank each and every one of you who have been here, contributed, participated. I am most grateful not only for what you contributed but your warm welcome.

You know, it is kind of good to be back in Wisconsin again. I have a bit of nostalgia. In late 1965, after having been elected minority leader of the House of Representatives, I came here in this same facility to a tremendous Republican fundraising affair. And it was an occasion as Ody Fish and George Parker were telling me as we came in from the airport—it was unbelievable. And those memories have been expanded and solidified by what I have heard and what I see here tonight.

But, you know, I have been around Wisconsin quite a bit for a Michigander. If I miss a community, I apologize, but there have been so many. I have been to Madison, to Milwaukee, Oshkosh, to Janesville, to Green Bay, to Wausau, LaCrosse, and I love every community and I love every good Badger. [*Laughter*]

You know, it is great to be here with Bill Messinger, your outstanding State finance chairman. I am told that as a result of your efforts, your contributions, everything you have done, the Republican Party of Wisconsin for the first time—as Fran told me, in 40 years or thereabouts—the Republican Party in Wisconsin is going to be virtually debt free, and that is progress.

I think we better get Bill and a few more Badgers to come down to Washington and help us out. [*Laughter*] Well, when it comes to digging in, taking hold, under the most difficult circumstances, I don't know of anyone who deserves more credit, more praise, than Bill Messinger. So, Bill, will you stand up and let us give you a great hand.

I am most regretful that I couldn't be here to attend your dinner. I was in a great State, California, last night—Los Angeles—and they had a fabulous fundraising dinner. And then we had a superb luncheon in San Francisco. And we left as quickly as we could to come to this great affair here tonight.

Your good cheer, your enthusiasm, I think, is best exemplified by the person who is the chairman of this occasion, and I am deeply grateful for his overly kind and most generous introduction. But without Fran Furgeson, it wouldn't be done either, so Fran, won't you stand up.

Over the years, probably my closest friends in the Congress were those that I served with from the State of Wisconsin. I won't list their names. You know most of them. I wish my old buddy and golfing partner Mel Laird was here. [Laughter] I will let you in on a little secret. The last time I played golf, Johnny Byrnes and Mel were the opponents of a good friend of mine and myself. We have got a score to settle with them. [Laughter] We are going to catch up. We are way behind.

But anyhow, I am delighted to see that Mel is kept so darned busy at the Reader's Digest, because the Reader's Digest and the Republicans have a great deal in common. The Reader's Digest takes things and cuts them down to size, and that is just what we are going to do with some Democrats in 1976. [Laughter]

I just wanted to stop and say hello and thank you all and share a few observations and comments. I am looking forward to getting together with you later for a few minutes, where I can have a word or two at some greater length when you and others move to the other hall.

Again, to Bill, to Fran, to all of you, I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:44 p.m. in the Bradley Pavilion at the Performing Arts Center. In his remarks, he referred to George Parker, Wisconsin State Republican chairman, Ody J. Fish, Repub-

lican national committeeman for Wisconsin, and former Wisconsin Representatives John W. Byrnes and Melvin R. Laird.

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### Remarks at a Republican Party Rally in Milwaukee.

October 30, 1975

*Bill, former Governor Warren Knowles, Congressman Bill Steiger, Congressman Bob Kasten, Chairman George Parker, Senator Krueger, Representative Shabaz, National Committeeman Ody Fish, Finance Chairman Bill Messinger, Dinner Chairman Fran Furgeson, former Lieutenant Governor Jack Olson, First Vice Chairman Alice Read, Second Vice Chairman Curtis McKay, Dorothy MacDonald, Reed Coleman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

That concludes my speech. Thank you very much. [Laughter]

Let me thank George Parker, most affectionately known as the State pen. [Laughter] I enjoyed the fact that George met me at the airport along with

Ody Fish, but most importantly it is great to be back in Milwaukee again, particularly on the day before a favorite American event, Halloween.

In fact, on the way in from the airport I asked Ody Fish if there was any special way people in Milwaukee and particularly Wisconsin celebrated trick or treat. Ody said, "Well, for the treat we pretty much give out the traditional items like candy, apples, popcorn, things like that." I said here in Wisconsin do you have any special treats—or tricks I should say. He said, "Mr. President, only when the Democrats in the legislature work on the State budget." [*Laughter*]

Ody said this is one year Wisconsin Republicans could have used Houdini. He was an expert on getting through locked doors. [*Laughter*]

I commend everyone in the Republican Party, particularly the Republican State legislators, for the battle you have fought this year with the Democrats against secrecy and for openness in government. Congratulations.

Since this is our Bicentennial year, let's remember that the history of the United States and the Republican Party are closely linked. No history of America can be written without that of our Republican Party. We have over 100 years of sound principle and good people, and we should be darn proud of it.

You here in Wisconsin know better than anyone for much of the ground-work of the Republican Party was laid right here in Ripon in 1854. Of course, I better mention Jackson, Michigan, for some very obvious reasons. [*Laughter*] But tonight I want to talk with you not only of our common heritage but our common journey into the future; not only of the proud principles of our Nation's past but of those upon which we must build for the future.

There is an increasing expression in America today that the beliefs and the values of our past are no longer relevant to our present nor to our future. Some suggest that America has seen its best days, that our decline has started, that the quality of life in America is sliding downhill, that our economy is on the skids, that the values most of us hold high are out and the new counter-culture is in.

To that I say, nonsense—with emphasis. And to those who would write a self-fulfilling prophesy of doom for this country, I say you are out of step with the vast majority of Americans, Americans who believe in this country and in themselves, and they are proud of our country and they are proud of themselves and their families.

Let me make certain there is no misunderstanding. I did not take the sacred oath of President to preside over the decline and fall of the United States of America. I totally reject the scenarios of pessimism. I have no sympathy with those who have a self-destruct attitude for this great country.

Instead, I look to the future of America, a future which will be built upon a

proud past. I look to a nation that was not only able to conquer the challenges but provide its citizens with unmatched personal fulfillment by the year 2000.

Only a short 25 years from now, I see America, whose citizens reside in a community of peace with other nations; share the still highest standard of living in the world; live longer because killer diseases have been conquered and the quality of life enhanced; and enjoy opportunities and housing and education and jobs limited only by their personal initiatives and long-range objectives; experience individual liberties and freedoms which have not only been secured but expanded; whose citizens share a national will and spirit which is still climbing as this Nation moves well into its third century.

To make this vision come true, we must return government to sound, responsible Republican principles. And we will. We must elect to your State and local offices and to the Congress responsive and responsible Republican candidates who believe as we do and who share our collective objectives.

The battlelines for 1976 are being drawn between these opposing forces:

Between those who believe in fiscal responsibility and those who believe every problem will go away if we just threw enough tax money at it.

Between those who believe in a strong national defense is the best insurance of peace and those who would spend your tax money instead for controversial social experiments.

Between those who believe in local control over local problems and those who believe Uncle Sam should help solve all problems individually and collectively.

Between those who believe that American business should be unshackled from Government overregulation so it can expand the economy and create jobs and those who believe Federal papershufflers know what is best for America and for its business community.

Between those who believe in the expansion of individual freedom and liberty and those who believe in big government and that it should direct people's lives. That is a fundamental issue.

Let me emphasize 1976 is more than an election year. It is also a year of decision for all Republicans. It is the Republican Party's golden opportunity to prove to all that it has the strength to survive setbacks, the resolution to rouse the Nation's greatness, and the will to win elections. We can do it, and we will do it.

But to make this proof secure, we Republicans must make some practical changes in our political ways; not in principles, but in approaches.

We must discard the attitude of exclusiveness that has kept the Republican Party's door closed while we make speeches about keeping it open. We must invite into our ranks all who care about the great country in which we live and all



who share our goals enough to work through the Republican Party to achieve them.

We must build, step by step, a party that works year round and not just at election time. Most important, we must emphasize our differences with Democrats rather than with each other. We must concentrate on winning elections instead of arguments.

As we look toward 1976—and what a year to have before us—the apathy and the cynicism which have overtaken some Americans must be overcome by offering candidates of outstanding ability and rock-hard integrity.

We must develop programs that are forward looking and problemsolving, and we must elect a Congress that will carry them out, and we will.

In Bill Steiger and Bob Kasten you have got quality, but we need a lot more quantity from Wisconsin. Isn't that right?

I proposed to the 94th Congress—that is the one in session now, or I guess it is in session—[*laughter*]*—*some people say it has been more out of session than in, but I wouldn't allege that—but I proposed to the 94th Congress a permanent annual cut in your Federal tax bill of \$28 billion and a corresponding cut in the growth of Federal spending of the same amount.

But all I get, so far, from this Democrat-dominated, "Can't Do Congress" is it can't be done. I say it can, it will, and it must be done this year. If this Congress isn't capable of doing the job, let's elect a Republican Congress that can and will.

America's vitality, its prosperity have been sapped by the irresponsible spending of this Congress, which is controlled 2 to 1 by the Democrats, and a previous Congress, which has been controlled by Democrats for 38 out of the last 42 years.

I might add, parenthetically, for 33 out of those 38 years, there have been deficits which have run up the cost of living and run down the value of the dollars that you earn by the sweat of your brow.

Under the Democratic spenders, the Federal budget for the first time in our history topped \$100 billion in 1962. It doubled to \$200 billion 8 years later and will more than double again to \$423 billion in this coming fiscal year unless we get some action.

Let me emphasize, the \$28 billion reduction in taxes which I proposed must be accompanied by equally substantial cuts in the growth of Federal spending. This means the spending ceiling must be \$395 billion. That is adequate to meet our needs both at home and abroad, and we must get that ceiling, period. We will keep a scorecard on those that don't vote for it.

You know that under the laws Democratic Congresses have already written—they are piled high in statute books—without a single new appropriation or

program, and despite everything I can do as President by vetoing further increases, our Federal expenditures will increase next year by \$50 billion. That is just growth.

I was in California the other day, and the growth in the Federal budget in 12 months is five times the annual budget of the State of California. Something is wrong.

The Democrats in Congress don't like my vetoes, but these vetoes have already saved taxpayers some \$6½ billion. I will go on vetoing unwise, unnecessary spending bills again and again and again and again. I will do it as long as it saves you money, but more importantly, it saves our Nation's future, and that is the crux of the battle we are facing at the present time.

What concerns me most is what I see as government without consent, the increasing encroachment of government in our lives and in our future, the irresponsible government action on the local as well as the national level.

Let's make sure we understand each other. It is neither responsible nor compassionate to spend a city or a nation into bankruptcy.

I am going to say this quietly—[*laughter*]*—*I can assure you this President will never allow the doors of the United States Treasury to be flung open to every city with a hole in its fiscal pocket.

I suspect some of you know I spoke to this problem yesterday. I said that if the Federal Government goes on spending more than it has, providing more benefits and services than it can pay for, then a day of reckoning will ultimately come to Washington and to our entire country just as it has to New York City. And tonight let me ask each of you and all of you collectively the same ominous question I asked in Washington little over 24 hours ago. When that day of reckoning comes, who will bail out the United States?

Believe me, it is neither responsible nor compassionate to erode the value of people's hard-earned money through inflation by piling Government spending on spending, program on program without the revenues to pay for them. This is not compassion; this is pure and simple irresponsibility.

I know it, you know it, and 214 million Americans know it through the length and the breadth of this great country. And by this time next year we should make darn sure every responsible voter knows who did it and who didn't do it.

The message of the Republican Party and what it stands for must be carried to all of the American people. We must let people know that this is the party of openness, the Republican Party, an open party that insists on open government. And that is precisely what you are doing here in Wisconsin, and I congratulate

your legislative leaders. For the young and old, rich and poor, black and white, Independents, and discerning, and, yes, deserted Democrats—for all of these Americans and more, we have something in this great party to offer them.

We are the party of principles, not pessimism; the party of answers and solutions, not the disseminators of doubt and despair; the party of reason, responsibility, and restraint, not the party that purveys promises which can't be kept or programs which can't be achieved.

Responsibility—that is the key word, one we equate with Republicanism, and we have a record on this point that Republicans can stand on with pride.

But we are not only a party of principles, we are a party of people. And this magnificent demonstration here tonight proves it beyond any question. You can be missionaries in every one of the 71 counties in the great State of Wisconsin. You can say with conviction that principles can be converted into action only when they are supported by a majority of the people.

We must bring people and principles together across our land in Wisconsin and 49 other States. That is the answer to the pessimists, the doom pushers of today. We believe in people, and we believe in principles.

The Republican Party's goal is to unite the American people in the principles that made our Nation great over a period of almost 200 years.

In the first hundred years of our Nation's history, we developed a form of government that provided more liberty, more opportunity for more people than any nation in the history of mankind.

In the second hundred years of our Nation's history, we developed an industrial and agricultural capacity unmatched in the history of this great globe.

In our third century, we must dedicate ourselves to expanding the opportunity for freedom and liberty, individuality, yes, and the Republican Party can be the mechanism for that.

In 1976, together we can celebrate a great victory with those principles and those people, a joint victory—not merely for the party, believe me, but for the people of the United States.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:22 p.m. in Uihlein Hall at the Performing Arts Center. He was introduced by William Messinger, State Republican Party finance chairman.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to

State Senator Clifford W. Krueger, State Representative John C. Shabaz, Dorothy MacDonald, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Republican Women, and Reed Coleman, vice chairman of the Wisconsin President Ford Committee.

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**Remarks on Arrival at Jacksonville Naval Air Station,  
Florida. November 2, 1975**

*Admiral Green, Captain Bernstein, Mayor Tanzler, Senator Chiles, Congressman Burke, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

First, I am deeply grateful for the warm welcome by Admiral Green and all of you from the Jacksonville Naval Air Station. I am most appreciative, on behalf of Mrs. Ford and myself, that so many of you have come out on a Sunday on this occasion.

As all of you know, I am in the process of having further very important meetings with President Sadat of Egypt. It is quite interesting, in my judgment, that I am meeting this afternoon with a man who represents a country whose history goes back literally centuries and centuries and centuries.

And at the same time, I am in a part of our country where we have some contrast between the old and the new. Jacksonville is a relatively modern city, historically, and certainly a very progressive city in our development of our great country.

But not far from here we have the oldest city in the United States—St. Augustine. So, in a relatively small part of this great country, we have a history that goes back from the very beginning and a community that represents progress and tremendous enthusiasm and drive.

I believe this shows the diversity of America. And this diversity in this great country is one of our strengths as we meet the challenges both at home and abroad.

But we cannot, in this country, solve our problems at home or meet our commitments internationally if we don't have a strong national defense program. It is vitally important for peace that we have a national defense program second to none.

All of you at the naval air station in Jacksonville perform a great service in that regard. I know of the missions and responsibilities that you have here. You have the helicopter antisubmarine warfare unit that does a tremendous job. You have the long-range naval capability in the antisubmarine warfare area. You have nuclear-powered naval vessels.

This naval air station is a vital part of our total national security capability, and what you do here protects 214 million Americans. And on behalf of them, I thank you for your contribution.

A long, long time ago, I was a part of the Navy. I was very proud of that association for some 47 months. I learned a lot. I hope I contributed a little. But I know from firsthand experiences the trials and tribulations of serving in our uniformed services.

The men and women who serve do a superb job. But the wives and the children of men in service—Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard—are likewise making a great contribution, because I know of the sacrifices they make over the years in performing their part of this service. And I thank them for what I know they do.

Let me say, in conclusion, that the meetings that I am having today and the ones that I had earlier in the week with President Sadat relate to a better and more peaceful world. But I can go and have these discussions, these talks from a position of strength, and all of you are a very vital and important part of that strength.

So, it makes my job easier, it makes our country more secure to know that we have people like you serving in our national security forces.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to Rear Adm. Norman Green, USN, commander of the Jacksonville Naval

bases, and Capt. Karl Bernstein, USN, commanding officer of Jacksonville Naval Air Station.

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## Toasts at a Dinner in Jacksonville Honoring the President and President Sadat of Egypt. *November 2, 1975*

*Governor Askew, President Sadat:*

Let me express how deeply Mrs. Ford and I appreciate the opportunity of being here in your great State, Governor. And may I say that the warm welcome that the people of Florida, and particularly this area, have given to President and Mrs. Sadat is a true reflection of the character and the depth and the feelings of the people of Florida for one of our most distinguished guests.

I am grateful for your part in making this evening possible, because it is highly significant that our distinguished guest has come to your State at the conclusion of a very great trip to our country and to many parts of it.

Last Monday night it was my pleasure to host the distinguished President of Egypt and to indicate to him on that occasion how strongly the American people felt that his statesmanship and leadership had produced a tremendous result, a

milestone in the necessary steps toward a broad and permanent and just peace in the Middle East.

President Sadat and Mrs. Sadat have been warmly welcomed throughout our country in the 4 or 5 days that they have visited many parts of the United States. I indicated to President Sadat on Monday when he was in Washington that the American people were deeply grateful, most appreciative of his courage, his wisdom, his broad view, and his dedication to what was needed and necessary in the Middle East.

And I think, as you have traveled, President Sadat, in many parts of our country—New York, Chicago, Houston, and now in this great State of Florida—you have found in the American people a great diversity, but a great strength, and I am convinced that your visit here has been in the best interests of not only the Middle East but the world itself.

It has been a great and wonderful personal experience for me to know the President and to work with him over the past many months with the results that have been achieved. And I commend him for his continuing courage to move ahead in a momentum that is necessary and essential if we are to achieve the final peace, just and equitable to all, for the benefit of that area but primarily for the benefit of the world.

And so, may I ask that all of the guests of Governor Askew join with me in a toast to the President of Egypt and Mrs. Sadat.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 9:30 p.m. at the San Jose Country Club in response to a toast proposed by Florida Governor Reubin Askew, who hosted the dinner. President Sadat then responded to the President's remarks.

The remarks of President Sadat and Governor Askew follow:

PRESIDENT SADAT

*President Ford, Mrs. Ford, Governor Askew, Mrs. Askew:*

As my visit approaches its happy conclusion, I am pleased to say that we have been enjoying every minute of it. We find the American people warm, hospitable, and open-hearted. The beauty of nature here is matched and perhaps surpassed by the warm nature of the people.

One is reminded in many ways of the fact that Florida and Egypt fall on the same latitude. St. Johns River together with the Nile are the only rivers in the world that run north. Looking toward the horizon, I feel that the ocean and land ahead should be links of interaction and cooperation rather than elements of separation.

Mr. President, distinguished guests, it is our intention to strengthen the relations and intensify contacts with the American people in all fields. We believe that we both have much to gain from furthering our cooperation and deepening our friendship. There is a vast area of common interest. I believe that we both have much to gain from furthering and diversifying our relations in all fields. We will spare no effort to achieve that end.

President Ford, who is a great man with a genuine commitment to peace and friendship among nations, has contributed greatly to the promotion of peace in the Middle East and the stimulation of ever-growing ties of friendship between our two countries. I want him to know that the Egyptian people are very appreciative of his endeavors and determination to see that normalcy will reign in our area on the basis of a just and lasting peace so that the efforts, creative abilities, and talents would be directed toward the construction and well-being of its peoples.

I am sure that Mrs. Sadat shares with me that Egyptian people would warmly welcome President Ford and Mrs. Ford in their visit to our country in

the near future so that we can in our modest way reciprocate a part of your generosity and the friendly atmosphere which hovered over our visit since we have put foot on your land.

Mr. President, I want you to be sure that I enormously enjoyed our talks. They have been profound as they have been friendly and warm. I hope you agree with me that our contacts will go into history as a turning point in Arab-American relations.

Distinguished friends, I invite you to join me in a toast in honor of President and Mrs. Ford, to Governor and Mrs. Askew, and the prosperity and happiness of all the American people.

GOVERNOR ASKEW

We would like to welcome you here this evening. We hope that you have enjoyed yourself. It has been a distinct honor and a pleasure to have you with us.

President Sadat, President Ford, the State of Florida is deeply honored to be the host for two great leaders and to offer its hospitality for the important meetings which have taken place here today.

It is not often that this State, bestowed as it is with the beauty of land and sky, is a location of discussions whose consequences touch upon the

peace of the world. On this occasion Florida is justly proud of its role.

President Sadat, we are especially happy that you have had the opportunity to experience the warmth and good feeling of the people of Florida. We are very pleased to welcome an individual whose courageous efforts at pursuing the path to a negotiated peace in the Middle East are a matter of admiration to the American people as a whole. We hope that you will carry to the Egyptian people our warmest wishes and our hope for a peaceful conclusion to the conflict that has plagued the Middle East for almost 30 years. In your search for peace, sir, we wish you success.

To President Ford, it is a particular pleasure to welcome you to Florida again, sir. The purpose of your visit here is to pursue discussions which all of us hope will lead to a brighter future for the nations of the Middle East and for this country. Be assured of the respect and admiration the people of this State hold for your efforts to obtain a truly final and just settlement in the Middle East.

And now may I ask our guests to rise and join me in a toast. To a great leader and the new friend of the State of Florida, President Anwar Sadat, and to the President of the United States.

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## Interview With Television Reporters in Jacksonville. November 3, 1975

[Recorded November 2, 1975. Released November 3, 1975]

THE MIDDLE EAST

REPORTER. [1.] Mr. President, you have been meeting with President Sadat, and he has made it clear that the Palestinian problem is certainly one of the paramount ones to a Middle East settlement. We have heard very little about how high-ranking Americans feel about what justification, if any, the Palestinians have for asking or demanding a national state of their own. Would you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I would prefer to answer this way, if I might. The Palestinians do allege that they have certain rights, and they are insisting on participating, for example, at a Geneva conference or any overall conference. But they have refused to recognize the State of Israel. And we, of course, strongly back the

State of Israel in its attitude that there must be recognition before there can be any contact or any participation by the Palestinians in any negotiations.

Q. If recognition were forthcoming, would there be a possibility that land could be found to create a Palestinian state?

THE PRESIDENT. That, of course, would have to be decided in any overall settlement, and it seems to me that it would be inadvisable for me to pass judgment at this point on what terms of any overall settlement might be.

The parties who will actually do the negotiating are those parties within the area in an overall settlement. And it would be certainly inappropriate for me, under these circumstances, to make any comment. That is for them to negotiate.

Q. Mr. President, I am rather curious to know if you have given Mr. Sadat anything besides a warm welcome—nuclear reactors, perhaps?

THE PRESIDENT. There have been negotiations going on between the United States and Egypt for an American-made nuclear power facility, but I think those negotiations have not, at this point, reached a final decision. There may or may not be. I can assure you, if there is one, that there will be the most rigid safeguards, which I think are absolutely important, as far as how Egypt could use a nuclear reactor. But there hasn't been any final consummation. Negotiations are still going on.

Q. Being just a layman, I can't quite conceive of how you might restrict them from—once it is in their hands—using it for a military purpose, exploding something.

THE PRESIDENT. There are safeguards which are agreed to by practically every one of the reactor-producing nations—safeguards that are included certainly by us in any sale or grant to another country for an American-made reactor. I can assure you that this Administration, if and when we make any arrangements with any country, including Egypt, the most rigid safeguards, which are very technical, will be enforced.

I am told by technicians—I am not an expert myself in the technical way in which it is accomplished—there are very manageable safeguards which can preclude a nuclear reactor for civilian purposes being utilized for any military purpose.

Q. It is not just a matter of keeping their word?

THE PRESIDENT. No, there are technical capabilities that make it impossible to go from a civilian domestic utilization of a reactor to a military utilization. And we would insist under any and all circumstances, as we have in the past, for these very rigid safeguards.



## LYNETTE FROMME

[2.] Q. Mr. President, what can you tell us about your videotape testimony in the Lynette Fromme case? <sup>1</sup>

THE PRESIDENT. It would be very inappropriate for me to comment in any way whatsoever on my participation involving that matter.

Q. Can you tell us, sir, if you testified as to whether the trigger was pulled?

THE PRESIDENT. I respectfully must not answer that. I was admonished by the judge himself that any comment by me other than what I had made in my testimony would be very inappropriate.

## 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[3.] Q. Mr. President, the Florida Presidential primary is drawing very near, and there have been some comments lately to the effect that you are paying only token efforts in Florida and that you may, in fact, have written off the State to Ronald Reagan. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT. That is completely inaccurate. I have a very fine State chairman in Congressman Lou Frey, one of the outstanding Members in the House of Representatives. And I can assure you that I will be a participant—and an active participant—in the Florida primary.

Q. To what degree, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. The people on the President Ford Committee who have the responsibility for working out the details are in the process now, working, of course, with Lou Frey. I am not familiar with those details as of the moment, but the decision is firm and certain that I am coming down to be a participant in that Florida Presidential primary.

## VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[4.] Q. Mr. Frey also thinks that you should not have Vice President Rockefeller on your ticket next year. Can you indicate at this time, Mr. President, whether Mr. Rockefeller will be your running mate if you are the nominee?

THE PRESIDENT. I have said repeatedly and very firmly that at the proper time I will make that decision. In the meantime, I say with deep conviction that Vice President Rockefeller has done a superb job as Vice President. I picked him because I thought he was the best man for the job. He has performed beyond

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<sup>1</sup> The President's deposition was taken at 10 a.m. in Room 345 at the Old Executive Office Building on November 1, 1975. Present were Thomas J. MacBride, U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of California; John Virga, attorney for the defendant; and Dwayne Keyes, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of California, and Richard L. Thornburgh, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, who represented the prosecution.

any expectations that I had. He has been a great team player, and every job I have given him—and I have given him so many very important ones that I think he deserves great commendation. But as far as the Vice-Presidential nomination in 1976, I will make an announcement concerning that at the proper time.

Q. Sir, what would the proper time be?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly it would be some time in 1976.

Q. Before the convention?

THE PRESIDENT. I would assume so, yes.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

[5.] Q. Getting back to the Middle East, if harm were to come to any of the U.S. personnel who serve as monitors on the Egypt-Israeli line, would you consider that a national matter? Would you consider that we would have to retaliate or are these people so-called volunteers and not carrying the flag, as it were?

THE PRESIDENT. The number of technicians who will be in the warning stations will be civilians. They are highly qualified experts in a very sophisticated area. They will be fully protected. They will be in a United Nations zone. They will be separated either from the Israelis on the one hand or the Egyptians on the other. I am confident if any problem arose that we would have ample time to make certain of their safety.

I think it is interesting to make this observation. We now have, in very technical capacities, a very limited number of Americans who have been there in the last several years.

Q. Been where?

THE PRESIDENT. In the U.N. buffer zone in a nonmilitary capacity, a very limited number. The ones we are talking about for the Sinai will be performing a totally different function. But I think you have to bear in mind that the U.N. buffer zone has a very substantial number of military representatives from four countries who have the obligation of maintaining the integrity of the buffer zone. And our technicians, up to 200, will be in that buffer zone and under the protection of the United Nations. And I can't imagine any action taken by either Egypt or Israel that would jeopardize the Americans in that U.N. zone.

Q. How about our Americans in Beirut or elsewhere in Lebanon? Are you at all concerned about their potential safety if they don't all get out? How far would you go to protect them?

THE PRESIDENT. As you undoubtedly have read, we have advised Americans in the Embassy to return—I mean the dependents of the Americans in the

Embassy to return. And we have warned Americans in Beirut, particularly, that the situation is very serious and that they should leave, and the sooner the better.

Q. Would you send troops in, if necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't want to speculate on any action of that kind. I don't think it will be necessary. In the meantime, we are working with all parties—and it is a very confused situation in Lebanon. They have the Muslims, the Christians, the Palestinians. It is a very complicated situation. We have, in proper channels, sought to calm the various factions in an appropriate way, because we think it is tragic that a country like Lebanon is being torn apart by these riots that have gone on far too long and have been far too bloody. But I wouldn't speculate—I think it would be inadvisable—as to any action I might take. We urge the Americans, because of the tenseness of the problems, that it would be in their own best interest to leave at the present time.

#### UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION ON ZIONISM

[6.] Q. Mr. President, there is considerable feeling in south Florida that the attacks in the United Nations on Zionism as being racist are unfair and inaccurate—especially the Jewish community feels this way. Your guest here in Jacksonville, President Sadat, has made similar statements. How do you feel about these allegations, and what action will our Government take if the United Nations brands Zionism as racist?

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure you know Ambassador Moynihan has spoken out very strongly on this issue. I am sure you know that Secretary Kissinger has also spoken out emphatically. I issued a statement doing precisely the same.<sup>2</sup> So, this Administration is very, very much opposed to the resolution to which you refer. We are doing all we possibly can in the United Nations to defeat the resolution. We think it is contrary to the basic Charter of the United Nations. And if we can defeat it, which I hope we can, the matter will be resolved. And I am getting more and more optimistic that the possibility does exist, because it is fundamentally contrary to the United Nations Charter. What we will do if we lose is a matter that I will pass judgment on at that time. But I think on sober reflection that a majority of the members of the United Nations will recognize that that is not in consonance with the Charter of the United Nations.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[7.] Q. Mr. President, you said a few moments ago that you intend to fully participate in the Florida March Presidential primary. Congressman Frey has

<sup>2</sup> See Item 640.

said that despite attempts on your life—and he was quoted on this about 3 weeks ago—that you might be engaging in some door-to-door campaigning if security problems could be worked out. Do you think that is wise?

THE PRESIDENT. I saw Lou Frey's comment in that regard, and quite frankly, my own technique of campaigning—if that is the right word—is to meet people face to face. I think that is the way candidates ought to participate. Now, that is possible when you are running for a governorship or a senatorship or a Congressional race. Whether or not it is feasible for a President to do so under some of the problems we have faced in recent months may dictate that it shouldn't be done. But if I had my druthers, if I were to make the choice myself, I think there is a great deal of merit to it.

NEW YORK CITY

[8.] Q. On the New York City situation, sir, there has been some speculation lately that, because of pending legislation in Congress, you might have to accept a bill which would contain loan guarantees in order to get the bankruptcy law provisions you want or you would veto both. Can you conceive of being confronted with a situation like that, and if so, what would your actions be?

THE PRESIDENT. I was very forthright in the remarks I made last Wednesday that I would not accept any of the legislation that at that time was in one committee or another in the House as well as in the Senate. I still feel that way because I don't think those solutions are right on the fundamental issue of the relationship between the Federal Government, the States, and local units of government. I don't think it would solve the fundamental problem of getting New York City's financial matters under control.

I believe the best way for that to be done is the recommendation I made which was that if necessary—and I don't really assume it is necessary because I think the city and the State can still do certain things that would preclude it—but if necessary, we would have a new chapter in the Bankruptcy Act, Chapter XVI, as I recall, that would then turn the affairs over to a Federal court, and I think that is the right answer. If we are faced with the combination of something that is bad and something that is good, I will take a look at it, but the odds are, because I feel so strongly the other is not a right answer, that I would not look with favor on it.

Q. You said, sir, you would not bail out, financially, New York City. Would you permit, as far as you could control it, any Federal aid to New York City?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me set the proper perspective on this. The impression is created in some circles that the Federal Government has not been generous to

New York City. This current fiscal year, the budget for New York City is \$12.2 or \$12.3 billion. The Federal Government taxpayers from all over this country contribute 25 percent of that—over \$3 billion. So, the Federal Government has been very generous in its help and assistance over the years with the city of New York.

Now, I have said that if necessary, after default, that the Federal Government would find a way in conjunction with the court to provide essential services—fire, police, emergency hospital actions. I think that is essential to maintain the proper atmosphere in New York City. But I do not think that we should go in with a so-called bailout.

Now, you know, New York City has 8 million wonderful people, but they have been the victims of public officials who haven't been forthright with them over the years, and we have to find a mechanism to straighten out their sad fiscal affairs.

I believe my recommendation is the way to do it. It involves no Federal funding, if the right actions are taken by the city and the State. It involves the potential of some Federal assistance through the court, if necessary, for fire, police, and so forth.

Q. A lot of those 8 million persons, sir, are voters.

THE PRESIDENT. I think we have to—in this case it is so fundamental—look beyond any political consequences. This is a very fundamental issue, and I am trying to do what is right—right for the people of New York City, for whom I have nothing but great sympathy and compassion, and at the same time, preclude the encouragement of other local units of government of being as irresponsible as the case has been in New York City. So, we will not only have New York City but we will have 10 or 15 other communities. That is the real danger.

Then, if I might come back to this point, supposing we bail out New York City as some are recommending? Then you have a flood of other communities that have equal problems. In the final analysis, who is going to bail out the United States?

Q. Mr. President, at least one columnist thinks there is a great deal of hypocrisy in talking about money management in New York City. He points to the fact that there are a great many Federal programs that are as equally irresponsible and equally high spending. He sees a bit of divisiveness between criticizing New York on one hand and being part of a Federal Establishment that has spent up to the hilt on the other hand.

THE PRESIDENT. I couldn't agree with you more. And if you go back to my State of the Union Message in January of 1975, you will find that I said that

there had to be certain drastic action taken to control Federal expenditures. I said there must be a cutback in the growth of Federal spending, and I itemized a number of areas where that should be done. I called upon the Congress to take corrective action for that purpose. In my recommendations for a \$28 billion tax reduction and a \$28 billion reduction in the growth of Federal spending, I was saying the same thing.

We have got to stop the growth of Federal spending. If it isn't stopped, we will be engulfed. So, what we are trying to do in the Federal Government to stop the growth of Federal spending and to get our fiscal matters under control is exactly the same thing I am telling the city of New York it must do.

Q. Is there any bill that could come out to bail out New York that you would accept?

THE PRESIDENT. None, other than the one I recommended, because I think that is the only fundamental solution.

Q. But can there be a domino effect from default? Other cities are fearing to float municipal bond issues and, therefore, delaying or canceling projects and putting people out of work potentially.

THE PRESIDENT. It is very interesting, within the last week or 10 days two communities in the metropolitan area of Washington—not Washington, D.C.—floated municipal bond issues, got the best price they have gotten, I think, in the history of these communities.

Those communities that have been well run won't have serious problems. And let me add this point: There were all kinds of scare stories floated around that the bond market would collapse and the stock market would collapse. We had some advice from others—not only domestically but otherwise—that catastrophe might take place. The truth is the bond market had already discounted the possible implications of a New York City default. So, there was a minimal amount of disturbance in the bond market in New York City.

The real problem is a lot of people have—and primarily big investors—substantial amounts of New York City obligations, very high interest rates. They bought them in the open market. They gambled. They took a chance that New York City would become responsible fiscally. It was a bad deal, apparently. But they took a gamble under our society. And I just don't think you can ask the taxpayers throughout the United States to bail out people who had made investments in a free market of their own choice.

Q. What about banks and holding companies who have also big investments?

THE PRESIDENT. Should the taxpayers of the United States bail out the banking institutions in New York City or elsewhere? Should the taxpayers in Jack-

sonville or Tampa or Miami or anyplace else bail out the bankers who made an investment with their eyes wide open? I don't think so.

Q. Would there be any protection for the banks?

THE PRESIDENT. It is interesting on that point, because the city of Detroit went in default in 1933 or 1934. The city of Detroit had lots of obligations out. They renegotiated the payment period. They renegotiated, as I understand, the interest payments, and the city of Detroit straightened out its fiscal problems, primarily as a result of the Depression. And the net result was every investor in Detroit bonds was paid off.

It took a little more time. They got a little less interest, but everybody was paid off, and I think that is an example of what can be done. It was done in Detroit in the 1930's, and in other communities, I might add. I am told some in Florida went through the same problem of the 1920 boom and bust that followed.

People buy securities on a gamble, on a risk, and there is no reason why the taxpayers in other parts of the country should bail out those people who made those investments on their own choice. Nobody forced them to buy anything.

#### CUBA

[9.] Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that efforts toward détente with Cuba have been pushed aside until after the Florida primary. Is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT. That is not accurate. The situation in Cuba vis-a-vis the United States is one where we have repeatedly asserted that the Cuban people and the American people have had a long history of good relations, and there is no reason why there should be a permanent rupture of that relationship.

On the other hand, there is no sign yet that the Cuban Government has made any significant gesture as far as the United States is concerned. As a matter of fact, I was very upset with the Cuban action where they led the fight, so to speak, in trying to indicate that Puerto Rico should be independent of the United States.

I think that was harmful to any betterment of relations between the United States and Cuba. But I repeat that there is no reason why in the long run there shouldn't be a resumption of the good rapport between the Cuban people on the one hand and the American people on the other. But the governmental problems relate to more serious difficulties.

#### DRUG SMUGGLING

[10.] Q. Let me touch on one final thing that relates to Florida and its neighbors. The smuggling of drugs into Florida is on the increase, which seems to say

that the patrols are not effective. Do you have any alternate plan to solve drug smuggling?

THE PRESIDENT. The President's Domestic Council just received a report which makes certain recommendations. It is being circulated in the departments. And I am certain that report, with the recommendations of the departments affected, will come up with some proposals that will improve and better our handling of the smuggling of drugs in the United States.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[11.] Q. Mr. President, as you know, there are a great many Democrats who would like your job next year, and most of the talk seems to center on two particularly—Senators Humphrey and Kennedy. Do you have any predictions at this moment as to which, if it narrows down to those two, would be the Democratic nominee, and which you would prefer to run against if you are your party's nominee?

THE PRESIDENT. Some time ago, 4 or 5 months, as I recall, I forecast that Hubert Humphrey would be the Democratic nominee. I said that primarily because on or about that time Senator Kennedy had made a very categorical statement that he would not be a candidate. And I took him for what he said, when the words were very specific.

So, if you have the rest of the field, it seems to me that Hubert Humphrey is the most likely person to get the nomination. I know him; I like him. We have many differences, but I think that would be a good contest.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The interview began at 2:44 p.m. at the Deerwood Country Club. It was taped for broadcast on November 3. Participants included William D. Grove

of WJXT-TV, Jacksonville, Ron Hunter of WPLG-TV, Miami, Hugh Smith of WTVT-TV, Tampa, and Ben Aycrigg of WDBO-TV, Orlando.

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### Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on United States Participation in the United Nations.

*November 3, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to send to the Congress the 29th annual report on United States participation in the work of the United Nations.

This report, which covers the Calendar Year 1974, shows how U.S. national interests were affected by the work of the United Nations, its specialized agen-



cies and its special programs. It shows the many ways in which the United States utilized the United Nations to promote world peace, economic progress and social justice. It also shows that at times a majority, unfortunately, took decisions on important political and economic issues without taking into consideration the views of some of the nations most importantly involved.

During 1974, the Third Law of the Sea Conference in Caracas, the World Population Conference in Bucharest, and the World Food Conference in Rome all focused attention on worldwide problems that can be solved only by international cooperation. The United States made constructive contributions to all these conferences.

The report gives special attention to UN efforts designed with U.S. support:

- to keep the peace on Cyprus, in the Middle East and elsewhere;
- to strengthen international arms control and disarmament programs;
- to find a solution to the problem of world food shortages and maldistribution;
- to control population growth;
- to relieve the victims of natural and other disasters;
- to promote international economic and social development;
- to develop more effective procedures to protect human rights; and
- to improve the functioning of the United Nations itself.

Not all the work of the United Nations is cited in this report. Many UN activities of great importance to the United States do not make headlines. This is particularly true of the regular economic, social and service types of activities which account for the employment of more than 90 percent of total UN personnel and the expenditure of more than 90 percent of the funds made available by governments to the United Nations. For example, the World Weather Watch of the World Meteorological Organization, the worldwide smallpox eradication program of the World Health Organization, the work of the International Civil Aviation Organization and the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency—particularly its application of safeguards to nuclear fuel and the by-products of nuclear plants—all contribute to the safety, health and well-being of American citizens and those of other nations throughout the world.

Nevertheless, some of the actions taken by the United Nations in 1974 threaten to distort this positive thrust and make cooperation within the organization more difficult. There was, for example, a clash of interests between the industrialized nations and developing nations. This was particularly evident in the sixth special session of the General Assembly when the majority of developing countries

insisted on the adoption of a program of action for a “new international economic order” despite the serious reservations of the industrialized nations about its acceptability and even its workability. Other divisive actions included the invitation by the 29th General Assembly to the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate as an observer in the work of the organization, the discriminatory treatment accorded Israel by UNESCO and the improper suspension of South Africa from participation in the General Assembly. However, by the end of the year there were signs of a growing awareness of the dangers from confrontation and of a willingness to explore the possibilities of conciliation and compromise.

In this 30th anniversary year of the United Nations, the underlying purposes and principles of the Organization remain as valid as when they were first set forth in Article 1 of the UN Charter:

- to maintain international peace and security;
- to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
- to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character;
- to promote respect for human rights; and
- to harmonize the actions of nations.

Despite difficulties, I believe there has been progress toward achieving these purposes. The United States is seeking to promote cooperation among UN members and to discourage confrontation. In our increasingly interdependent world there is no practical alternative to cooperation, and if the United Nations continues on a course of confrontation this can only result in the serious weakening of that body. The United States, for its part, will stand firm in support of the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 3, 1975.

NOTE: The 478-page report is entitled “U.S. Participation in the UN, Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1974.”

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## The President's News Conference of November 3, 1975

### STATEMENT ANNOUNCING PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Good evening. I have several announcements to make tonight.

First, with respect to foreign policy and national security affairs: You will recall that when I became President a year ago last August, I indicated that I believed it was essential to guarantee stability and continuity in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. I made a conscious decision at that time not to change personnel in the important national security area. I have, however, made a number of significant changes in the Cabinet in the domestic area.

We have now successfully reassured our allies that the United States will stand firm in the face of any threat to our national interest and convinced potential adversaries that America will aggressively seek out ways to reduce the threat of war.

Therefore, I am tonight announcing several personnel changes which I believe will strengthen the Administration in the important area of national security affairs.

### SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

I intend to nominate Donald Rumsfeld as my new Secretary of Defense. Don has served with distinction as a Congressman from Illinois, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Director of the Cost of Living Council, and as Ambassador to NATO. For the past year he has been my senior White House Assistant and a member of my Cabinet. He has the experience and skill needed to help our country maintain a defense capability second to none.

The Nation owes Secretary Schlesinger a deep debt of gratitude for his able service to his country as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Director of the CIA, and as Secretary of Defense.

### ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Henry Kissinger has been serving with great distinction and success as Secretary of State and as my Assistant for National Security Affairs. Secretary Kissinger will relinquish his post as Assistant to the President to devote his full time to his important responsibilities as Secretary of State.

Brent Scowcroft, who has been serving ably for 3 years as Deputy Assistant at the White House, will move up to Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

For the past year George Bush has been U.S. Representative to the People's Republic of China. He has served with great skill as a Congressman and as Ambassador to the United Nations. It is my intention to nominate Ambassador Bush to be Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The CIA is one of our Nation's most important institutions. In recent months it has been the focus of some controversy. During this difficult period, Bill Colby, as Director of the CIA, has done an outstanding job of working with the Congress to look into and to correct any abuses that may have occurred in the past, while maintaining an effective foreign intelligence capability.

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Richard Cheney, who has been serving effectively as Deputy Assistant, will replace Don Rumsfeld as Assistant to the President and will take over his responsibilities for coordinating the White House staff.

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

In a separate area, I have one additional personnel announcement to make.

Some weeks ago, Secretary of Commerce Rogers Morton indicated to me that after the first of the year he would like to reduce the pace of his activities and resign his current position to return to the private sector.

Rog Morton has served with great distinction in the Congress, and in two Cabinet posts for the last 5 years. He has earned the respect of Americans everywhere. He has been a long and close personal friend. I am deeply grateful for his valuable service, and I will be calling on his assistance in the future.

Elliot Richardson will be nominated to become Secretary of Commerce. An able former Secretary of Defense, Secretary of HEW, and Attorney General, Mr. Richardson is presently serving as our Ambassador to Great Britain. I know he will do an important job in his new assignment.

I hope that the Senate will move rapidly to confirm my nominees for those positions which require confirmation.

Now, to the questions. Mr. Growald [Richard H. Growald, United Press International].

## QUESTIONS

## VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[2.] Q. Thank you, Mr. President, for your rundown on the personnel changes. There has been one other personnel change, or a suggested change today. And I wonder, in your estimation, Mr. President, has the Vice President, by his action today, sacrificed himself on your political behalf, and have you in any way urged him to do so?

THE PRESIDENT. The decision by Vice President Rockefeller was a decision on his own. He made the decision and delivered to me personally the letter that has now been published.<sup>1</sup>

The Vice President has done a superb job and will continue to do so in the months ahead. But under no circumstances was it a request by me. It was a decision by him.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. A follow-up question. Would you accept Governor Reagan or former Governor Connally as your running mate next year?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a long time, many months, to discuss and to think about that matter. I will give it my closest attention as to my running mate.

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<sup>1</sup>Earlier in the day the Vice President had presented a letter to the President at the White House. The text of the letter, dated November 3, 1975, and released by the Office of the Vice President, read as follows:

*Dear Mr. President:*

The time is virtually at hand when you will be firming up your program for the Presidential primaries, the Republican National Convention and the Presidential Campaign of 1976. Involving, as this must, difficult calculations, considerations and decisions, it will clearly help you in this task if the range of options is simplified at the earliest time.

As I have told you and the American people, I have been honored by your nomination of me as Vice President and by the approval of the Congress. In association with you in the months since that time, I have come to have the highest regard for your dedication to the Presidency and for your courage, resolution and forthrightness. Your friendship and that of Mrs. Ford mean much to Mrs. Rockefeller and myself.

My acceptance of the Vice Presidency, as you know, was based upon my concern to help restore national unity and confidence after the shattering experience of Watergate. Working under your leadership toward this goal has been challenging and rewarding as our basic institutions are surmounting the unprecedented crisis and the nation is returning to its regular elective presidential pattern next year.

Regarding next year and my own situation, I have made clear to you and to the public that I was not a candidate for the Vice Presidency, that no one realistically can be such, and that the choice of a Vice Presidential running mate is, and must be, up to the Presidential candidate to recommend to a national party convention.

After much thought, I have decided further that I do not wish my name to enter into your consideration for the upcoming Republican Vice Presidential nominee. I wish you to know this now for your own planning. I shall, of course, continue to serve as Vice President to discharge my Constitutional obligations and to assist in every way I can in carrying on to cope with the problems that confront the nation until the installation once again of a President and Vice President duly elected by the people of this great Republic.

Sincerely yours,

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

But we have got lots of time, and we will think about all of those alternatives as we move ahead and try to do the business of the Government.

Q. Mr. President, have you any commitment in your conversations with Governor Rockefeller that he will support you in 1976, or might he conceivably go off and seek the job himself?

THE PRESIDENT. Vice President Rockefeller has assured me categorically that he will support me in 1976.

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER

[3.] Q. Mr. President, we are told that not only have there been personnel changes in the area of foreign policy and national security matters but the decisionmaking process has been altered as well, that Secretary Kissinger now will have to share access to you on a regular basis with the new Defense Secretary and with Mr. Bush of CIA. That leaves a very strong impression that Secretary Kissinger's influence in both these fields has been substantially reduced. Is that a correct impression?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me state affirmatively that Secretary Kissinger has done a superb job as Secretary of State and as my Assistant for National Security Affairs. He will continue to handle the responsibilities of a foreign policy which I think has been not only successful but in the best interest of the United States.

There will be organizational changes, as I have indicated, and there will be closer liaison and cooperation as is necessary as we move ahead. But Secretary Kissinger will have the dominant role in the formulation of and the carrying out of foreign policy.

PERSONNEL CHANGES

[4.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us why Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Colby did not fit on your new team?

THE PRESIDENT. I think any President has to have the opportunity to put together his own team. They were kept on when I assumed office because I wanted continuity. But any President, to do the job that is needed and necessary, has to have his own team in the area of foreign policy. I believe the team that I have assembled, as I have indicated tonight, will do a first-class job.

Q. Mr. President, there are reports, though, sir, that Secretary Schlesinger was in conflict with your attitude on détente and with Secretary Kissinger's. Can you address yourself to that?

THE PRESIDENT. There were no basic differences. I wanted the team that I selected. And as President I think it is important that a President have that kind of a team on an affirmative basis. And I have it in Secretary Kissinger and in

Don Rumsfeld and Brent Scowcroft. I put it on the affirmative side that they are my choices and that we can work together effectively to carry out an effective foreign policy.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[5.] Q. Mr. President, you have said many times that Vice President Rockefeller along with you made a team that was one you liked and that you said there was no reason to break up that team. What I want to know is, did you urge him not to withdraw from the race for the Vice-Presidential nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. The Vice President came to me and indicated that what he said in the letter was his decision, and I accepted it.

Q. One other question on the Vice-Presidential race. Does the nomination of Donald Rumsfeld as Defense Secretary and the nomination of Mr. Bush as CIA Director, does that eliminate them as Vice-Presidential running mate possibilities?

THE PRESIDENT. They are first-class public officials. They have important responsibilities. I don't think they are eliminated from consideration by anybody—the delegates to the convention or myself.

FOREIGN POLICY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, would you be more specific and tell us exactly how the appointment of Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Bush to their new posts will strengthen your team in the area of foreign affairs?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have indicated that Ambassador Bush had been an Ambassador at the United Nations for 2 years. He has been in China for better than a year. He is a man of experience in public life as a Member of Congress. And Don Rumsfeld has had excellent service in the Congress. He has been in the White House for 14 months. He was in NATO. Don Rumsfeld has experience and the kind of working relationship with me that I think will be very helpful.

Q. Mr. President, if I could follow up, does this have any specific implication for policy?

THE PRESIDENT. I have indicated that in my judgment we have been very successful in the execution of foreign policy on behalf of the United States. We have achieved great success in the Middle East. We strengthened NATO. We have continued our relations on a good basis with the People's Republic of China. We are working with the Soviet Union in certain areas to relieve tension. The foreign policy of this country is in good hands. But I wanted a team that was my team, and this team of Kissinger and Rumsfeld, Bush and Scowcroft, gives to

me the kind of team that I think can carry out and execute a continuing, successful foreign policy.

DÉTENTE

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Schlesinger has expressed publicly some apprehension about détente. And I wonder if you can give us some assurance that the United States is getting at least as much out of it as the Soviet Union is?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me assure you that my record in the Congress and as Vice President and as President has been one of strength in national security affairs, in international relations. I believe that in our attempt to ease tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, we have achieved a two-way street, and I believe that the policy that I will follow, the team that I have, will continue that policy in the future.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[8.] Q. Mr. President, would you expect, sir, that the Central Intelligence Agency, under Ambassador Bush's tenure, would continue to have the same relationship with the Congressional investigation as during Mr. Colby's period in office?

THE PRESIDENT. The Central Intelligence Agency will continue its policy of notifying the responsible committees in the Congress as to developments. They have done it in the past; they will continue it in the future. I can see no change in the relations of the Central Intelligence Agency with the Congress under Mr. Bush different from what they have been under Mr. Colby.

Q. Specifically, sir, as the Church committee continues its investigation, your instructions to Mr. Bush would be to cooperate fully with that investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. I have given that word to Mr. Colby. He has carried it out in a very responsible way, and Mr. Bush will continue that policy.

Mr. Sperling [Godfrey Sperling, Jr., *Christian Science Monitor*].

PERSONNEL CHANGES

[9.] Q. Mr. President, how do you make a high-level personnel shift of this kind, such a fast shift? Did you ask for suggestions, or did you do this largely on your own?

THE PRESIDENT. I did it totally on my own. It was my decision. I fitted the pieces together, and they fitted excellently. It was my decision.

Q. With Mr. Rumsfeld, who is involved in your decision, would he have had any input into the overall decision?

THE PRESIDENT. He did not.



## VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[10.] Q. Could you tell us, Mr. President, when you and Mr. Rockefeller first discussed his withdrawal and what reasons he gave you for it other than what he stated in his letter?

THE PRESIDENT. The letter speaks for itself. I don't think I should amplify it. And the accompanying statement, which was agreed to between him and myself, indicates our personal views. I don't think we have to go beyond the letter or the joint statement.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Kole [John W. Kole, Milwaukee Journal].

## GEORGE BUSH AND DONALD RUMSFELD

[11.] Q. Mr. President, will these changes that you have made, do you feel, give you a more directly responsive intelligence community than you have had hitherto. In other words, do you feel your putting Mr. Bush and Mr. Rumsfeld in these two important positions gives you a more direct control over the intelligence community than it has been previously?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Bush and Don Rumsfeld are long personal friends of mine. I have known of their fine record. I have an excellent relationship with them. I am certain that they will contribute very significantly. And these are my guys and the ones that I wanted. And I hope and trust that their confirmation will be quick in the United States Senate.

## FURTHER PERSONNEL CHANGES

[12.] Q. Mr. President, when do you expect to fill the vacancies—the Ambassadorship vacancies—in London and in Peking. And do you plan any further changes in your campaign committee?

THE PRESIDENT. We have not addressed the questions of replacements for Mr. Bush or Mr. Richardson, and I have no specific changes in mind at the President Ford Committee. In due time there will be a person to succeed David Packard.

Q. There will be no change at the top, sir—Mr. Callaway?

THE PRESIDENT. I have indicated what the changes are.

## STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

[13.] Q. Mr. President, the Pentagon and Secretary Schlesinger have been less than enthusiastic about the Administration's SALT policies. Can we expect

<sup>2</sup> The joint statement, as released by the Vice President's press office, read as follows:

The President and the Vice President have a complete understanding between them regarding the Vice President's decision. The letter speaks for itself. The initiative was the Vice President's.

to see an acceleration toward an agreement now that this power shift has occurred?

THE PRESIDENT. The Defense Department, Secretary Schlesinger and the others, were very forthcoming and very strong in endorsing the agreement that I reached at Vladivostok. They wholeheartedly agreed with the decisions that were reached there. We expect to continue to pursue, but not under any pressure, negotiations with the Soviet Union in strategic arms limitations. We have differences. But I think it is in the national interest for us to continue to work toward a SALT II agreement. But we are under no time pressure to do so.

Q. But you do see the possibilities for a second-stage agreement, then?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it would be in the national interest if we can get mutual concessions by the Soviet Union on the one hand and by us on the other.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

[14.] Q. Mr. President, if you were Mr. Brezhnev, how would you analyze the removal of an American Secretary of State who is known for his advocacy of a strong national defense, possibly a stronger national defense than his rivals in the bureaucracy?

THE PRESIDENT. I think you misstated "Secretary of State" at the outset.

Q. Right.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let me say very emphatically there is no one in this Government more emphatic for a strong national defense and the maintenance of our own national security than myself, Secretary Kissinger, and Don Rumsfeld, and many others who I could mention by name. From the top on down, we believe in strong national defense. And we have sought to implement it, and we need some more help in the Congress. I won't speculate on what Mr. Brezhnev might feel concerning these changes.

Q. Have you possibly been in contact with him directly or indirectly to explain what they mean, to leave no misunderstanding on his part?

THE PRESIDENT. We have not.

#### PERSONNEL CHANGES

[15.] Q. Mr. President, with all due respect, sir, you have been talking about your desire to make your own team, but in fact, you have replaced half the team and you haven't replaced the other half. Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Scowcroft are really part of someone else's team whom you have elected to

keep. It seems to me that you really haven't answered the question: What did Secretary Schlesinger do wrong that you didn't like?

THE PRESIDENT. I have affirmatively answered the question by saying that I wanted my own team, and I am keeping Secretary Kissinger because I think he has done an outstanding job in the field of foreign policy.

I wanted a change in the Defense Department because I wanted, in that case, a person that I have known and worked with intimately for a long period of time, a person who is experienced in the field of foreign policy and who served in the Department of Defense as a naval aviator. The President has the right and I believe ought to have the team with him that he wants to carry out the policies in the national interest. And the team I have selected will do so.

#### RONALD REAGAN

[16.] Q. Mr. President, how worried are you about Ronald Reagan?  
[*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I am not worried about any competitor, Democratic or Republican.

#### PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

[17.] Q. Much of the criticism of your travel has been directed at the idea that you are greatly concerned about a challenge from your right, and that is why you have been to California three times. I was wondering if you feel that criticism is justified?

THE PRESIDENT. It's ridiculous.

Yes, Tom [Thomas M. DeFrank, *Newsweek*].

#### PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

[18.] Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that the China trip is being reduced from a possible 5 or 6 days in China to 3 or possibly 4 days. Is that so, and if so, why?

THE PRESIDENT. For a long period of time, Mr. DeFrank, we have had tentative plans to visit the People's Republic of China. Secretary Kissinger was there several weeks ago. As far as we are concerned, those trip plans are still on, and the length of the trip will be decided in the negotiations between Secretary Kissinger and the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic. And I don't think there is any significance in the areas that you have raised.

Q. Mr. President, hasn't there been a good deal of debate between Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Rumsfeld and others about the advisability of adding stops to

that trip. And haven't the Chinese indicated that they would not be particularly happy if you did add some stops to that trip?

THE PRESIDENT. As far as I know, the answer to your question is no.

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER

[19.] Q. Several Members of the Senate are concerned that Secretary Kissinger will still have total domination of foreign policy in part because your national security adviser, General Scowcroft, is regarded as a Kissinger man. Now how do you answer that criticism?

THE PRESIDENT. I have known Brent Scowcroft intimately for the last 14 months. I have been tremendously impressed with his experience and capabilities. I know that he speaks an independent mind. I know it personally. So, I don't think that criticism is valid.

Q. Can you explain what you mean when you say that Secretary Kissinger will have a dominant role in the foreign policy sector?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, a Secretary of State—that's his responsibility.

Q. In a military role, will Mr. Rumsfeld have the dominant role?

THE PRESIDENT. That is the responsibility of the Secretary of Defense.

NEW YORK CITY

[20.] Q. Mr. President, on another subject, if I may, sir, are you still convinced, sir, that the city of New York does not have to default? And if so, do you plan to call Mayor Beame and Governor Carey here to tell them your reasons—the reasons why you think New York can avoid default?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that New York City can avoid default. They can take stronger action than they have taken. I believe the State of New York can take stronger action to be of assistance to the city of New York. This is a matter that can be, with forthright action, taken care of in the city or the city with the cooperation of the State. I hope they will, and if they don't, I believe then the proper action to be taken is that which I publicly stated last Wednesday.

Q. Mr. President, in the event that they do not, Mr. President, are you still convinced that there will be no domino effect on the American and the world financial markets?

THE PRESIDENT. Absolutely. I have verified that with a number of experts within and without the Government. And there is no probability, no serious probability that there will be any national repercussions. And I am convinced that the market has already discounted the possibility of any financial problems

in New York City. And I think the actions of the last 3 or 4 days verify that correct assumption.

SENATOR HUGH SCOTT

[21.] Q. Mr. President, there are persistent reports that Hugh Scott is under consideration for appointment to Peking. Can you say if you are thinking about him?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said a moment ago, we haven't thought about replacements for George Bush and Elliot Richardson. I can say this, that Hugh Scott is a great student of Chinese culture and history. He has been to China on a number of occasions. But I have not had an opportunity to focus in on the replacement for Mr. Bush.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[22.] Q. Mr. President, did Vice President Rockefeller decide to step aside either because of differing views with you over the New York financial situation or to give you a greater degree of maneuverability as you move politically toward the nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. Our differences over the handling of New York City are minimal, as I said once before. The difference is his interpretation of what might be the money market reaction if and when New York City defaults. Those differences are a matter of judgment. Certainly he did not take the action that he did because of that difference.

I think the letter speaks for itself and I greatly respect his judgment in all matters. And I have been proud to have him on the team, and he will continue to do a first-class job in many important responsibilities.

Q. Mr. President, does that mean, sir, that he did decide to step aside in order to give you a greater degree of maneuverability? The letter does not explain why he decided to step aside.

THE PRESIDENT. I think that he will have to answer that. I think the letter in effect answers your question. But if you want to pursue it further, you should do it with him.

PERSONNEL CHANGES

[23.] Q. Mr. President, we were told this morning after your meeting with Mr. Rockefeller that you were in an exceptionally good mood. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I have been in a good mood all day.

Q. I suggest perhaps a feeling of relief. I wonder if you could tell us in your own words what your feelings are now and were then?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that the decisions that I have made and the announcements that I have made officially give to me the people and the team and organizational structure to continue to carry out an affirmative, successful foreign policy on a global basis and to keep our national security forces second to none. I, therefore, feel very pleased with the acceptance on the part of individuals for these new responsibilities. They are important, not for me, but primarily for the country.

## 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[24.] Q. Mr. President, you recently have had two resignations—

THE PRESIDENT. Now, don't make a speech, Wally [Walter Rodgers, Associated Press Radio]. [*Laughter*]

Q. No, sir. You recently have had two resignations from your campaign committee, and some of your aides have said you are having problems in your primary organization, especially in New Hampshire and perhaps Florida. I was wondering, is your campaign in trouble?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it is. I was in Florida yesterday and talked to Lou Frey. He is very encouraged. We have some very encouraging news about the organization in New Hampshire. I am very happy about it.

Q. Could you tell me, please, the basis for your optimism going into the election year? Why are you confident that you will not only be your party's nominee, beating Reagan, and why you will beat the Democrats?

THE PRESIDENT. You couldn't have asked a better question, Wally. I am happy and I am optimistic about the nomination and the election because I am convinced the American people feel that we have been successful in foreign policy—the Middle East, Europe, et cetera. I am convinced that we are well on the road to a good economic situation in 1976. So, when you combine peace and prosperity, any incumbent President ought to be very happy.

## PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT

[25.] Q. Mr. President, you will be concluding talks with Egyptian President Sadat on Wednesday. Can you tell us whether the President will be going home with a commitment—or what he thinks is a commitment—for future military aid for his country?

THE PRESIDENT. The final decisions in these areas will be made on Wednesday and properly announced. We have had very successful negotiations, but I think it is premature for me to make any announcement at this time on those matters.

## VICE-PRESIDENTIAL RUNNING MATE

[26.] Q. Mr. President, with Vice President Rockefeller out of the picture for 1976, you have indicated that you don't want to give us a name tonight, but maybe you will give us some kind of an idea as to what kind of qualities you will be looking for in your Vice-Presidential running mate. Specifically, are there any parameters with regard to age, political philosophy, what region of the country he comes from? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. There will be plenty of time for me to think about and discuss with others the answer to the question that you have asked, and it is certainly premature for me to make any comment at this time in that very important area.

## VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[27.] Q. Mr. President, in addition to the differences you mentioned between yourself and Vice President Rockefeller, did he talk to you at all about the effect of your position against aid to New York and other cities on your campaign for next year?

THE PRESIDENT. He has not.

## SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER

[28.] Q. Mr. President, you gave no indication of exactly what you were unhappy with in terms of the dual roles of Secretary Kissinger. He has stated publicly that he considers those dual roles of great importance to the execution of foreign policy.

THE PRESIDENT. I indicated that the team I put together will affirmatively satisfy the way I want an organizational structure set up. That is the way I wanted it, that is the way it is, and I think it will work effectively.

Q. Another question in that regard, Mr. President. There have been charges that the Secretary is stretched too thin or that by having the dual roles he is able to have an undue influence over the course of foreign policy. Were those problems?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't like to answer speculative comments or rumors. I have done what I did because I, as President, wanted the organization and the people that I have selected. That is the answer to the question.

## PERSONNEL CHANGES

[29.] Q. Mr. President, why has it taken you 15 months to form your team and set up your structure in national security and foreign affairs?

THE PRESIDENT. I felt it was very important at the outset because of the unusual circumstances under which I became President to have continuity, to have stability in the area of national security and foreign policy. That was absolutely essential. And as a result of that we continued a successful foreign policy.

As time went on I felt that in this area once we had confirmed with our allies our assurances, once we had confirmed with our potential adversaries that we were in a position to continue a relaxation of tensions, that then I could select, without any rupture of those relations, the kind of people, the individuals that I wanted to work with very, very intimately. And I have so selected.

Q. To follow up with a slightly repetitious question: Are you saying and intending to be understood to say that neither personal nor policy differences between Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Schlesinger contributed to this change?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

FRANK CORMIER [Associated Press]. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

NOTE: President Ford's twenty-first news conference began at 7:30 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

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### **Statement on Departmental Consumer Representation Plans.** *November 4, 1975*

THIS MORNING I received an interim report from Virginia Knauer and Jim Lynn on the status of the Departmental Consumer Representation Plans. I am pleased with the progress made to date.

Last April, as you may recall, I requested each of the departments and agencies in the executive branch to analyze their entire decisionmaking process to determine where additional consumer input might be helpful in making Federal agencies more responsive to the needs of the American consumer.

The plans developed by these departments and agencies will be published this month in the Federal Register. Following publication, there will be a major effort to disseminate copies of these plans to all interested consumers as well as other interested groups.

So there will be no delay, however, in this effort to open up to the public the decisionmaking processes of the executive branch, I have instructed each department and agency to move ahead at once on putting these plans into effect. Adjustments can be made later as circumstances warrant.



In January we intend to hold public meetings in at least 10 cities across the country to explain how these plans work for the benefit of consumers and to seek suggestions and ideas for ways to make the departments and agencies of the Federal Government more effective and responsive to public concerns.

I am convinced we can resolve by better administration what Congress is attempting to accomplish by new laws and a costly new Government agency. The steps we have taken *will* prove to be responsive to the needs of the American consumer and the concerns of the American public.

NOTE: The statement was released following the President's meeting at 10:15 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House with the heads of Federal departments and agencies. Virginia H. Knauer,

Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, and James T. Lynn, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, also participated in the meeting.

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**Letter to the Chairman and Members of the Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities. *November 4, 1975***

[Dated October 31, 1975. Released November 4, 1975]

I AM writing to urge the Select Committee not to make public the report on the subject of assassinations which I understand is currently in preparation. Reviews of the Select Committee's draft assassination report by officials of the Departments of State and Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency, who examined it at the request of your Committee, have been submitted to me by the heads of those departments and the agency. Under separate cover, I am providing these classified reviews for your consideration. Their substance was previously communicated to the Select Committee staff by the reviewing officials. I also want to offer my views on this matter and appeal to the Committee not to release this report publicly.

It is my opinion that public disclosure now of information I provided to the Senate Select Committee concerning allegations of political assassination activities of the United States Government will result in serious harm to the national interest and may endanger individuals.

As I stated publicly when the allegations were published, the very idea that any person or organization within the United States Government could consider assassination as an acceptable act is abhorrent. I know you share this view and a determination to make certain that such deeds will not take place in the future.

To facilitate legitimate investigation of allegations related to assassination, I have endeavored to make available all the materials in the Executive Branch on this subject to the Select Committees of the Senate and the House and the Department of Justice. This was done under procedures designed to serve the national interest. The materials were turned over in classified form. You will recall that I said on June 9, 1975:

“I know that the Members of the Congress involved will exercise utmost prudence in the handling of such information.”

It is not a question of withholding information required by the Select Committee to carry out its inquiry into these allegations which relate entirely to past Administrations of both parties. On the contrary, I have endeavored to make all of the information available to your Committee so that legislation can be proposed, if necessary, and to the Justice Department to facilitate any investigation indicated. However, we must distinguish between disclosure to the Select Committee of sensitive information and publication of that information which is harmful to the national interest and may endanger the physical safety of individuals.

There is no question about access to these materials by appropriate officials. The only issue concerns publication which obviously cannot be limited to Members of Congress and other American citizens.

Public release of these official materials and information will do grievous damage to our country. It would likely be exploited by foreign nations and groups hostile to the United States in a manner designed to do maximum damage to the reputation and foreign policy of the United States. It would seriously impair our ability to exercise a positive leading role in world affairs.

I am convinced that publication at this time will endanger individuals named in the report or who can be identified when foreign agents carefully study it. I am sure none of us want such an unfortunate result. I urge that we avoid any action that would bring it about.

I have sought to balance the competing interests involved in this matter. I made relevant intelligence information and documents available to the appropriate Committees of Congress and the Department of Justice. However, to protect our national defense and ability to conduct foreign affairs as well as the traditional American right of individual privacy, I have provided most of this information in classified form.

There can be legislation, if deemed necessary, and prosecutions, if warranted. But let us do this without the damage to the United States, which will occur

if this information is made available to actual and potential enemies of the United States.

For the reasons set out above, I appeal to you and your colleagues on the Senate Select Committee to oppose publication of this report on alleged assassination activity.

I am sure the Select Committee will recognize the enormous responsibility it has to see to it that serious damage will not result to the United States by the publication of this report and will recognize also the duty which I have to emphasize the disastrous consequences which can occur by publication.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Senators Frank Church, John Tower, Philip A. Hart, Walter F. Mondale, Walter D. Huddleston,

Robert Morgan, Gary Hart, Howard H. Baker, Jr., Barry Goldwater, Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., and Richard S. Schweiker.

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## Message to the Congress Transmitting the District of Columbia Budget for Fiscal Year 1976. *November 5, 1975*

### *To the Congress of the United States:*

I am today transmitting for your consideration the budget of the District of Columbia for fiscal year 1976 and for the transition period July 1, 1976, through September 30, 1976.

This budget is the first prepared by the city government in full exercise of its powers under the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act. It reflects the results of a constructive city budget process which included participation by many District citizens. As such, this Home Rule budget represents a cornerstone of responsible city government and confirms the strength of a Federal-local partnership in the administration of Washington, D.C.

This budget also carries the Nation's Capital and the District community through the peak of our Nation's Bicentennial observance. I urge the Congress to review these proposals with the knowledge that Washington will be a focal point for the national celebration and that the city will be visited by greater numbers of American and foreign visitors than ever before. At the same time, residents of Washington, who also take pride in their own community, plan

local observances just as other cities do across the country. It is, therefore, important that the Congress act promptly on the District Budget for 1976.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 5, 1975.

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**Memorandum on Measures To Meet Natural Gas Shortages.**  
*November 6, 1975*

*Memorandum for Members of the Energy Resources Council*

*Subject: Coordinating Near-Term Natural Gas Activities*

Last May, the Federal Energy Administration was given responsibility for leading an interagency effort to develop policy recommendations to deal with projected natural gas shortages for this winter. In August, I approved recommendations from the ERC, including proposed legislation and administrative actions.

I have asked Frank Zarb, in his capacity as Executive Director of the Energy Resources Council, to assume responsibility for coordinating efforts of the agencies represented on the Energy Resources Council concerned with expected natural gas shortages. I also have asked that the activities of ERC agencies be conducted in close cooperation with those of the Federal Power Commission.

I trust each of you will extend to him and to the interagency task force he has established full cooperation on this critical and urgent matter.

GERALD R. FORD

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**Exchange With Reporters on Departure From Westover Air Force Base, Massachusetts.** *November 7, 1975*

HOW ARE you all? It is nice to see you. I have a couple of minutes here if you want to ask a question or two.

REPORTER. Mr. President, we have really got a State that is concerned about jobs, about a 16-percent unemployment. Do you see any possibility of the Government as an employer of last resort, especially in the Northeast, which has been pretty hard hit?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a number of programs, the CETA program for public service employment. We have a number of other training programs. And as the economy moves up—and it is moving up and getting stronger and healthier—I think we will find a downward trend in unemployment in Rhode Island, in Massachusetts. In my own State of Michigan, we are making real headway. In the meantime I think we will have the kind of programs that are helping in many, many instances in places like Springfield.

Q. Mr. President, would you see the money running out, though, by June?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, no. The appropriation for the CETA program, if the Congress appropriates what I have recommended, will fully fund the program through June 30 of next year.

Q. Mr. President, would you consider a woman Vice President?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course I would.

Q. Mr. President, there is an impression, with the changes in your Cabinet, that Dr. Kissinger is being moved out of the national security area and being restricted only to the foreign policy area. Is that a correct reading?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't hear the last part.

Q. That Dr. Kissinger is being moved out of the national security area pretty substantially and being restricted to the foreign policy area at the State Department.

THE PRESIDENT. Dr. Kissinger will continue to have great influence in the overall strategy that we have on a worldwide basis. As Secretary of State, as an active member of the National Security Council, he will have tremendous influence. But we will also have an input from other sources—the Secretary of Defense, head of the CIA. It is a combination of high-ranking people, each with specific responsibilities. And the recommendations will come to me, and I will make the final decisions.

Q. Sir, doesn't that represent some diminution though of Dr. Kissinger's influence?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't think so. He will have a very great influence, and he has, and he will. But there is also other voices that have to contribute to the recommendations that come to me, and those voices will be heard as well.

Q. Mr. President, who do you see as a possible running mate in '76?

THE PRESIDENT. We have got a wide variety of fine potential candidates, and I couldn't take all the time to name them, they are all so good and there are so many of them.

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m.

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**Address in Boston Before the New England Council.***November 7, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Ed King. Mr. Stotz, distinguished Governors, my former colleagues in the Congress, Congressmen Silvio Conte and Margaret Heckler, members of the New England Council, my old and very dear friend, the former Speaker of the House, John McCormack, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am honored to be with you at the 50th anniversary meeting of the New England Council, marking a half a century of regional progress. Your council has generated many instances of mutual cooperation that typify the Yankee spirit of practical problemsolving. New England has had its ups and downs since this organization was founded, but hopefully we have started on another up, not only for New England but for the entire country.

The presence here today of six distinguished Governors—my good friends Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts, Governor Grasso of Connecticut, Governor Longley of Maine, Governor Noel of Rhode Island, Governor Salmon of Vermont, and Governor Thomson of New Hampshire—is an added pleasure. I have met with your Governors in Washington and individually on my various visits to your beautiful States for Bicentennial and other purposes. I have tried to educate myself about their problems and can assure you that each and every one of them has been a very vigorous instructor.

While the problems of each State are different, even in New England which has preserved its very unique identity since colonial times, the existence of this council is proof of how many problems that you have in common. You demonstrate the advantages of dealing with them with common resources and old-fashioned common sense. You provide a showcase of cooperation that other parts of our country can envy.

Of the many topics that I might discuss with you that are of particular importance to New England, I am strongly tempted to speak of taxation in the immediate vicinity of Boston Harbor where American patriots first demonstrated what to do about excessive and unfair taxes with deeds and not words. Federal taxes are too high, and as you know, I have proposed a \$28 billion tax reduction for the next year, providing Congress will couple with it a \$28 billion reduction in the growth of Federal spending.

Congress seems a little cool to my proposal, some preferring a cut in taxes without reducing a \$50 billion growth in spending. But I would make this non-

partisan observation to the descendants of the participants in the Boston Tea Party: If they won't do anything about your taxation, maybe you ought to do something about your representation.

I could also talk about energy and the economy, because they are inseparable and both are acute problems in this particular area. It has been my continuous effort to keep the unique situation of New England in mind as we endeavor to reduce our national dependence on unreliable foreign oil.

New England has a unique energy problem in your dependence on oil for heat and for power. It is my hope that you can take a new look at the bill I recently submitted for a Federal energy independence authority. It would help New England, especially by supplementing and encouraging private capital investment to meet your growing energy needs.

New England's proposal for an energy research and development institute is being closely studied, and I am impressed with your plans to tap such alternative energy sources as solar, wind, ocean thermal gradients, waves, and tides.

I believe New England should support natural gas deregulation. While New England does not consume much natural gas, it has much to lose by keeping prices artificially low in interstate commerce. Your traditional New England industries such as paper, leather goods, textiles, electronics, and plastics are highly energy-intensive. But the high cost of oil and electricity is steadily driving these industries out of your region. Industry is moving where gas is abundant and relatively cheaper although uncontrolled.

Although most economic indicators suggest that we have already been on the road to recovery for 6 months, I recognize that such statistics are small comfort to Americans who are still without work in areas of high unemployment such as New England and my own State of Michigan. We must not allow a resurgence of inflation which robs both the employed and the jobless. I am determined to keep inflation under control by every means possible, including my veto power over inflationary Federal spending.

But I have decided to talk about another topic, one of supreme importance to all Americans and indeed to the world, that is, the national security posture and policy of the United States as I see it.

It is entirely appropriate to discuss defense in New England, in Massachusetts, in Boston, because it was here that Americans first took up arms in defense of their personal liberties and their national independence.

My last visit here was on the 200th anniversary of the signal from the Old North Church to Paul Revere and his companions who carried the warning to embattled farmers of Lexington and Concord. I said then and I say now,

from a nation virtually alone, America is now allied with many free nations in common defense. World leadership was thrust upon America and we have assumed it. In accepting that role, the United States has assumed responsibility from which it cannot and will not retreat. Free nations need the United States, and we need free nations.

The national security policy of this country—long a solid, nonpartisan policy and the policy which I have supported all of my life, some 25 years in the Congress—is that weakness invites war, that strength is the only sure foundation for peace, and that America, in concert with our allies, must maintain a defense capability second to none. That policy has not changed and will not change.

I reiterate this policy because there has been some criticism and speculation, following my announcement on Monday of several new appointments among my top national security advisers, that such personnel changes signal a policy change by the United States in this extremely important and sensitive area. I want to be absolutely sure that these domestic political potshots are not “heard round the world.” Our allies and our adversaries must not be confused and misled. There will be no change in my lifelong devotion to America’s strength and vigilance as we seek a safer and saner world.

There is not now, there never has been, and there will not be, as long as I am President, any softness or weakness in the Administration on the subject of national defense of the United States and its vital security interests both at home and abroad.

Among the new members of the Administration team are Don Rumsfeld, whose dedication to a strong defense policy was amply demonstrated in the Congress and as our Representative in NATO, and George Bush, who was born in Connecticut and now holds an extremely sensitive post as head of our mission in Peking. Your own former lieutenant governor and attorney general, Elliot Richardson, who has served as Secretary of Defense, himself will become Secretary of Commerce.

Most significantly, when the United States Senate confirmed Ambassadors Rumsfeld, Bush, and Richardson for key policy posts in the area of foreign policy at NATO, the United Nations, and the United Kingdom, it was without a dissent. I look for their early confirmation to their latest posts of duty and of service to their country. They will be strong, they will be tough, and they will be true to the highest interest of all the people of the United States.

The policy which this Administration has followed and will follow in the future is consistent, clear, and unchanged. Let me discuss the elements of this policy with you.



History teaches one unavoidable lesson—and I have listened to my dear friend John McCormack speak like this for a good many years—no nation can preserve its national interests unless it can defend them. In an era of ballistic missiles and nuclear warheads, when weapons bridge continents in minutes, America's defense requires the utmost of our industrial skills and technological genius. The time when America could spend 1 or 2 years gearing up for war is gone forever. Today our security, our prosperity, indeed the very survival of the ideals for which this country stands, depends upon our ability to counter any potential aggressor on little more than a minute's notice.

In my years of Government service, I have been second to none in my firm and consistent support for a powerful national defense. As Congressman, Vice President, and as President, I have resisted the powerful economic and political pressures to cripple our defense budget. You can be certain I have just begun to fight. America's Armed Forces today are second to none. And I will take whatever steps are necessary to see that they remain second to none.

I am worried—and you should be worried—about the defense situation in the Congress today. Last January I submitted a defense budget calling for \$97.8 billion in fiscal year 1976. The House of Representatives cut this by \$7.6 billion. The Senate Appropriations Committee has voted to restore only \$564 million out of this cut. Under the most optimistic circumstances, there could be a reduction in our defense budget of more than \$7 billion.

In my judgment, that big a reduction is far too much. If the United States is going to remain strong, it will require the cooperation of the Congress. I deplore what the Congress has done to the defense budget to date, and I urge that the Senate restore the essential funds that the Defense Department has deemed vital to our national security. It is not just this year's cuts that worry me. Let's look at the trend.

Ten years ago, expenditures for defense represented 41 percent of the total Federal budget. Five years later, it was 36 percent. For the fiscal year 1976 budget, this current fiscal year, defense represents approximately 27 percent. As defense expenditures go down as a percentage of total Federal expenditures, domestic spending programs have gone up—a bigger percentage of Federal outlays.

Defense is the only part of the Federal budget the Congress cuts with a vengeance. If this trend continues to the year 2000, according to mathematical projections, the United States defense will be reduced to one soldier with one rifle—just like the statue at Concord and at Lexington.

America's security rests not only in our strength and our preparedness but in

that of our allies as well and on the solidity of our ties with them. Our alliances reinforce global stability and make the world a more secure place. They reinforce our own strength.

In dealing with our allies, my objective has been to build on the unity we have achieved together over the past 30 years and to expand our cooperation even further. I believe that our efforts have been well received in recent months, whether in Western Europe or in the Pacific.

Last May I attended a summit meeting of the 15 member nations of NATO where we repledged ourselves to the common defense. Next week I will meet with the leaders of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, and Japan—nations which, along with our own, represent about half of the total world trading volume.

These meetings at the highest level reflect a new intensity of allied cooperation. The industrialized democracies of the world share common values, a common political and economic system, and a common interest in an open and cooperative world order. Today, perhaps as never before, these nations perceive the need to revitalize the bonds between us, not only militarily but economically.

The policies of five American Presidents before me for a strong national defense, for a reduction of East-West tensions and the threat of thermonuclear war, and for the bolstering of our essential allies, have had the unswerving and nonpartisan support of the Congress and the American people. I will continue to seek that support, the kind exemplified for so many, many years by our former Speaker, John McCormack.

Without a clear consensus among the 214 million Americans, the United States could not continue as the champion of freedom and peace in the world. The ability of a President to carry out his constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished. The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity, and indecision could become irresistible. With your support and that of other Americans, the Administration will give them no such temptation.

Our potential adversaries are certainly not reducing the levels of their military power. The United States must and will remain alert and strong.

Peace is the primary objective of the foreign and defense policies of the United States. It is very easy to be a cold warrior—especially in peacetime. But it would be irresponsible for a President to engage in confrontations when consultations would advance the cause of peace. As I said at Helsinki, peace is crucial, but freedom must always come first. Today, I reiterate that priority.

We will, therefore, continue to seek meaningful arms agreements on a two-

way street, with credible strength of our own and in concert with our allies. Nor will we be hurried into a bad agreement. Any agreements we reach must be verifiable.

An essential element to any real arms limitation, whether of strategic systems or conventional forces, is our intelligence capability. Sweeping attacks and exposés of intelligence activities jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security. I did not take the sacred oath of office to stand by passively while the intelligence security of the United States is unilaterally dismantled.

I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or by any agency of the Federal Government. On the basis of comprehensive studies by the Rockefeller Commission and by the Murphy Commission on the conduct of foreign policy and related matters, I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses. But intelligence in today's world is absolutely essential to our Nation's security—even our survival.

It may be even more important in peace than in war. Reckless Congressional action to cripple the effectiveness of our intelligence services in legitimate operations could be catastrophic. Our potential adversaries and even some of our friends operate in all intelligence fields with secrecy, skill, and very substantial resources. I know and you know that what we need is an American intelligence capacity second to none.

Let me say one time more loud and clear: There is no struggle between the concepts of defense and détente. We have been pursuing both. But to make détente succeed, we must have a strong defense. We make the world safer by both policies. And I will continue, as I know all of you will, to stand for strength, security, and a safer world.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:57 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Sheraton-Boston Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Edward J. King,

president, and Frank M. Stotz, chairman of the board, New England Council.

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## Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Reception of the Century Club in Boston. *November 7, 1975*

LET ME first thank John Sears, and I do want to speak up very affirmatively about the wonderful efforts of Senator Ed Brooke. And of course, I would be

very negligent if I didn't say nice things about my former colleagues in the House of Representatives Sil Conte and Margaret Heckler. And I do appreciate Maria Ryerson's efforts as chairman of this event. I am sure that she and those associated with her did a wonderful job in seeing to it that all of you came to help a cause that I believe in, I trust you believe in, we just have to get more people to believe in, and I think we can.

Before getting into a few other comments, I would like to set the record straight in two respects. Despite the election results in 1972 in the State of Massachusetts, your President is not going to abandon Massachusetts to the other side.

And let me cite some concrete evidence of how I can say that. Number one, within the last several months I have been to Massachusetts twice, and I will comment later on what I expect to do in the future as far as Massachusetts is concerned.

Let me add that as solid evidence that the State of Massachusetts is making a great contribution to this Administration, we have four members of the Cabinet from Massachusetts. We have Henry Kissinger, John Dunlop, Pat Moynihan, and of course, we are getting, very shortly, Elliot Richardson. That is 4 out of 12. I am not sure I should remind people in other parts of the country of the near monopoly that Massachusetts has on the Cabinet of the Ford Administration. [*Laughter*]

But let me make one other observation: The Republicans in 1976 can and will win in Massachusetts and nationally. And let me give you some good evidence why I think you can in Massachusetts. You do have—there is some more evidence of the impact of Massachusetts<sup>1</sup>—but in John Sears and Nancy Sinnott you have darn good, extra fine people taking the Republican Party and giving it the kind of leadership it ought to have.

Now, having said that the Republicans are going to win in Massachusetts and in the country in 1976, let me say with quiet emphasis, your President is going to enter the primary in Massachusetts, he is going to campaign in that primary, and I think he is going to win in Massachusetts.

And may I add, I am going to be in New Hampshire, in Florida, and we are going to go right down to the wire in the convention in Kansas City and win there, too. I never got in a ball game we didn't play until the last minute of the last quarter.

Now let's talk, if we might, about some of the reasons, in all honesty, I think

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<sup>1</sup> The President was referring to John A. Volpe, U.S. Ambassador to Italy.

we can prevail. I believe that the Republican Party has a unique opportunity. And let me illustrate by just taking some statistics in your State, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As I understand the figures, and I hope I am quite right, you have, out of 240 members of your lower house, you have 188 Democrats, and out of 40 members of the State senate, you have 33 Democrats. Do you think they are doing a good job? Whatever happens, it is their fault, and we welcome them to have the blame. [*Laughter*]

But we can't just rest on the faults and mistakes and errors they make. We have to look beyond that. We have to have some affirmative programs, whether at home or abroad, and I think we will.

We have had a tough 12 months, really tough, both at home and abroad, but we had a steady course to take, we haven't panicked, and we have kept moving forward, and the net result is—although the results are not totally satisfactory, and I don't want to kid anybody—we are on the way up. The economy is getting better and it is going to get progressively better. We are going to do for New England everything we possibly can, and in Ed and Margaret and Silvio you have got some people down there fighting for New England and Massachusetts on a daily basis. But the main thing is we should be optimistic about the future of this country, both at home as well as abroad.

I happen to believe that this country is still the leader of the free world, and what it does makes a difference as far as peace and security on a worldwide basis. We have had a setback or two, but if you look at the balance on the scales, we have had a lot more success overseas than we have had disappointments. And I happen to believe that in the months ahead, whether it is NATO, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Latin America, or otherwise, we are going to be moving ahead and ensuring the prospects for a longer and more secure peace than at any time in this generation.

What really bothers me is that a lot of people are writing off America, and I don't believe in that attitude. This country has gone through the peaks and valleys, the disappointments and the optimism in the years before us, even recently. But the people who fought at Concord and Lexington—they didn't quit, they stood up and fought. Every generation that followed them had the hope, the aspiration, the feeling that there was something different about America. And that is why we have such a cosmopolitan population in this great country. Somebody told me one time that the beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors, and the strength of America comes from the diversity of our backgrounds.

But the point that we have to make is that the Republican Party is not a rich

man's party, it is not a party of one nationality or one religion or one geography. It is a broad national party.

We almost won a governorship in the State of Mississippi just last Tuesday. We came within less than one percentage point, as I recall. We are going to make every State a two-party State. Competition in the political arena is there. It is good in Massachusetts. It is good in Mississippi. And I don't like those odds that you have got in the State legislature—[*laughter*—and I don't like them in the Congress. And I happen to think that—you have Margaret and Silvio here, they are high on quality, but they need a little more quantity.

So, it is my feeling that we have the programs both at home and abroad. We have to recruit the candidates. We have to go out with the time and the talents and the money.

This is a turning point in political history in 1976. We want a Republican candidate who can win. We want a Republican candidate who knows how to work with the Congress. We want a Republican candidate who knows that it is essential to win in the statehouses and in the State legislatures.

We can get that kind of a program and that kind of a candidate, and I hope and trust that when I come up here in the spring of 1976 I will see all of you.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:15 p.m. at the Museum of Science. In his remarks, he referred to John W. Sears and Nancy Sinnott, Massachusetts

State Republican chairman and vice chairman, respectively.

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## Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Reception in Boston. November 7, 1975

*Thank you very, very much, Ed.*

I am most grateful for all that you have done for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and in the United States Senate. I am deeply grateful for all you have done for the United States in the United States Senate. You should be doggone proud you have a Senator like Ed Brooke, and I am.

Let me say I feel better that John Volpe is our Ambassador to Italy. Representing us in a tough situation, John, we thank you for the fine work you are doing on behalf of our country.

And I had the great privilege of serving in the House of Representatives with this young fellow and this very young lady, and I can tell you that they are quality, real topnotch fighting quality for what they represent in your State.

The only problem is we need a little more quantity. [*Laughter*] So why don't you multiply the representation that Silvio and Margaret give by giving us a couple more Representatives in the House of Representatives from the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I am honored and pleased to speak up on behalf of an outstanding State chairman and an outstanding young lady who has done a superb job, Nancy Sinnott and John Sears. I know a little bit about those people and the job they do, and they are first-class. And I hope you let them stay in there and fight for us in 1976.

And then we have had some great chairmen, Mrs. Cutler and Mrs. Logan. I am grateful for what they have done, and I appreciate all of you being here. This is great to come to Massachusetts and find this kind of a warm welcome and a sizable crowd. But we should thank Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Cutler for their part in it, too. Thank you very, very much.

Now can I say a word or two to get the record straight. A great Democratic Governor of New York once said, "Let's look at the record."

I am not going to abandon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1976, and I want that very clearly understood. And let me give you some evidence of that. And I want you way in the back to listen. The best evidence of the fact that I want Massachusetts in and not out is the fact that in the Cabinet of 12 we have 4 from Massachusetts. We have Henry Kissinger, John Dunlop, Pat Moynihan, and Elliot Richardson—very soon. That is not bad representation.

And number two, I have been in the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts twice in about the last 4 or 5 months. I love it. I like the people, and I am going to come back in the spring of 1976 to win the primary.

Now, let me speak a little bit, if I might, about 1976. I know a fellow that is going to enter New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, and every other primary. And I know he is going to win. He is going to stick it out, and he is going to win, if we have any competition, right up to the end in August of 1976. And don't forget it.

And then, I know a fellow that is going to win in 1976—in November. [*Laughter*] And I happen to think with the kind of leadership you have in Ed, Silvio, and Margaret and John and Nancy and all of you out there, and millions like you all throughout the Commonwealth, we are going to win in Massachusetts in 1976.

You know, I am delighted, I am really delighted to be in Massachusetts again tonight, the home of the world champion Boston Red Sox. That is right—the world champion Boston Red Sox. Like any good Republican and Boston Red Sox fan, we are thinking of 1976. [*Laughter*]

You know, coming to Massachusetts—now let's be quiet back there—[*laughter*]*—it is great to come to Massachusetts again. I feel sorry for the Democrats in the Commonwealth. They have 188 seats out of 240 in your lower house; they have 33 out of 40 in your upper house; they have every constitutional office and look where they have left you. [Laughter] They have nobody to blame but themselves. And if we don't win in 1976, we have nobody to blame but ourselves.*

Now let's talk a little practicality. The Republican Party has the right philosophy, but in order to win you have to come in first. Coming in second doesn't do any good. So, I say to you we should open the doors to everybody that believes fundamentally in our philosophy.

We are not a rich man's party. We are not a farmer's party. We are not a laborer's party. We are not a big city, we are not a small city party. We are a party of the people in this country. And let me assure you when I come, or this friend of mine comes back up here to campaign in 1976, he is going to prove to you that between now and then he had a great concern and compassion for the people in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

We don't like high unemployment. We don't like the difficulties that you face economically. I don't like them any better in Massachusetts than I do in my State of Michigan. But we are on the upgrade. We have turned the situation around economically. We are going to have more employment. We are going to have less unemployment. We are going to have far less in the rate of inflation. We are on the way in this country to a solid, cheaper, healthier economy.

But more importantly, because it involves all that we stand for, we are on the road to real progress overseas. We strengthened, as Ambassador Volpe knows, our relationships both militarily and economically in Western Europe. We made headway, despite a setback in Vietnam, in strengthening our ties in Japan and elsewhere out in the Pacific. We are making tremendous strides in the steps toward a just and permanent peace in the Middle East. We are moving forward in trying to find an answer to the problems between those behind the Iron Curtain and those on this side. We are going to push, under proper circumstances, for a way to lower our arms burden without interfering with our national security.

We are on the road to making real progress at home and abroad, and this is what the American people want—an affirmative, forward-moving program. And that is what the Republican Party stands for, and that is why we should open our doors to people from small towns, big cities, the people from the work-



ing class to the other people in our society who may be bankers or professional people. We should open our doors to people in all stratas of our society. We love people, and we want them in the Republican Party.

Really, it is just great to be in this great Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I was up here in April and had the opportunity and the pleasure to speak at the Old North Church ceremony, to speak at Concord and Lexington, and to feel in that environment and that atmosphere and those historic places a part of the great history of America. Those people fought early and they fought well and they left us a great heritage and a great tradition—something that we should stand for. They stood for something. They stood for freedom. They stood for what it is all about.

So, our mission in 1976 and in the years ahead is to look forward, not backward, to feel strongly about what is good at home and abroad, economically, within the realm of our possibility of achieving for the betterment of the young, the old, and all others.

And one of the things that impresses me about the strength of America and is what we need to make our party great—when I was very young I had a Sunday school teacher who said something to me one time that I will never forget. She said the beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors. The strength of the United States of America is its diversity.

We have the heritage of many peoples and many religions and many nationalities in our blood, but that is what made America great. And we in the Republican Party welcome each and every one of them, young and old and all other. That is what made our country great, and that is what will make our party great, and I look forward to the opportunity of representing you and every one of the 50 States in 1976.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:15 p.m. in the International Departure Lounge at Logan International Airport.

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## Interview on NBC News' "Meet the Press."

*November 9, 1975*

LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK. Today "Meet the Press" is observing its 28th anniversary on television. Our guest in a full-hour special edition is the President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford. We will have the first question now from Bill Monroe of NBC News.

## PERSONNEL CHANGES

[1.] MR. MONROE. Mr. President, do you sense a considerable negative public reaction to the governmental changes of last weekend based on such appearances as a Defense Secretary abruptly fired and a Vice President driven out of contention by Republican conservatives?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't find that at all, Mr. Monroe. We have had a minimal amount of correspondence, either telegram or otherwise—certainly nothing comparable to any other major change in an administration.

## VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

[2.] MR. MONROE. You chose Mr. Rockefeller as Vice President, and you have often praised him. But you apparently were relieved by his withdrawal, judging by the fact that you did not argue against it. Could you give us your reasoning on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I was not relieved by the Vice President's withdrawal. On the other hand, I have nothing but the highest respect and regard for him. He is an experienced, able public servant and a very close, personal friend of mine. On the other hand, he is a very mature person and had made his decision for the reasons that he set forth in his letter which he personally delivered to me. When a man of that stature and that experience makes a decision, I have to abide by it.

MR. MONROE. Did the thinking prevalent in Washington to the effect that his withdrawal could take some of the steam out of the conservative challenge to you within the Republican Party—did that not enter into your consideration at all?

THE PRESIDENT. I would go back to the letter that he personally delivered to me. And we agreed that that set forth, which it did, the reasons for his withdrawal and I respected his judgment.

MR. MONROE. Is there at least a potential conflict, Mr. President, between the idea that Mr. Rockefeller will support you next year and his refusal to take himself out of consideration as a possible candidate?

THE PRESIDENT. In a personal conversation with him, he indicated to me his continued support for my Presidency. There is a problem in that as he travels around the country, he has to abide by, as he should, and I want him to, the rules and regulations under the new Federal election laws. But as far as a personal endorsement, he told me he would continue to support my Presidency.

## MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

[3.] JAMES B. RESTON [New York Times]. This is an easy one, Mr. President. There seems to be a great deal of anxiety in the country at the present time, and I wonder if you would define for us what you think the spirit of the country, the mood of the country is. And second, tell us what are the qualities you think we should be looking for in a President in the next 5 years?

THE PRESIDENT. The country has gone through, in the last year or year and a half, some very difficult times. We went through the problems of Watergate. We have been suffering from a very serious economic recession, although we are coming out of it very steadily. We have had a traumatic experience in Southeast Asia. All of these and perhaps some other problems raised some doubts in the American people as to whether their government, their form of government, was capable of meeting these kind of challenges.

This doubt, I think, has been considerably reversed, and I think that is extremely encouraging. They know that honesty and candor has been restored in government. They know that we are making headway in resolving our economic problems. They know that we withdrew from Southeast Asia and Vietnam as best we could and still have not lost our traditional friends in the rest of the Pacific area. This doubt that was very serious a few months ago, I think, is being resolved.

And I am encouraged by what I see and what I hear. There is a new vitality growing among our people, and this is vitally important as we meet those challenges. It is wholesome, it is getting more vigorous, and I think it will have a beneficial impact on our country as a whole.

## THE PRESIDENT'S CANDOR

[4.] MR. RESTON. You mentioned a question of candor. But I think you left the impression during your recent switches that there were no policy differences between Kissinger and Secretary Schlesinger and, indeed, the impression that you were not as candid in that entire switch as you had been in the early months or year of your Administration. Is that a fair——

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Reston, oftentimes the simple truth is not understood. And the answers I gave at that press conference on last Monday was the simple truth. There were no hidden motives. There were no devious actions taken. The simple truth is the best answer and that was the answer. And I think that reflects my personal candor.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Will [George F. Will, National Review].

DONALD RUMSFELD AND GEORGE BUSH

[5.] MR. WILL. Mr. President, you have nominated two very political men, Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Bush, to replace two apolitical men, Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Colby, in sensitive national security positions. And this has caused Senator Jackson to wonder if you are surrounding yourself with yes-men and lackeys, and others are worried that national security advice to you will be politically colored by men who are perhaps interested in becoming your Vice-Presidential running mate in 1976. Might it help, both for the anxiety of the country and any possible Senate fight over these nominations, for you to say now that neither of those men will be your running mate in '76?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I think it is very appropriate for me to say that anyone who knows George Bush and anyone who knows Don Rumsfeld knows that either one or both of them are honest individuals who can perform fine governmental functions without any political ramifications. George Bush did it at the U.N., and George Bush is performing that function in China today. Donald Rumsfeld did it as the head of the price council, and he did it when he was our NATO Ambassador for 2 years in Western Europe. Those individuals will, in their new responsibilities, do an exceptionally good job. I don't think people with talent, individuals with capabilities and a record ought to be excluded from any further public service.

## NATIONAL DEFENSE

[6.] MR. WILL. The firing of Mr. Schlesinger has caused some anxieties in some parts of the country about the commitment of this Administration to a strong national defense. And in affirming your commitment 2 days ago in Boston you complained very vigorously about the \$7 billion in cuts that seem to be coming from the House and the Senate in the defense bill. Do you feel so strongly about that as you do about the school lunch bill and these things where you have used your veto? Will you, if there are \$7 billion in defense cuts, veto that bill and take the issue to the country?

THE PRESIDENT. I will make that judgment on the defense bill when the legislation is finally approved. I am deeply disappointed in the reductions that were made in the House and the relatively small increases voted by the Senate committee. I hope the Senate as a whole will restore more of the reductions that were made.

It is premature for me to indicate at this stage of the legislative process that I will veto or not veto. I will continue to work with Members of the House and the Senate to get as much military appropriation restored as possible, because

the budget I submitted in January was a good budget that is needed and necessary for the national security of the United States. And I will work with the new Secretary and his associates to try and restore as much as I can of that budget cut that so far—roughly \$7 billion.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Broder [David S. Broder, Washington Post].

PERSONNEL CHANGES

[7.] MR. BRODER. Mr. President, accepting as the premise your statement that your explanation of the changes in the Administration were the simple truth, I am still puzzled as to why that situation changed for you apparently during the month of October or early November. I noted, for example, that when you were asked about possible differences between Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Kissinger in an interview in Omaha on October 1, you said: "I have two fine Secretaries, and if there are any differences, I make the choice. And sometimes it is healthy to have a different viewpoint as long as somebody can make a decision." Did you decide it was unhealthy?

THE PRESIDENT. I found, Mr. Broder, in the last month or so that there was not as comfortable a feeling in the situation that I desired and that it was creating some problems. This doesn't mean that either of those individuals was not performing his job in a very effective way. But for me to do the job as well as I possibly can, I need a feeling of comfort within an organization—no tension, complete cohesion—and it doesn't necessarily mean that those individuals agreed in every precise detail. It does mean that on two, at least, major issues—the Vladivostok agreement that I made for SALT II and the Sinai agreement where we sent the advisers—they totally agreed. But there was a growing tension. And I felt very strongly that I needed to have a comfortable feeling even though people might disagree.

MR. BRODER. Was that tension involving both men, because I noticed that on the next day, after that comment you made about the two Secretaries, you also said in reference to Dr. Kissinger's two jobs, "That is no problem, in my opinion." Was the problem that you saw with both Kissinger and Schlesinger in their relationship with you?

THE PRESIDENT. I would say that it was an overall problem, and I felt that the best way to remedy it was to take the actions that I did. Now, that doesn't mean that Secretary Kissinger and Don Rumsfeld will agree. They probably won't in some areas. But I think the atmosphere will be infinitely better and permit me as President to do a better job.

## THE NATION'S GOALS

[8.] MR. SPIVAK. Mr. President, you have been criticized by some members of the press for not having a clearly stated philosophy and a set of relevant goals. Can you tell us what your goals are for this country?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Spivak, I would like to give you the vision that I have for the future of America. It is a vision where I think the government will not dictate the lives of the American people, where the government, on the other hand, will be compassionate with those who are unfortunately unable to take care of themselves. It is a vision that will permit the people to govern the government, and on the other hand, it will permit the American people to lead their own lives within the laws and the Constitution as they desire for themselves. And it is a vision, also, that means that the United States should continue its never-ending pursuit of peace through strength, reassuring our allies and consulting and discussing with our adversaries. It is a very broad goal, but it is the kind of vision that I think is needed and necessary for the decades ahead.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. President, when you formally announced that you would seek the Republican nomination for the Presidency, you said you wanted, and I quote, to finish the job you began. Is that the job you mean, by what you just said?

THE PRESIDENT. In the broadest possible terms, yes.

## VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

[9.] MR. SPIVAK. You have been in office now for 15 months. What do you think your major accomplishment has been towards that end or towards any end?

THE PRESIDENT. There are at least three things that I feel are great pluses. I feel very strongly—and I think the polls reflect it—that I have restored public confidence in their government at the Federal level. I believe also that we have made considerable headway in handling constructively a very serious economic situation that developed shortly after I became the President. I believe also that we are slowly but surely making headway toward a resolution of our dependence on foreign oil. We are getting, hopefully, a bit of progress and necessary action in the area of energy independence. In addition, we have continued to strengthen our alliances in Europe, we have had a very successful result in the Middle East with the Sinai agreement, and we are continuing to work with both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China in a constructive way. These are the broad areas where I think we have made significant progress.

## CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

[10.] MR. SPIVAK. Mr. President, on the matter of restoring trust in government, how do you reconcile what you have just said with the recent findings of pollsters that public confidence in government is probably lower than it has ever been since they began to measure these things scientifically?

THE PRESIDENT. This is bothersome because it is a public view, according to the poll I think we are both thinking of, a public unhappiness with the executive branch, the Congress, and even the courts, to some extent. On the other hand, there was a very recent poll that related precisely to myself, some 74 to 17 indicating a belief in my honesty and candor. That is not enough, because I want all of our Government, whether it is the President or the Congress or the courts, to have public support. And all of us have to work at it.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Monroe.

## SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SCHLESINGER

[11.] MR. MONROE. Mr. President, to follow up for a moment on your remarks to Mr. Broder, the firing of Secretary Schlesinger appeared to be abrupt, especially considering the fact that you apparently had an hour and a half meeting with him on Saturday—I gather, talking about defense matters, no mention of his leaving the Government—called him back in the next morning, less than 24 hours later, and let him out of the Government. Could you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. The meeting that I had with Secretary Schlesinger on Saturday was a long-scheduled meeting, as I recall, requested by him to talk about some personnel matters and to talk about other defense problems. At that time, I was not cognizant of some leaks that had appeared here in Washington and elsewhere. I had not planned to make the decision and to announce it on Monday, but the development of these leaks and the information getting out in part, not in whole, prompted me to make the decision to see Secretary Schlesinger the next morning.

MR. MONROE. Did your Sunday conversation involve any issue that came up between the two of you where maybe you put one emphasis on something and he put another emphasis on it—there was a difference between the two of you?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that I ought to discuss personal conversations. I said on my press conference on Monday night that I had great respect for him as a person, I appreciated the fine job he had done at the Pentagon and his other service as Chairman of the AEC and as head of the CIA, but as I explained in response to Mr. Broder, there had been a growing tension and I was uncom-

fortable in the situation. But I don't think I should go beyond that in discussing our conversation.

PERSONNEL CHANGES

[12.] MR. MONROE. When you said that you made those changes totally on your own, did you mean that you had no advice from anybody on any of those changes?

THE PRESIDENT. I, in one way or another, got some advice but I did not ask anybody. I made the decision myself. It is a matter that I had been thinking about for some time and I have the evidence where I sat down myself and wrote out the changes. And it was a totally private decision which Presidents have to make on occasion. That is their responsibility under the law. And this was my decision and it is the simple truth and I think it was the way to do it.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Reston.

NEW YORK CITY; UNEMPLOYMENT

[13.] MR. RESTON. Mr. President, you spoke about compassion as being one of the objectives of your Administration. We have not heard much compassion in New York in relation to the financial plight of the city, and I wonder, in relation to New York and also to the 8 million people now unemployed under the October figures, what you think of the political and social consequences of a stern view toward those two problems?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think we have had a stern view at all, Mr. Reston, toward the unemployed. This Administration has advocated and supported a very significant extension of unemployment benefits. I believe they went from 26 weeks to 65 weeks at the present time. We fully supported those extensions under these adverse economic times and we have fully supported the so-called CETA program, or public service program, fully funding those programs that give gainful employment at the local level for people who are otherwise unemployed.

In the case of New York City the issue is more fundamental. And it is my understanding that a potentially better solution than a Federal action is possible right now, because in New York City the Governor and the mayor and the bankers and the representatives from the labor unions are working to try and find an answer without any Federal intervention, without a Federal authority in effect being the mayor. I think this is in the best interest of the 8 million people in New York City. That is the way to solve the problem, not by Federal intervention.



MR. RESTON. But, Mr. President, can the United States really stand the possibility that you may be wrong about New York?

THE PRESIDENT. I have carefully considered that. I have gotten advice not only from experts within my Administration but I have read considerably about the views of others, and it is, I think, the weight of the evidence that if New York City unfortunately goes into default, there will not be any serious ramifications in the money markets of this country.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Will.

RONALD REAGAN

[14.] MR. WILL. Mr. President, based on your knowledge of Ronald Reagan personally, his political philosophy, and his record as Governor of the largest State in the Union for two terms, is he qualified to be President?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I ought to be the judge of that. The voters in the various primaries in the first instance will be the judges of that. I don't like to either be critical on the one hand or praising on the other. I have to look at it from my point of view, which is my record and my aims and ambitions. I think it would be unwise for me to comment one way or another on that. He, as far as I know, had a tough situation in California, did a good job. But to go beyond that, I don't think I ought to.

MR. WILL. But in those primaries, Mr. President, you are going to have to tell the voters why, on the basis of what specific issues, they should vote for you rather than for Mr. Reagan. Are there differences between your view of the world and Mr. Reagan's?

THE PRESIDENT. I am going to speak affirmatively in those primaries where I campaign. I will talk about my record. That is the way I have always run a campaign. I never under any circumstances was critical of an opponent. I don't think that is the way to sell yourself or your program to the voters in this country.

MR. WILL. But without being critical, can you point to a political difference between you and Mr. Reagan?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe there is a fair degree of unanimity. I am in the middle of the road. He may be somewhat to the right. But on many basic issues we have a considerable degree of unanimity.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Broder.

PENDING LEGISLATION

[15.] MR. BRODER. Mr. President, two or three short questions on domestic issues: The Senate Democratic leaders are coming down to see you tomorrow

on the New York City problem. Tip O'Neill says on the basis of knowing you for 24 years that you will sign the kind of bill that the House is preparing. Is he right or wrong?

THE PRESIDENT. The bill that I have seen, that is only out of a subcommittee, I think, is not the right kind of legislation to solve the problems of New York City.

MR. BRODER. Now the House and Senate conferees have finished up a new version of an energy bill. From what you have seen of that, does it look like the kind of legislation you can sign?

THE PRESIDENT. The version that I understand they tentatively completed Friday night puts more and more emphasis on imported foreign oil. If I find that to be the case, I don't believe that I can approve it. With several changes—and I hope they will make them—we can probably come to an agreement. But as it stands now on its tentative basis, I think it presents some problems, because there is more dependence on foreign oil than I think is right for this country.

MR. BRODER. Now, on the tax bill matter, you have on the table a threat to veto any tax cut that is not accompanied by a pledge of a spending cut. In view of the most recent economic statistics showing unemployment up and the economic indicators down, can you really afford to veto an extension of the tax cut?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe I can, because it is equally important, Mr. Broder, to get a handle on the excessive growth of Federal spending. That is as important as a tax reduction. And I think the two must be coupled. Because if we don't do something affirmatively about the growth in Federal spending and get a tax cut at the same time, then I think this country could have worse economic circumstances than we have at the present time.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[16.] MR. MONROE. Mr. President, you said the other day that you knew a fellow who was going to enter every primary. Who could that be? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Bill, I think in all honesty I was speaking about myself. I am going to enter every primary. That doesn't mean I will campaign in every primary. I firmly believe in the sovereignty of the voters. I think it is an obligation of candidates to present themselves to the voters. I don't understand those who enter some primaries and duck others. I believe that if I enter every primary, then we will get some test of public sentiment. But more importantly, I want to emphasize that whatever campaigning I do will be secondary to the responsibilities that I have as President. Being President will override any activity in the political arena.

MR. MONROE. Were you suggesting a moment ago that if Mr. Reagan enters the New Hampshire primary, he should enter the Massachusetts as well?

THE PRESIDENT. I said affirmatively, Bill, that I think candidates ought to present themselves to the people. They are the ones that should judge. And entering some and ducking others I don't think gives to the American people the options that they ought to have.

MR. MONROE. Mr. President, money is reportedly coming in slowly for your campaign and Mr. Reagan is supposed to be quite strong in the first two primary States. Your finance chairman quit the other day. Conservatives are bothered about Mr. Schlesinger leaving the Government. Wouldn't you concede that you have some concern over where your campaign stands?

THE PRESIDENT. Frankly, it could be better. Dave Packard, I think, will continue on as helpful as he can be. He didn't realize that that job was really a full-time position. We, of course, expect some ups and downs in any political campaign. But as long as we keep a firm and steady hand on the tiller, which I think we have, I believe the success of our programs, both at home and abroad, will be more determining of the end result than some person not being able to carry on as he indicated he could or would. The voters of this country will make the final decision on the basis of success or failure of the programs that we espouse.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Reston.

MR. RESTON. Following up on Bill's question, Mr. President, are you saying that you are going to leave the question of what happens in this campaign to the people at the primary level, that you would pull out if you were rejected or ran behind Reagan in the primaries?

THE PRESIDENT. I expressed very firmly in Massachusetts the other day, Scotty, that I was going to enter every primary. I indicated today that I may not be able to campaign in every primary. But I said very specifically in Massachusetts that I will be in the contest at the Republican Convention in August in Kansas City. I think that is a pretty clear statement that there will be no withdrawal by me.

#### PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

[17.] MR. RESTON. I have two other questions about procedure at the convention. Going back to the time when Franklin Roosevelt died, when we looked at the photographs after his death during the campaign of '44, it was perfectly clear this was a dying man. Ever since that time there has been great talk about whether or not the country should know far more about the physical

health of candidates. And my first question is whether you would approve all candidates' submitting themselves to an outside objective medical test before they go to the convention?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Reston, I would have no objection personally under any circumstances. I have excellent health, I am proud of it, and I would have no objection as far as I am concerned to having such an examination conducted for me, and I think it might be very constructive for all others.

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL RUNNING MATE

[18.] MR. RESTON. The second question has to do with the timing of letting us know your preference for a Vice President. You run as a team but usually, over the last few elections at least, we get Vice Presidents picked in the turmoil of the convention. Is there anything to the proposition that the people have got the right to know before you are nominated who is going with you, or who your preference would be?

THE PRESIDENT. I think there is some merit to that, but the question is how soon. I have been at several Republican Conventions and watched a few Democratic Conventions. I think the way it has been done in the past is not necessarily the best way. It has been done in several instances sort of at the last minute and I have been distressed about that. Perhaps we can find a way earlier than the last minute to indicate to the convention delegates and to the American people that I would favor one over another. But we haven't focused in on just how that might be achieved.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Will.

ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

[19.] MR. WILL. President Ford, I have here a copy of a June 26 memo sent to the White House to Brent Scowcroft from the office of Secretary Kissinger concerning the question of whether at that time you should meet with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. And the memo advises against that meeting saying, and I quote, "not only would a meeting with the President offend the Soviets," the memo goes on to add, "such a meeting would lend weight to his (Solzhenitsyn's) political views." Is worrying about that kind of Kremlin sensitivity the sort of thing you and your advisers feel you have to do in the name of détente?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't believe that that is a significant aspect of carrying on or the defeat of détente. There are much broader, more important issues than that. The principal ones, of course, are trade, SALT, a wide variety of very basic

issues. And those are the issues that we fundamentally focus in on, not on that particular one.

MR. WILL. But is this memo evidence of the fact that you did worry about offending the Soviet Union when you decided not to see Mr. Solzhenitsyn?

THE PRESIDENT. It was not a worry as to an undercutting of détente. As you know, subsequently I did indicate after further consideration that I would welcome Mr. Solzhenitsyn at the Oval Office. Unfortunately, that didn't take place. The initial reaction was not related to détente as an undercutting of it. It was a decision made at that time for various reasons, and I did reconsider it and we did offer to see him.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Broder.

FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

[20.] MR. BRODER. Mr. President, there have been a number of indications yesterday—I mean in recent days—that your predecessor would like to return to a role in public life. You have a special responsibility for his status since your pardon spared him, as we now know, from the likelihood of an indictment. Do you think that it is appropriate or useful for Mr. Nixon to take up a role in public life in this country?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I have no indication that he is going to take such a role. I think under the circumstances an active role would not be either in his best interests or on a broader basis. But that is his decision, certainly not mine.

MR. BRODER. Would you consider giving him any role, substantive or ceremonial, in a Ford Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. I see no possibility of that.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[21.] MR. SPIVAK. Mr. President, at your press conference the other day you said you were happy—I think that was your word—and optimistic about your nomination and election to the Presidency in 1976. Can you tell us on what you base your optimism in view of the state of our economy and, to a certain extent, the state of our foreign affairs?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Spivak, as I said earlier, I honestly believe that there has been a restoration of credibility and confidence in the White House. That is something that I don't believe any other candidate can take away from me.

The real problems we face relate to performance. I inherited a deteriorating economic condition in this country. We have turned it around and we are coming out of the recession. I believe that we will have a long-range downtrend in

unemployment. I believe we will have a better record as far as the rate of inflation so that the end result will be, in 1976, economic conditions will be better. And the net result is, under past elections, the person who is in office gets the benefit of that.

I do disagree with you that there is a deterioration of our foreign policy. Our foreign policy has been a good one. We just were the principal factors in working with Israel and Egypt in achievement of the Sinai agreement. We have strengthened NATO. We are continuing good programs and good relations with the Soviet Union and China. Relations between the United States and Japan have never been better. I think the American people will judge in 1976 on performance, and I honestly feel that performance over that period of time will be good.

#### DÉTENTE

[22.] MR. SPIVAK. Mr. President, on the matter of relations with the Soviet Union, SALT II seems to have been stalled. What I would like to ask you is that there is a sharp difference of opinion and considerable confusion in this country about the meaning and intention of détente with the Soviet Union. Will you give us your definition of détente, tell us what it means to you and what it should mean to the American people?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not sure that is the best word but that is the word that is being used. Détente means to me that two super powers who are strong militarily and economically, who represent differing political and governmental views, instead of confronting one another, can consult one another on a wide variety of areas of potential dispute, whether it is trade, whether it is military potential conflict, whether it is a number of other things.

Now, détente is not always going to mean that we solve every problem, because some of them are very complex and very controversial. It does mean it is a mechanism for the relaxation of tensions, so that instead of glaring at one another and opening the potential of conflict, you can sit down and discuss differences of opinion and hope to accomplish a relaxation and progress without military conflict.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Monroe.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

[23.] MR. MONROE. Mr. President, a recent study showed that people who are unemployed suffer psychological damage. Even after they find jobs, they are left with a sense of bitterness, alienation, a sense that the system doesn't want them. They are, to an extent, radicalized. Now, can we keep on having

unemployment in the neighborhood of 8 percent or 7 percent or 6½ percent for years? Isn't there an argument for the Government to do something about providing jobs?

THE PRESIDENT. I have been very proud of the attitude and feelings of the American people who have been, unfortunately, unemployed. They have shown great restraint and understanding. In order to help them, we have extended unemployment benefits, as I indicated earlier, to 65 weeks. We have done a number of other things to help people over this unfortunate situation in which they find themselves.

I believe that this excellent attitude that the American people who have been unemployed is a reflection of the strength of our people and the faith that they will have. And if we move up in employment as we have—we have 1,800,000 more people gainfully employed today than we had 6 months ago—there is a growing optimism.

Now, the unemployment figures we have today are far too high, but the trend is right and this gives encouragement, I think, to people who understand there is no quick fix. And some of the programs that are aimed to solve this problem would lead us into the same trap we have had before—short-term benefits and long-term losses. And the American people are smarter today than they ever have been in knowing that those kind of programs are not right for the country.

MR. MONROE. Mr. President, have you had a chance since you have been President to sit down and talk with persons who are unemployed?

THE PRESIDENT. I have had a few individually, and from time to time I have been at these White House Conferences around the country, some 10, where individuals who represent the unemployed have been able to ask me questions and to solicit answers. So, in effect, I have had a communication with either individuals in a limited number of cases or with those that represent them. So, I think I have gotten their views and gotten an understanding of their problem.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Reston.

#### PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

[24.] MR. RESTON. Mr. President, in the early days of the Republic, the American people took great chances on young men in the Presidency. Now here we are looking at '76 and most of the leading candidates are old geezers like me, in their sixties. Now we seem to have misplaced a generation here somewhere. Is the system out of phase? What explains this?

THE PRESIDENT. I think age is a state of mind and, obviously, a state of health. I am in the early sixties. I feel as vigorous mentally and physically as I ever have

at any time in my life. I don't think you should rule a person out just because they are my particular age. On the other hand, I don't think you should rule out a younger person who by experience or intelligence or overall capability is a potential candidate. I don't think you should categorize people just by age bracket. I believe you ought to look at the person, how strong he is mentally and physically and what his experience and what his background is in. That is the criteria that I would use.

MR. RESTON. I agree with that, of course, but my question was whether something had happened, that there seems to be—the draft choices of the young guys are not very good these days.

THE PRESIDENT. We have some younger people, Mr. Reston, who are running in the Democratic race for the Presidency and we have got some excellent potential younger people who are interested either in the Vice Presidency or even potentially in the Presidency, if they so indicate. I think we have got people that are interested, some Governors, some other officials within and without the Federal Government.

MR. SPIVAK. Mr. Will.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

[25.] MR. WILL. Mr. President, the Vladivostok agreement limits the U.S. and the Soviet Union each to 2,400 strategic vehicles. That includes missiles and bombers. Studies done within our Government indicate that the Soviet Union's Backfire bombers are capable of taking off from Soviet bases and bombing U.S. cities. Is it your firm position that each Soviet Backfire bomber should be counted against that Soviet total of 2,400?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't believe I should discuss one of the most controversial issues in the negotiations with the Soviet Union. The Backfire is a weapons system that has a potential, although there is a difference of opinion as to whether or not its primary mission is one of intercontinental bombing. It is a very difficult decision among several others. And I don't believe that with the importance of those negotiations that I should make a categorical statement on this program as to how we might handle the problem of the Backfire.

MR. WILL. Is it a fair inference, from the fact that you won't take a firm position on that, that that is a position we are willing to negotiate away?

THE PRESIDENT. There are a number of other issues of equal importance where there might be some tradeoff—I am not saying there will be—but there are some very complicated problems and the Backfire is one of them. But for me to make a decision here and to make an announcement on this program,



I think, would not be the proper way for a President to handle these very sensitive negotiations.

MR. SPIVAK. We have less than 3 minutes, gentlemen. Mr. Broder.

MR. BRODER. Just to follow on that, Mr. President, is SALT negotiations in a state that you have had to give up your hope of having a summit meeting with Mr. Brezhnev this year?

THE PRESIDENT. There is far less likelihood that we will have a summit meeting this year. We are continuously negotiating here and with the group of technicians. But the timetable doesn't look encouraging for 1975. I don't think that is necessarily bad. Under no circumstances do I feel under pressure to get an agreement at a date certain. I want a good agreement rather than to be pressured into having an agreement by a precise date. And it seems to me that we are making headway slowly—very complex, very complicated problems, and Mr. Will brought up one of the most difficult ones.

We have to work at it because a SALT II agreement is in the best interest of this country and the Soviet Union and the world at large. But we are not going to be pressured to get a bad agreement by a date certain.

#### FEDERAL BUDGET

[26.] MR. SPIVAK. Mr. President, you said you want a \$395 billion budget ceiling for fiscal '77 in order to give the American people a \$28 billion tax cut. Is it certain now that you will send Congress a \$395 billion budget for '77, or is that figure still subject to change?

THE PRESIDENT. The decision I made on \$395 billion for fiscal year 1977 is firm. We are in the process right now of refining the details. But I must add, Mr. Spivak, that a \$395 billion spending ceiling is not a cutback. It is only a reduction in the growth of Federal spending of \$28 billion. If you don't put a ceiling of \$395 billion, you are going to have the Congress-spending at least \$28 billion more for a \$50 billion growth in Federal spending in 12 months and that is unconscionable.

MR. SPIVAK. I am sorry to interrupt but our time is up. Thank you, Mr. President, for being with us today on "Meet the Press."

THE PRESIDENT. Larry, may I conclude by congratulating you on your 28 years of "Meet the Press" by television and your 30-year history of handling "Meet the Press," going back to the days of radio.

It has been my privilege to be on this program, this the seventh time. It has been a challenge. It has always been pleasant. It has been something that I have enjoyed, as I am sure all other participants have. And we are all, those who have

sat in this seat, deeply grateful for your contribution to the understanding of the problems and the people, and I thank you on behalf of all who have gone before me.

MR. SPIVAK. Thank you, Mr. President, for your very generous remarks.

THE PRESIDENT. I should have thanked the panel, too.

MR. SPIVAK. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. It has been a great experience.

NOTE: The interview began at 11:30 a.m. in the NBC television studios in Washington, D.C. It was broadcast live on radio and television. Mr. Spivak's remarks relating to commercial announcements and station identifications have been edited from the transcript as released by the White House.

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## Remarks at Ceremonies Commemorating the Bicentennial of the United States Marine Corps in Arlington, Virginia.

*November 10, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, General Wilson. Distinguished Members of the House and Senate, Secretary Clements, Secretary Middendorf, Mr. Gagnon, Mr. deWeldon, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

Two hundred years ago today, by an act of the Continental Congress, the United States Marine Corps was born. Less than 4 months later, on March 3, 1776, 234 Leathernecks made the first U.S. Marine Corps amphibious landing. Today we honor the Marine Corps and the Bicentennial of its "uncommon valor."

The heroic spirit of the corps is preserved in the magnificent Iwo Jima monument which stands before you. It raised our spirits even as those brave Marines raised our flag on that eventful day.

This is an historic vantage point. We can see nearby Arlington National Cemetery, the final resting place of so many of America's service men and women—all who gave their last, full measure of devotion to the United States. Across the Potomac from here is a panorama of our past, present, and future. The Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials and the Washington Monument represent, along with other historic structures, our past. Our present can be seen in the daily work of our Government and the life of the Nation's great Capital City. Our future is epitomized in the timeless ideals which all of these places and all of these people represent.

Today we remain true to the ideals of the Marine Corps which have fought

to preserve in distant countries and on remote battlefields. The United States Marines for two centuries have heard and heeded the call of our country. They have created an esprit de corps which is unrivaled in any military service in the world. The corps has become a living monument to bravery and self-sacrifice.

Much of the world's history in these past 200 years has been marked by turmoil and by violence. We, the American people, have paid a high price not only for our own freedom but for that of others. And always the Marine Corps faithfully stands guard when liberty is threatened.

Let me assure you here and now that the American people and your President stand behind you. You will be supplied with the most modern and advanced ships, weapons, equipment, and training in the world today. Our aim—my aim—is not to train America's youth for war, nor to develop weapons to kill. My aim—and our aim—is to develop the military strength which is our mightiest hope for peace.

The United States must be constant and credible when we speak of American strength at home and on our seas of the world. You have stated it best to your recruits: "Nobody likes to fight but somebody has to know how."

I do not know what events the next two centuries will bring to our country. But I do know this: It is for us, the living, to raise new monuments, new hopes and new courage, new ideas and new ideals for our children and for their children. We must leave a heritage worthy of our inheritance.

Americans will be called on to show great self-discipline and self-sacrifice in the years ahead. We will be put to many tests around the world. The global economy must be stabilized. The world's need for energy must be balanced with the necessity to preserve our global environment. World industrial production needs must be met by judicious use of our available global resources.

We must win the race of food against famine. We must assure peace rather than suffer war. We must preserve the ideals of liberty and freedom against challenges from hostile ideologies. We must be a people not only of an historic past but of a heroic present to face squarely the new ideals, the new realities of today's world. We are only at the dawn of an American future.

The Marine Corps has established a legacy of heroic deeds—not in brass and stone, but in the courage and in the sacrifice of more than 3 million Marines, men and women, who served our Nation faithfully.

These deeds are not forgotten. They link the past, present, and future and are embodied in the American spirit of freedom.

The spirit of freedom is not only in this monument but in our hearts. "Always

faithful”—*semper fidelis*—to the cause of freedom. Let us pray that that same proud motto—“Always faithful”—may always be the mark of each and every one of us, now and forever.

I salute you all and all Marines everywhere on your 200th birthday.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:31 a.m. at the Marine Corps War Memorial. In his opening remarks, he referred to Gen. Louis H. Wilson, USMC, Commandant of the Marine Corps, William P. Clements, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense (Acting

Secretary), J. William Middendorf II, Secretary of the Navy, Rene Gagnon, a participant in the flag-raising at Iwo Jima, and Felix deWeldon, sculptor of the monument.

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## Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate on Designation of Developing Countries for Purposes of the Generalized System of Preferences.

*November 11, 1975*

[Dated November 10, 1975. Released November 11, 1975]

IN accordance with the requirements of Section 502(a) (1) of the Trade Act of 1974, I hereby notify the House of Representatives (Senate) of my intention to designate additional beneficiary developing countries and territories for purposes of the Generalized System of Preference (the “GSP”) provided for in title V of the Trade Act of 1974. This is to be done by amending Executive Order 11844, of March 24, 1975 (enclosed at Tab A), in the manner described below.

The following countries and territories are to be added to the lists of designated GSP beneficiaries set forth in section 1 of E.O. 11844:

Cyprus	Romania	Christmas Island (Australia)
Hong Kong	Somalia	Cocos (Keeling) Islands
Israel	Turkey	

My intention to designate each of the countries and territories as GSP beneficiaries reflects the following considerations:

- a. The expressions of their desires to be designated as beneficiaries;
- b. Their levels of economic development, including their per capita gross national products, their general living standards as measured by levels of health, nutrition, education, housing, and their degrees of industrialization;
- c. Whether or not other major developed countries are extending generalized preferential tariff treatment to them;

- d. The extent to which they have assured the United States that they will provide the United States with equitable and reasonable access to their markets;
- e. The legislative history of the Trade Act of 1974, including the Reports thereon by the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Finance of the Senate.

The exclusionary provisions of the Trade Act would apply to some of the countries that are to be designated but for the factors described below:

#### CYPRUS

The tariff preferences that Cyprus extends to the products of member countries of the European Economic Community ("E.E.C.") and the Commonwealth countries do not have, and are not likely to have, significant adverse effects upon United States commerce. Accordingly, the exclusionary provisions of section 502(b)(3) of the Trade Act do not apply to Cyprus.

#### ISRAEL

I have received satisfactory assurances that Israel will take action prior to January 1, 1976 to assure that, although Israel affords preferential treatment to products of other developed countries (those of the E.E.C.), there will be no significant adverse effect on United States commerce resulting from such preferential treatment.

In particular, the Government of Israel has provided satisfactory assurances that, for specified U.S. exports to Israel worth some \$92 million (1974 data), Israel will reduce the applicable most-favored-nation (MFN) duty rates so as to eliminate, or in some cases virtually eliminate, the margin between such MFN rates and the preferential tariff rates being applied to the same products from E.E.C. countries. In addition, Israel will eliminate, at least during the life of the U.S. GSP, margins between the E.E.C. preferential tariff rates and the MFN rates whenever specified conditions are met for certain products. These products have been identified by the United States as important exports for which the U.S. and the E.E.C. countries are serious commercial competitors and for which tariff preferences, if applied, would be likely to affect adversely U.S. commercial interests. Israel will eliminate preferential tariff margins on these products whenever specific statistical criteria are met. Israel also will consult with the United States, at our request, concerning any other U.S. exports which

may be affected adversely by its tariff preferences for products of E.E.C. countries.

For these reasons, Israel qualifies for the GSP under the terms of section 502(b)(3) of the Trade Act of 1974.

#### ROMANIA

In view of (a) the U.S.-Romanian Trade Relations Agreement, signed on April 2, 1975, and entered into force on August 3, 1975, which granted non-discriminatory tariff treatment to Romanian products (b) Romania's status as a contracting party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and its membership in the International Monetary Fund, and (c) the repeated manifestation of Romanian determination to pursue an independent foreign policy, Romania, although a Communist country, fulfills the requirements for GSP eligibility set forth in section 502(b)(1) of the Trade Act.

#### SOMALIA

Somalia is now taking steps to discharge its obligations under international law with respect to an investment dispute which had the effect of a nationalization, expropriation, or other seizure of U.S. property by Somalia. My Determination to this effect is set forth at *Tab B*. This Determination makes Somalia eligible for GSP under the terms of section 502(b)(4) of the Trade Act.

#### TURKEY

Turkey also is taking steps to discharge its obligations under the international law with respect to property questions in the Turkish-controlled area of Cyprus which could be considered as nationalizations, expropriations, or seizures of United States properties. My Determination at *Tab B* covers Turkey as well as Somalia, so that Turkey also is eligible for GSP under section 504(b)(4) of the Trade Act.

In addition, the tariff preferences that Turkey extends to the products of members of the E.E.C. do not have, and are not likely to have, significant adverse effects on United States commerce. This conclusion depends upon the continuance by Turkey of certain key government decrees. The Government of Turkey understands the importance of the maintenance of those decrees to Turkey's continued eligibility for GSP, and has acknowledged the desirability of

consulting with the United States before changing its customs tariffs in a manner prejudicial to its status as a beneficiary country.

#### HONG KONG, CHRISTMAS ISLAND (AUSTRALIA), COCOS (KEELING) ISLANDS

None of the exclusionary provisions of section 502(b) are applicable to these areas.

In addition to the intended designations described above, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Surinam are to be moved from the list of dependent beneficiaries to the list of independent beneficiary countries, because they have become independent since Executive Order 11844 was issued last March 24. Anguilla will be deleted from Executive Order 11844 as a separate listing, but will continue to be a designated GSP beneficiary as part of "Saint Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla". These changes will not affect the status of the areas involved as GSP beneficiaries.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: The letters were addressed to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, President of the Senate.

On November 24, 1975, the President signed Executive Order 11888, implementing the additional designations.

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#### Exchange With Reporters in Charleston, West Virginia, Following Passage of the United Nations General Assembly Resolution on Zionism. *November 11, 1975*

GOOD evening. It is nice to see you all. I am delighted and pleased to be in West Virginia again and have an opportunity to answer a question or two, if you have any.

REPORTER. What is your reaction, sir, to the U.N. action on the Zionism resolution?

THE PRESIDENT. I have spoken out very strongly against it, and Secretary Kissinger has done likewise. And of course, Ambassador Moynihan made a very strong speech last night during the debate. It is something that this Government strongly opposes.

Q. Mr. President, do you favor any sort of punitive action toward either the United Nations or the countries who supported the resolution?

THE PRESIDENT. We, of course, will be completely firm in our position. We, of course, would look at how the situation was handled there and the nations that vigorously proposed it, but I wouldn't want to make any specific comments at this time.

Q. You are leaving open the option possibly that you might want to take specific action at some later date?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't say how I would describe the action, but certainly I am disappointed with the action that was taken.

Q. Are you concerned, sir, that any action the United States might take in a punitive form, such as cutting the aid to countries who supported the resolution, might harm the chances of peace in the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't want to get into the details of that. It doesn't seem to me that we should make any snap judgments. We did strongly oppose the U.N. resolution, and we will take whatever the appropriate action is as we move ahead in the area of trying to achieve peace in the Middle East.

Q. Mr. President, what effect will this have on—

THE PRESIDENT. Are you one of the local people, Walt [Walter Rodgers, Associated Press Radio]?

Q. What effect does this have on the possibility of reaching a Middle East peace and a further negotiated settlement there?

THE PRESIDENT. We, of course, will continue to make our efforts in the Middle East for a long and fair and stable peace in the Middle East. I wouldn't want to pass judgment on that question at this time, but our efforts will continue in that area.

Thank you very, very much. It is nice to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:27 p.m. at the Kanawha County Airport. The General Assembly resolution, approved on the evening of November 10, 1975, had declared Zionism a form of racism.

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### Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in Charleston. *November 11, 1975*

LET ME say with the deepest conviction and greatest appreciation, my wife, Betty, and I are most grateful for the friendship of Arch and his lovely wife.

The Fords and the Moores over a long period of time have been close personal friends. Arch and I have fought many a battle on the floor of the House of Representatives. I, from time to time, tried to be helpful in his greater achieve-



ments in political life. And I have been quite proud of that young fellow who came to Washington quite a few years ago, made an enviable record, and has been, without a question of doubt, one of the greatest Governors in the history of West Virginia.

I want to thank Arch for several things that he has done for me when I first ran for the minority leadership, when there was the question of endorsements for the Vice Presidency. Arch, I am deeply grateful for your never-ending support. It is just wonderful to see an old friend.

Let me pay tribute to the members of the board, the State legislative members, and all of you who are here to participate in this great rally, this fine dinner. I think all of us owe a debt of gratitude to Tom Potter for the first-class job he has done.

It is nice to see one of your great statesmen, Senator Chapman Revercomb. It is nice to see you, Senator.

One of the nice things that traveling around the country gives you an opportunity to enjoy is to see old friends that you knew many a year ago who, for one reason or another, you haven't seen over a period of time. One of my old high school classmates—in fact, he and I graduated from high school together—Mike Burdell of Charleston, West Virginia.

It is a great treat, and one that I have enjoyed thoroughly, to be back in West Virginia again and to share this marvelous evening with all of you good, loyal, enthusiastic West Virginia Republicans, and a few Independents, and I hope a lot of discerning Democrats.

You know, I keep hearing how the Republican Party will go into the 1976 elections as the underdog, and somehow that has a vaguely familiar ring to it. Isn't that what they said about the [University of West Virginia] Mountaineers against Pitt [University of Pittsburgh] last Saturday? [*Laughter*]

When it comes to football, I think I can speak with some authority, and tonight I am predicting that what the Mountaineers did at Morgantown last Saturday, your great Republican ticket is going to do at the polls in 1976.

This is really a great evening, and before we go any further, I want to congratulate your finance committee for its sheer raw courage in the way it has handled this dinner this evening. I say "sheer raw courage" because it isn't easy to charge \$100 a plate for a dinner in a State whose motto is "Mountaineers are Always Free."

I am especially pleased to be with you tonight, pleased at this tremendous turnout, as I indicated, pleased to be back in a State that is known by its natives

and its visitors alike as “Almost Heaven.” Incidentally, I have one of your ties on tonight. [*Laughter*]

I am pleased to be back in Charleston, the city of imagination, of enterprise, and above all, a city that is blazing new trails in the delicate science of removing bridges. [*Laughter*]

The first time I came to West Virginia was back in 1949 to make a high school commencement address in Berkeley Springs. Since then, I have been to Charleston, Clarksburg, Wheeling, Morgantown, Elkins, Berkeley Springs, as I mentioned, and of course, White Sulphur.

Don’t ask me which place I liked the best. [*Laughter*] But I made that high school commencement speech in Berkeley Springs. I don’t remember what I said on that occasion, and probably nobody else does either. But I distinctly remember my first impressions of West Virginia—the beauty of its mountains and particularly the warmth of its people.

The impressions haven’t changed a bit over the last 27 years, but West Virginia has changed a lot. The West Virginia I see today is a new State. The beauty of its mountains still remains. The warmth and hospitality of the West Virginians continue to strike the visitor like a summer breeze. But through all those impressions, something new has been added, that is, the feeling of the people here striding confident into the future while retaining the heritage and the charm of your great past.

The reasons may be complex, but they have a great deal to do with coal. Your State is one—as I have heard from Arch and others—one of the largest bituminous coal producers in the Nation and among the largest in coal exports.

This great natural resource has improved the living standard of many of your citizens, enriched your State treasury through an increased tax flow, and provided much of the fuel to keep this Nation warm, its lights burning, and its factories humming. But beyond the surging demand for coal, West Virginia’s present prosperity can be attributed in large measure to the energy, self-reliance, the imagination of your citizens and public officials.

Under the enlightened leadership of my dear friend and your Governor, Arch Moore, you have vastly—under the leadership of Arch, you have vastly improved your highway system, raised the quality of education at every level, built tourism into a \$600-million-a-year business, and conducted a highly successful drive for new industries that has paid off in thousands and thousands of jobs and an unemployment rate below the national average.

I congratulate every one of you, and thousands like you throughout your State, on this new prosperity for this great State of West Virginia.

I was so pleased to find when I was looking through some material, that you here in West Virginia have a prosperity which now ranks West Virginia fifth in per capita income growth in our Nation, a prosperity which springs primarily from the rugged self-reliance, the inexhaustible energy, and the fierce independence which led the first hardy settlers in 1730 to penetrate the wilderness.

Tonight I would like to talk with you—after those introductory remarks which I feel very deeply about—I would like to talk to you about another form of independence. Ten months ago when I addressed the United States Congress and the American people, I said the state of the Union was not good. I called on the Congress and the country to move in a new direction. I pointed out the world is watching to see how we respond.

This evening, let's look at the state of our economy compared to that very, very uncertain circumstance that prevailed last January. While the economy is not my central theme—it is energy—nevertheless the health of our economy is unalterably linked to a stable and adequate supply of energy.

Last January simultaneous recession and inflation whipsawed the American people—they were caught in the middle. The money of millions of people was being eroded by double-digit inflation while recession cut very deeply into our national production and employment.

Today, although we have a long ways to go, the economy of this great Nation is well on the road to a healthy recovery and we should be proud of it. We are making a marked progress. The signs of this progress are clear for all of us to see. Our gross national product for the third quarter of 1975 increased by more than 11 percent—the biggest quarterly increase in two decades. That is progress. Industrial production rose at an annual rate of 20 percent during the same period—the biggest quarterly increase in more than 10 years. Productivity among American workers has been steadily improving for months. That is progress.

The number of Americans with jobs went up by nearly 1,600,000 from March through October of this year, and that is progress. For the last 8 months we have had a surplus of \$1 billion a month in our balance of trade with other countries, and that is progress, too.

Inflation has been cut almost in half between 1974 and 1975—down from 12-percent range to 6-percent range. That is not good enough. We are not satisfied, but it is progress.

These are all encouraging signs of growing economic strength and stability and vitality in America. Even though we have a way to go, we should be darned proud of the role that has been played by the American people and the way

they have responded to adversity. I am proud of them and you should be, too.

This past year has not seen the decline of America predicted by so many of the doomsayers last January. It has witnessed a resurrection of the traditional values of hard work and the toughness of spirit that have always characterized the American people in times of adversity. Believe me, no one on Earth will bury us unless we bury ourselves.

The economic difficulties of 1975, contrary to the forecasts of fear, were a simple and straightforward challenge to achievement. Tonight, I remind you we not only accepted that challenge as Americans but, more importantly, we did something about it.

But I must, frankly, admit to disappointment in getting the Congress to move on the principal comments I would like to make here tonight—energy. Last February, the leaders of the Congress met with me—and I say this with sadness—at the White House, solemnly assured me that they would have an energy program on my desk in the Oval Office by April. When they failed to meet that deadline, they asked me for more time, promising again to have an energy program on my desk within an additional 45 days.

Well, as we meet here tonight, the wind and the snow of a new winter are beginning to whip across the Great Plains and other areas of our country. But like the flowers of the spring, the energy promises of the Congress are faded and gone.

So far this year, proposed energy legislation has been incorporated in nearly 2,500 separate legislative proposals, tied up in 29 different committees. Tonight I call on the Congress once again to act responsibly, to provide this Nation with a program which will put us on the road to energy independence. We must move on that program now—not after next year's election but now.

The American people must have a responsible and reasonable and realistic legislation that will accomplish our national needs and our national goals. As part of this program, we must develop our most abundant and most known energy sources and, as all of you here in West Virginia know—what is the word? Coal.

Coal. Our coal resources total more than 3 trillion tons—a supply that guarantees the United States literally hundreds of years of energy. The fact is, we are not so much squandering our fuel resources as we are ignoring them. We are like a man in a desert who is dying for water while an oasis lies just beyond the horizon. Unless we in this land of ours develop the energy sources that surround us, take the difficult steps required to make them usable, our thirst for fuel will create severe hardships for ourselves and for generations to come.

While I am President, the fate and the future of America will not be left to undependable foreign sources of energy. I promise you that.

In the next 25 to 50 years, oil and gas—constituting more than two-thirds of the fuel we now use—may be far too costly to burn at any price. But our national coal reserves have more potential and are more precious to our future and your children's futures than all the Middle East reserves of fuel and all the fuel throughout this vast globe.

The United States cannot and will not base its national destiny on energy that belongs to other nations. That is not our national future. To do so would be national folly. We can and we must develop our own national energy resources, without despoiling the environment. Improved mining technology can ensure safe and environmentally sound production of coal. We can and we must technologically learn how to burn coal directly without producing environmental damage.

We do not have a shortage of resources. We do have a shortage of usable energy and a shortage of determination in the Congress to act because the development of an energy program involves politically difficult decisions. But the Congress must carry out its responsibilities in this vitally important area.

I like to put it this way: We can produce American energy with American money, an American work force, and an American technology for an American future. And shouldn't that be our aim and objective? That is what we want and that is what we have to get.

As I said earlier, the world, the whole world is watching to see how we respond. Economically, we are on the road to recovery. In energy, we are still at a standstill. The choice is up to Congress—to stand still in energy, to retreat from responsibility and reality, to threaten our economic recovery, or to move forward with legislation that will produce energy and economic stability for America.

I happen to believe that the American people want, as they always have, responsibility and reality. We in the Republican Party are prepared to provide it. And we welcome all comers to our fold who believe, as we do, that we can and will provide this Nation with strength at home and abroad.

From my travels across America—and I have been in quite a few States; Arch knows how many States I visited for 10 years when I was the minority leader, and have done a little in the interim—but from my travels across America, I am convinced of this: The Republican Party is in tune with the hopes and the aspirations of the American people, with their desires, with their wants, and most importantly, their hopes for themselves and their children.

For just a moment, let's be specific. I have found the American people want energy independence—so do we, the Republican Party. The American people want a sound economy—so do we. They want good housing, good food, and a good future for their families—and so do we. They want the \$28 billion tax cut I proposed to the Congress so they can spend their own money rather than have the Federal Government spend it for them—and so do we. At the same time, they want a \$28 billion reduction in the growth of Federal spending as a start toward a balanced budget—and so do we. The American people want the Government to help them meet their needs without ordering and dictating and dominating their lives—and so do we.

As I travel, I find this sort of drive that is, I think, coming to the surface. The people of America, the length and breadth of this land, are learning that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

These friends of ours—Democrats, Independents, and our Republican associates—want an America at peace and actively promoting peace with a strong intelligence capability to ensure our protection—and so do we. The American people want a defense second to none—so do we, and we are going to ensure that.

If we successfully carry this message to the people of West Virginia and the voters across America for the next 12 months, we can make 1976 a great year for the Republican Party, but more importantly, for this wonderful country that we all love so much.

We need the kind of continuing support you are providing by your presence here tonight. And I thank you for it. The decisions the American people will make less than 1 year from now will shape the course of this country well into our third century of independence.

In our first century of independence, our forefathers put together the greatest kind of government, the finest structure of government in the history of mankind, protected more people, gave more responsibility and opportunity to people—and how fortunate we were those men had the vision and the courage to do what they did for us.

In the first 100 years of America, this kind of government was put together firmly and soundly. In our second century of America, we moved forward into the greatest industrial Nation in the history of mankind. Now, in the third century, we are moving into a new era and a new opportunity, an opportunity to give to the individual the kind of freedom that is so needed, so necessary,

so vital, that so many want: freedom from mass government, freedom from mass labor, freedom from mass industry, freedom from mass education.

The American people in our third century have this tremendous opportunity, with the kind of leadership that we can give, to have that which we all seek—our individual freedom.

But let's make sure as we move into this century that we do our part for an America at peace, for a Nation renewed, for a people with pride, for a future that summons us to new achievement and glory and greatness.

With your help, we can do it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 p.m. at the Charleston Civic Center. In his remarks, he referred

to State Delegate Thomas E. Potter, West Virginia State Republican chairman.

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## Remarks at Cub Scout Induction Ceremonies in Charleston.

*November 11, 1975*

*Mr. Wells, Governor Moore, all of you wonderful Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, Scouters, et cetera:*

It is just great to be here. This is the kind of gathering I love to come and say just a word or two.

For a good share of my life, beginning a good many years ago, I spent a tremendous amount of time, starting as a Tenderfoot and going on through there, on through to a troop commissioner and a counsel—whatever they call them—and I was darned proud of my association with scouting from the beginning to the end. And I am proud of all scouting today and you should be, too.

I don't think there was a prouder moment in my life than when I was privileged to become an Eagle Scout. And I still have the merit badge sash, and I still have that Eagle badge. It means a great deal to me today, as it did then.

There is something about scouting that leaves an impression on you, an impression that is wholesome and is good, and it is a stimulant for greater effort—all the scout oaths and the scout laws—and I could almost repeat them without a mistake.

But I can say to you, you will enjoy yourself, you will do better, you will be happier, you will just make a greater contribution to your country, to your State, to your city, to your family, to yourself, if you live by the scout oath and

the scout laws. They are good for you today, and they will be good for you tomorrow, and they will be good for you a long time from now.

So, enjoy what you are doing, but make a big effort to do the best today as a scout. If you do, you will do a better job for your country in the years ahead.

Good luck. God bless you. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:18 p.m. at the Charleston Civic Center. In his opening remarks, he referred to Kenneth D. Wells, president emeritus, Boy Scouts of America.

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### Remarks at the Swearing In of Daniel J. Boorstin as Librarian of Congress. *November 12, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, Congressman Nedzi. Dr. and Mrs. Boorstin, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, distinguished Members of the House and Senate, members of the Cabinet, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

Some years ago, a little Mom and Pop bookstore went bankrupt in Washington and had to close its doors. The people who work with and people who love books always seem to retain their humor even in the face of adversity. I remember the bookstore as being padlocked, emptied of its treasures, but a small sign was pasted in the window. It said "Words failed us." [*Laughter*]

Today, we honor a man as well as an institution that words have never failed. It is particularly appropriate on the eve of the Nation's Bicentennial for Dr. Boorstin to become the Librarian of Congress.

A noted American historian, educator, and author, Dr. Boorstin won a Pulitzer Prize in 1973 for his outstanding book, "The Democratic Experience" or, as it is known at the White House, "The Democratic and Republican Experience." [*Laughter*]

It is evident that Dr. Boorstin will bring to this post a love of learning and a scholar's appreciation of the importance of libraries and of the unique contribution of the Library of Congress to American life.

As a former Member of the Congress, I am fully aware of the valuable services that this facility provides to Members of the House and Senate and to the committees of the Congress. May I express my appreciation to many of you who have responded to my requests for help and assistance over the 25 years that I was privileged to serve in the House of Representatives. And we who were the beneficiaries of that help and assistance can never repay you for your contribution to our efforts in the Congress.



But the significance of the Library of Congress goes far beyond its assistance to the Congress itself. This Library is a leading symbol of intellectual life in America. Its diversified collections provide an intellectual reservoir that is without equal.

As the Librarian of Congress, Dr. Boorstin, you will extend in a new direction your lifelong commitment to the understanding and to the appreciation of America's past.

Dr. Boorstin becomes the 12th person, as Congressman Nedzi said, to head this great institution whose 175-year history actually parallels the development of this Nation's intellectual tradition. The Library's contributions to America have been invaluable. The Library's contributions will continue to play a vital role in American life in future years.

I came here today because of my personal admiration for Dr. Boorstin and to salute his predecessor, Quincy Mumford, for his outstanding service over a long period of time. But I also came to emphasize the importance of this Library as a basic intellectual resource of this Nation.

I am very, very pleased that my old friend, my very close friend, the Speaker of the House, Carl Albert, will swear in Dr. Boorstin as Librarian of Congress. Mr. Speaker.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:34 p.m. in the Great Hall at the Library of Congress.

Dr. Boorstin's response to the President's remarks

is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 1273).

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**Letter to Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court on His Retirement. November 12, 1975**

*Dear Mr. Justice Douglas,*

I have read your letter of this date with profound personal sympathy for the sad circumstances under which you deem it inadvisable to attempt to continue participating in the work of the Supreme Court of the United States. I want you to know first of all of my warm admiration for your valiant effort to carry on the duties of your high office, despite your recent illness, with the same courage and independent will that have characterized your long service to your country.

In response to your decision to retire at the close of this day from regular active service as an Associate Justice, may I express on behalf of all our country-

men this nation's great gratitude for your more than 36 years as a Member of the Supreme Court. Your distinguished years of service are unequalled in all the history of the Court. Your contributions to the law both as scholar and jurist and your service under President Franklin D. Roosevelt as member and chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission constitute a lifetime of dedicated public service matched by few Americans.

It is my sincere hope that your health will soon be restored so that you can enjoy your well-deserved retirement and relax among the natural beauties you love and have helped to preserve. Future generations of citizens will continue to benefit from your firm devotion to the fundamental rights of individual freedom and privacy under the Constitution.

Please accept my respect and personal good wishes.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable William O. Douglas, Supreme Court of the United States]

NOTE: Justice Douglas' letter, dated November 12, 1975, read as follows:

*Dear Mr. President:*

It was my hope, when I returned to Washington in September, that I would be able to continue to participate in the work of the Supreme Court.

I have learned, however, after these last two months, that it would be inadvisable for me to attempt to carry on the duties required of a member of the Court. I have been bothered with incessant and demanding pain which depletes my energy to the extent that I have been unable to shoulder my full share of the burden.

Therefore, pursuant to the provisions of Title 28, U.S. Code, Section 371(b), I hereby retire at the close of this day from regular active service as an

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

During the hours of oral argument last week pain made it necessary for me to leave the Bench several times. I have had to leave several times this week also. I shall continue to seek relief from this unabated pain but there is no bright prospect in view.

Chief Justice Burger and my other colleagues on the Bench have extended to me every courtesy and generous consideration. I have appreciated their thoughtfulness and I shall miss them sorely, but I know this is the right decision.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

[The Honorable Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

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## Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg. *November 12, 1975*

*Mr. Prime Minister, our distinguished guests:*

Let me say to you, Mr. Prime Minister, it is a great pleasure to welcome you to our country and to Washington and to this evening with your many friends as well as others. And this is, of course, a continuation of the first meetings we had in Brussels last spring.

I was just saying that I had the impression then, and I am even more im-

pressed now, of your able spokespersonship on behalf of not only your country but the views that we share and the feelings that we have. And I congratulate you on the strong positions and the firm views that you have taken in your new role at the United Nations.

I spoke to you this morning, and I wondered how even a young person like yourself could handle all of your responsibilities—Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Minister of Commerce, President of the United Nations General Assembly, upcoming President, as of January of 1976, of the Council of Ministers of the European Community. If I was going to take a vacation, Mr. President, I am sure I would not volunteer for your responsibilities. [*Laughter*]

I also understand that on the side you are the Minister of Physical Education and Sports of Luxembourg. Can I volunteer for that? [*Laughter*]

Mr. Prime Minister, we admire your talent and your versatility, your energy, and obviously, your accomplishments. And I am honored to consult with you on the issues that we discussed this morning of such great importance to our countries and to the mutual interests of our nations.

As we discussed in Brussels and as we discussed subsequently, the ties on a bilateral relationship between Luxembourg and the United States are very close. And as far as I know, there are no problems whatsoever, and we are most grateful for this close and, I think, successful relationship between our countries.

The meetings we had this spring in Brussels of the NATO nations brought our respective allies together more closely than we had seen in the past, and it is, I hope, only a building stone and a step forward to greater solidarity in the months ahead.

The new responsibilities, of course, that you have in New York I don't envy. [*Laughter*] We strongly support, despite some of the recent problems, the United Nations. As you may have noticed, I said the United States, despite disappointments and losses, ought not to, under any circumstances, leave the United Nations.

We believe that it is better to fight within than to stand on the outside without participating. And so, our good Ambassador is going to fight within, with restraint and success. But we support what you represent, Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister.

What I would like to do is just to commend you for your great leadership at home, your great leadership in the Community, your fine performance as head of the General Assembly, and your overall rapport that our countries have. And I am proud and privileged to have you as our guest in the White House on this occasion.

Let me assure you that the American people support what you believe in and the things that you represent and those that your country represent.

So, may I offer a toast, Mr. President, to the Prime Minister, to our continued close ties, and to His Royal Highness, the Grand Duke Jean.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:03 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Because Prime Minister Thorn was not feeling well, Luxembourg Ambassador Adrien Meisch was requested to deliver the major portion of the Prime Minister's remarks, as follows:

AMBASSADOR MEISCH

*Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:*

"Let me thank you, first of all, for your kind words and the warm reception you have given me on my first visit to Washington as Prime Minister of Luxembourg.

"Your long experience in politics, as well as your frank and sympathetic approach, greatly facilitate a common understanding and create a rapport which I felt was most helpful in our discussions this morning.

"Since then, I had the privilege to meet with other prominent politicians, and I was pleased to see on all these occasions how closely our two countries are linked together. Those ties are not only based on the identity of our political, economic, and security interests but also on the interplay of cultural and historical developments that have been of such great importance to us.

"It gives me particular pleasure to be in the United States on the threshold of the great jubilee of its history, the Bicentennial.

"You are the only country in the world with 200 years of uninterrupted republican, democratic traditions, a country which for two centuries has made liberty and equality for all citizens its law of life. Those ideals remain today the most important, the most topical, and the most vital for all of us.

"Over the last centuries, many Luxembourg emigrants have come over the Atlantic Ocean. There are now almost as many descendants of Luxembourgers in the United States as there are citizens in the Grand Duchy, a unique record indeed.

"My country, of course, owes a tremendous debt to the United States. The Luxembourg people will never forget that it was the American Army which liberated them during the last World War, that it was the Marshall Plan that permitted Europe to close its terrible wounds. This great deed of peace is unique in the history of international cooperation and remains forever a testimony to the generosity of the American people.

"Democratic freedoms and prosperity can, however, only be preserved if they are linked with readiness to defend them both internally and externally. That is precisely the purpose of the Atlantic Alliance

in which we are united, the purpose of the Atlantic partnership to which we again committed ourselves at the NATO Council 6 months ago in Brussels.

"The Alliance shields us not only against aggression. It provides us also with a framework within which our countries can develop their cooperation among themselves. It constitutes the indispensable basis for successful détente.

"We all know that a nation's external strength is only as great as its internal strength. A free society cannot pursue a positive and convincing foreign policy if its internal structure is not sound and well organized. That is why it is absolutely essential for our democracies to keep their own house in order.

"In this respect, I want to stress the outstanding role of the economy. Indeed, I do think that we can no longer isolate the political and security questions from the economic and monetary problems. Within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance, we must be aware that the economic and social evolution is having a direct bearing on our defense efforts and our willingness to defend our democratic ideals.

"I am convinced that our democracies can cope with the present economic and social crisis if they act in solidarity. I am no less convinced that economic and political cooperation of the nine Western European states will be of major significance in this field, as in others.

"European union, to which we have committed ourselves, has not yet been completed, and to be frank, in this respect we are still a long way behind our hopes and promises. But a united Europe is essential, and we shall build it.

"In doing so, we need the understanding of the United States. One thing is certain. Only through close cooperation between North America and Europe and by harmonizing our interests have we any prospect of mastering the great challenges with which the world confronts us today.

"If anything can fill us with courage to face this tremendous task, it is a belief in the inalienable dignity and freedom of man which inspired the founders of your mighty country 200 years ago."

Mr. President, before offering a toast to you, I think I pass.

PRIME MINISTER THORN

*Mr. President, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:*

Mr. President, may I thank you for your hearty welcome and for all your comprehension. It was your doctor who 2 hours ago didn't allow me to deliver myself the speech, but he allowed me to make a toast.

May I propose first that it would be the greatest honor for my country if the President of the greatest country of NATO could come one day, one hour, to visit the tiny, the baby partner of NATO.

It would be a great honor for my country, and, Mr. President, may I drink the toast to your health, to the prosperity of the American people, and to our good, friendly, and everlasting cooperation.

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## Special Message to the Congress Proposing Reform of Motor Carrier Regulation. *November 13, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Throughout our history, an effective transportation system has played a vital role in promoting the economic growth and development of this Nation. Yet, over the years in response to a variety of economic and political pressures, the Federal Government has become increasingly involved in the management of our transportation industries. We have built up a patchwork of economic regulation which shapes and controls competition in industries which are naturally competitive. As a consequence, these industries have come to rely on regulation to protect them from meaningful competition. It is now clear that this patchwork regulatory structure has not kept pace with changes in the industry and the economy. We have permitted regulation designed in theory to protect the public interest to become in practice the protector of special industry interests.

I have observed a growing public and congressional concern over the need to eliminate outdated regulation and to restore our regulatory system to its original purpose of serving consumers. In response to this concern, I have sent two previous transportation proposals to the Congress. Today I am sending to the Congress the Motor Carrier Reform Act which will modernize the regulation of another major transportation industry.

Like the Railroad Revitalization Act and the Aviation Act of 1975 which are already before the Congress, the basic thrust of this proposed motor carrier legislation is to improve performance of our transportation industry by replacing Government regulation with competition. Together, these three bills will produce a regulatory system that responds to the needs of the consuming public instead of to the interests of the regulated industries.

Under the current regulatory system, carriers, shippers and passengers alike are confronted with a web of Government restrictions and regulations which discourage innovation, promote inefficient transportation service and artificially distort rates and fares. The prices of many consumer products are higher than necessary because Government regulations and restrictions permit price fixing and produce inefficiencies such as empty backhauls and circuitous routing. Too

often bus passengers pay higher fares because the Federal Government sanctions efforts by a few firms to block the entry of new companies into the market. Archaic and artificial regulatory constraints also force unnecessary usage of significant quantities of energy and other valuable resources.

This legislation will benefit American consumers in several ways. For example, it will have a direct effect on the traveling public by encouraging a greater variety of bus transportation services at a wider range of prices. Also, it will enable interstate household moving companies to be more responsive to customer needs and give the public a choice of services. Individuals who want quick moving service and are willing to pay a premium will be able to do so. Others who prefer to pay less for moving services that are not so immediate will find such alternatives available.

These are two examples of how the bill will benefit consumers directly. Other less visible results will have an even greater impact. For example, the bill will provide trucking firms with more freedom to adjust prices to meet market conditions. It will remove artificial entry barriers and encourage new companies to enter markets and to compete on the basis of innovative services and lower prices. It will allow smaller trucking firms—owner operations and contract carriers—to compete more effectively and to grow in response to normal market demand. It will strengthen the common carrier system and enable small businesses to better meet their transportation needs. Such actions will enable some manufacturers to lower the costs of distributing goods and thereby help reduce consumer prices. The removal of uneconomic restrictions on the goods and commodities a truck is permitted to carry and the specific routes it must travel also will help eliminate wasteful energy consumption and avoid empty backhauls which raise prices unnecessarily.

In summary, the bill will reduce or eliminate many of the inefficiencies which have crept into the motor carrier industry during 40 years of regulatory control. Where regulation is acknowledged as necessary to protect the public interest, the bill will streamline and improve such regulation. For instance, the bill eliminates gaps in present safety enforcement statutes to improve the already high overall safety record of the motor carrier industry.

The importance of regulatory reform to improve our transportation system cannot be overemphasized. I urge the Congress to give this measure serious consideration at the earliest possible date.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 13, 1975.

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**Remarks at North Carolina Central University.***November 14, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, my old and very dear friend, Governor Jim Holshouser. Dr. Whiting, Dr. Friday, Dr. Cousin, students, faculty, and guests:*

I am most appreciative and deeply touched with the honor that you have granted me today. And let me thank all of you most sincerely for making me a part of the distinguished family of North Carolina Central University. I am most appreciative, deeply indebted, and very grateful. I thank you for your warmth, your spirit, and your enthusiasm. This is one Eagle who is really flying high today. [*Laughter*]

May I congratulate the touring and concert choirs, Mr. Gilchrist, the narrator, Mr. Simmons. The rendition of that piece dedicated to Martin Luther King—"Precious Lord Take My Hand"—was beautifully done. And I thank you very, very much.

But I just wonder if with your generosity you realize what a busy, busy day you have made for me on Saturday, November 22. Normally, I would spend that whole afternoon rooting for the Michigan Wolverines to try and beat Ohio State. But this year, as an NCCU alumnus, you can bet I will also be rooting for the Eagles to beat A&T [North Carolina A&T State University]. [*Laughter*]

It is a great pleasure and a distinct honor for me to be with you as you observe the 50th anniversary year of the founding of North Carolina Central University as a State-supported liberal arts institution. Your university became the first State-supported liberal arts school for blacks in the Nation.

Since then, graduates of North Carolina Central have made a mark in almost every walk of American life. I am sure that those of you who now are students will ultimately do the same. The pursuit of excellence, whether in a classroom or on the football field or in politics, is no stranger to your alumni and to your students—names like Maynard Jackson, mayor of Atlanta; Ronald Barbee, first black Republican Superior Circuit Court Judge in the State; Aaron Spaulding, a member of my staff at the White House; high hurdler Lee Calhoun, the two-time Olympic medal winner, who is presently head track coach at Yale University; Charles Foster, world premier hurdler; Ronnie Ray, who won two gold medals at the 1975 American games in Mexico City and who currently holds the 400-meter world record; and certainly not last in any competition, your

very popular track coach, Dr. Leroy T. Walker, who will coach our 1976 Olympic track and field team. Congratulations, Dr. Walker.

At this time, our Nation is also celebrating an anniversary—the American Bicentennial. As we reflect over these 200 years it is difficult to imagine almost any American endeavor without acknowledging the great contributions of blacks to our society—music, art, culture, science, medicine, sports—NCCU alumni are all there. And I congratulate you.

Despite these burdens, despite the added difficulties, blacks have entered all types of American competition and have come out national champions, indeed national heroes.

There is a lesson for all of us in the history of American blacks, and that lesson is precisely this: to develop our maximum will, the desire to compete, to excel. That is what life is all about—to achieve, to reach a worthy goal. And blacks in increasing numbers have attained many, many, many worthy goals in our American society.

The whole thrust of humanity is one of progress. It has taken thousands of years, but today we have gained unparalleled mastery over the material world. At the same time, the nations and the societies of the world are becoming more and more interdependent. Let me add another word for interdependence—neighborliness.

We are living in a time when many of the currents of history are coming together. The world is recognizing slowly but surely the necessity to harmonize our civilization. I am an optimist. I believe we may yet attain man's greatest goals and noblest aspirations. You may live to see the day when we are not merely masters of the material world, but all living together in what we all want—harmony with it.

We know that competition is the energy of progress. It is a force which propels the human machine to new heights and to greater distances. And it brings us together in the same field, whether it is in the stadium or the classroom of NCCU or in business or in our daily lives.

I believe that competition breeds harmony, not division. It is the lack of competition which breeds division, because people then feel they do not have a chance, that society or the world is denying them an opportunity.

Inequality, injustice, lack of competition are gradually being removed from the American scene. I support the equal rights amendment, just as I supported a new and broader extension of the Voting Rights Act. But I say emphatically, much more needs to be done.

I hope and work for the day when competition, opportunity for all Ameri-



cans, will be equal and totally fair without race or religion or sex ever being a factor. I hope and work for the day when the human mind and the human spirit are no longer shackled by ignorance and prejudice, when all the children of God are brothers and sisters.

You have the opportunity here at NCCU to break more shackles and join in America's competitive life through a good education. Seize the opportunity and use that wonderful opportunity and the experiences here. It may never pass your way again.

I know that your own Dr. Helen Edmonds, whom I was delighted to see a few minutes before the ceremony began, distinguished professor of history and former alternate delegate to the United Nations, and other faculty members are helping to prepare you for life's competition.

Dr. Edmonds met with me shortly after I assumed the Presidency and eloquently told me some of the concerns and aspirations of blacks and of women. As President of all the people, these concerns are my concerns. These aspirations are my aspirations. I will do all that I possibly can to help you and millions like you achieve them.

But my real message today aims at an even greater and nobler goal for which we strive—the communion of Americans, our coming together to face a common destiny as one people and one nation. This goal is truly worthy of all Americans.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:44 a.m. in McDougald Gymnasium. Prior to speaking, he received an honorary doctor of laws degree from William C. Friday, president, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to Albert N. Whiting, chancellor, North Carolina Central University, and Rev. Phillip R. Cousin, pastor, St. Joseph's African Methodist Episcopal Church of Durham.

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## Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Reception in Raleigh, North Carolina. November 14, 1975

*Thank you very, very much, Jim. My good friend Governor Holshouser, Jesse Helms, your fine Senator, Congressman Martin, Tom Bennett, Bob Shaw, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

I have one thing to add to the story that Jim Broyhill tells. I did spend almost a year down at Chapel Hill Pre-Flight School. So, that is another 10 months to my service in the great State of North Carolina. [Laughter]

Obviously, I am terribly delighted to look out and see so many great, dedicated, and enthusiastic Republicans standing here today. Yes, today we are standing, but I can assure you that after next year's election a lot more Republicans are going to be sitting in Raleigh and in Washington—[*laughter*—let me finish—in seats that are now held by Democrats. [*Laughter*]

You know, it is long overdue, particularly here in the great State of North Carolina. Frankly, I don't understand it. I don't understand how North Carolina can have three of the greatest basketball teams in the country—UNC, State, and Duke—teams that move like greased lightning, and also have a Democratic-controlled legislature that can't even get out of its own way. [*Laughter*] And if any of the Democrats in the Congress are listening, that problem isn't limited to Raleigh. [*Laughter*]

Quite frankly, I am here to say that our Republican Party has a philosophy and a force whose time has come. We are reasonable, reliable, and a ready home for all concerned Americans, a home for responsible Republicans, the home of involved Independents, and yes, even the home of just plain disgusted Democrats. We welcome them all.

I am extremely happy to be here as you prepare for your State Republican convention. I know from firsthand experience the Republican Party of North Carolina helped lead the way toward a two-party political setup in the South. And the people of this great State have seen at first hand that Republican government is good government. I can say that with tremendous enthusiasm and strong feeling because you have such an opportunity of great pride in your Republican officeholders, your outstanding Governor, Jim Holshouser.

You know he has done a tremendous job in being your Governor. But I have traveled all over this State with Jim at various political gatherings for the benefit of the party in your State and our country, and I am just darned glad to have him as a very, very good friend.

But I am equally proud of my friendship with and the record of your hard-working Members of the Congress, your fine Senator, Jesse Helms, and of course, my good friends and former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Jim Broyhill and Jim Martin.

May I express my strong support for your State legislators and other public officials, who I think contribute significantly to the building of a party and the record of a party. I think all of these people deserve one more great big hand, and I will join them.

I would be very negligent if I didn't express my appreciation for the contributions that two dear, old friends of mine, Earl Ruth and Vinegar Bend Mizell—

the contributions that they made when they were in the House of Representatives and the fine job they are doing in our Administration at the present time.<sup>1</sup>

One of my dearest friends in the Congress for 20 years was Charlie Jonas. He and I served on the Committee on Appropriations together. We literally voted day after day after day the same way. And I haven't had a chance to see Charlie here today, but if any of you do, give him my best. He is a great, great American.

Now, the Republican Party in North Carolina has grown; it has prospered in a very dynamic and dramatic way. Although you are still a minority in voter registration, as we are as a party nationally, you have won victory after victory with good candidates, good issues, and good, strong, active, party organization. And these are the keys to success in North Carolina as they are everywhere. I think with your record, we are going to send some folks in to learn how you do it. I congratulate you.

Because we are a minority in this State, in registration at the national level, I don't think we can afford dissension within our own party. When we sacrifice party unity, we all too often sacrifice victory as well. From now on, let's concentrate on winning elections instead of arguments.

In 1976, I am absolutely convinced that a strong, united Republican Party will win more than its share of victories in North Carolina and throughout America. And what you do here in North Carolina can be tremendously significant. We will go, in trying to achieve these successes, to the American people with a record of strength at home and strength abroad.

Our national defense has never been stronger. The American dollar is once again one of the strongest currencies on the international money market. Our trade surplus is once more the envy of the world. Let me thank with emphasis the farmers of North Carolina, the working people of North Carolina, and the businessmen of North Carolina for helping to make this significant progress a reality.

Over the past few months our economic progress at home has been very encouraging. From time to time I concede there have been some temporary interruptions, but on balance, we are moving toward a strong economic recovery and long-lasting economic stability.

The signs of this progress are clear for all to see. Our gross national product for the third quarter of 1975 increased by more than 11 percent—the biggest quarterly increase in 20 years. That is progress, by any standards.

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<sup>1</sup>Governor of American Samoa and Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Development, respectively.

Our industrial production, which is a fundamental in our society, rose at an annual rate of 20 percent nationally, between June and September. And just as importantly, productivity of our people that work in the factories and on the field, the productivity of American workers has been steadily improving for months. And that is progress, and that is probably the best way to beat inflation in this country.

The number of Americans with jobs went up by nearly 1,600,000 between March and October alone, and that is progress. For the last 8 months, we have averaged a billion-a-month balance-of-trade surplus in the United States, and boy, that is really progress.

Inflation has been cut by more than half between 1974 and 1975, down from 12-percent double-digit inflation to the range of 6 percent. Obviously, that is not good enough, but it is still progress. And we are going to make more and more, particularly if we can get this spendthrift Congress to hold the line.

These are all signs of progress, of growing economic strength, stability, and vitality. Now, to maintain this momentum, the American people must demand that their elected officials hold the line on government spending and look past the next election to the next generation and to long-time economic growth and strength.

This is the responsibility of people in public office today. The painful lessons of the past prove beyond any doubt that we cannot spend our way into prosperity, but we can certainly spend our way into the poorhouse. And we don't want that.

Any family in North Carolina knows it, I know it, and I hope we can convince the Congress of it before they bring the whole country to the brink of economic default. We simply cannot go on spending money like we have been spending in recent years. We couldn't afford it then, and we can't afford it now.

I have sent to the Congress a very simple plan to slow down the alarming rate of growth in the Federal budget and to give the American people a much deserved tax cut at the same time. I proposed a tax cut of \$28 billion to be matched by a \$28 billion reduction in the growth of Federal spending—very simple, but very sound.

As you might have expected, the Democrats in the Congress like the idea of the tax cut, but they are singing that old "can't do" chorus on the spending cut. They have decided that with an election year coming up, it wouldn't be wise to upset the various special interest groups which have lobbied so hard to keep on spending Federal money like there was no tomorrow.

You know, they never think about tomorrow. They are always thinking about today. And I think the day of concentration on short-term benefits and long-range disaster has ended.

Let me remind my friends in the Congress that there is a tomorrow, a day of reckoning when the bill or bills will come due. We can't afford a tax cut without a spending cut. It is just as simple as that. If we do, you can look forward to more double-digit inflation eating away at your paycheck, your grocery bill, your savings, your pension, and everything else that involves your money.

As they spend and spend and spend, they don't seem to realize that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

Quite honestly, I think the Democrats in the Congress are misjudging and underestimating the American people. If they won't do anything responsible about your taxation, maybe it is time you did something about your representation. [*Laughter*]

The "can't do" Congressional chorus has called that tune long enough. If we had a Republican Congress again to work with a Republican President in maintaining that momentum and preserving the progress we have already made—yes, I know the Republican Party of North Carolina is ready to help in this tremendous effort, and I thank you for your help.

But now, as I close, since the pollsters are climbing all over the country, combing America from one end to the other for validation of various judgments and opinions, I would like to conduct my own poll right here this afternoon. I would like your views on what you think your President should be doing.

As a starter, do you want your President to accept budget-busting appropriation bills without a fight? Do you?<sup>2</sup>

Do you want your President to roll over and play dead while the Congress passes more and more legislation to strangle the free enterprise of this great country?

Do you want your President to go along with those who would sacrifice local control over local affairs on that altar of big brother Federal Government?

Do you want your President to let a foreign oil cartel to keep a hammerlock on America's energy future?

Do you want your President to let the Congress cut—and I mean really cut and slash—the muscle from America's defense budget?

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<sup>2</sup> The audience responded "No" to this and each of the subsequent questions asked by the President.

Do you want your President to let some publicity-seeking individuals undercut, undermine, destroy the effectiveness of our intelligence-gathering community that is so important to the future and the care and security of the United States?

If your answer is no—and I think I have heard it right—[*laughter*—]—then you want a Republican President and you need a Republican Congress to work with him.

So, it comes right down to this: Strength at home, strength abroad, a record of progress and peace—these are what the people want and what we Republicans are prepared to offer. We want an America that is strong and just and free, an America that stands for hope and promise and peace throughout the world.

Next year is one of major decision. The people of North Carolina and your neighbors throughout America must decide what direction this country will take as we enter our third century.

Let's make sure that the decision is for an America at peace, for a nation renewed, for a people with pride, for a future that summons us to new challenges and new glory. Let's make 1976 a great, great year for America by making it a great year for the Republican Party. And let us celebrate that great victory together next November.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:22 p.m. in the Royal King's Hall at the Royal Villa Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to former North Carolina State

Republican Chairman Thomas S. Bennett, and Robert G. Shaw, incoming chairman.

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## **The President's News Conference of *November 14, 1975***

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. This is a new format, the first press conference just for the local press, and I am looking forward to it.

Mr. Merriner, will you ask the first question?

### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[1.] Q. Jim Merriner, *Atlanta Constitution*. Will Rogers Morton take an active role in your campaign, and will Bo Callaway's role be downgraded in substance, if not in his actual title?

THE PRESIDENT. First, Bo Callaway is doing a fine job. He will continue

as he has been. Rogers Morton is Secretary of Commerce. As long as he holds that post, he will have no official responsibilities with the President Ford Committee.

When he leaves the post on or about February 1, he has said he would like to help in any capacity where he can be helpful, but under no circumstances that I foresee would he do anything more than a part-time aide in that area.

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER

[2.] Q. Mr. President, the Secretary of State, saying he was acting on your orders today, was cited by the House intelligence committee for refusing to divulge certain documents. What is your reaction?

THE PRESIDENT. The Pike committee in the House of Representatives several days ago made a demand for a very substantial number of documents. They wanted, for example, in this area documents from 1962 to 1972, documents which included recommendations from previous Secretaries of State to then Presidents.

It requested, for example, recommendations from a number of departments through the 40 Committee, which is our intelligence covert activity group that recommends to Presidents action that a President would approve or disapprove.

On the advice of the Attorney General, after thoroughly analyzing the documents requested, the Attorney General has advised me to exercise Executive privilege, which I have.

Q. Do you expect him to be cited by the full Congress and be indeed fined or sent to prison?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't speculate on what the House of Representatives might do, but we have taken this action with reluctance. But it is important to preserve Executive privilege where recommendations are made by top officials to a President, and I regret very, very much that the committee has taken this action.

I think it is shocking. I think it has very broad and serious ramifications. Over a period of 5 months, I have tried to cooperate with that committee, giving them tremendous amounts of material, a very substantial number of documents in order to cooperate. But in this case it doesn't involve my Administration. It involves the period from 1962 to 1972.

I think it is wrong, and therefore, to protect the confidentiality of recommendations from previous Secretaries of State to previous Presidents, I have exercised Executive privilege.

Q. Thank you, and to identify myself, I am Gloria Lane with WSB Television.

THE PRESIDENT. Nice to see you.

NEW YORK CITY

[3.] Q. Craig Lesser, WBHF, Cartersville. Sir, considering Governor Carey's latest proposals as well as the serious possibility of a defeat in the New York primary, to what extent do you support Secretary Simon's latest proposal of aid to New York?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me clear up one thing. I don't believe there is a primary as such in New York City. I expect to get very substantial support in New York State when they make the decision at the convention.

The situation in reference to New York is precisely this: Based on the factual situation, I have not changed my decision and have not agreed for any bailout of New York City. For the first time we have in writing things that the State of New York, the City of New York, the investors, and labor organizations have agreed to do. But as of this moment, nothing factually has been done.

One of the matters that they must do, of course, is to reenact a piece of legislation that permits cities and municipalities to extend maturity dates and to reduce interest rates on certain obligations.

That legislation, I am told, has not yet been enacted. It is, in effect, a procedure under State law that is somewhat comparable to a Federal bankruptcy procedure. But on the basis of the facts now, there is no change in my position.

We are analyzing the documents received from Governor Carey. We will consult with others, I am encouraged. But until we have analyzed, until they have acted, there is absolutely no change in my position.

Q. Consider if the legislation is passed that Governor Carey did suggest yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT. There are a number of other things that have to be done. They have to agree to raise their taxes—city and State. They have to agree to reduce expenditures quite substantially. Investors have to agree to extend maturities and to reduce interest rates. Labor organizations have to renegotiate the pension plans that have been in effect.

This is a series of steps that must be taken. If and when they are done, of course, we will take another look at it. It is perfectly conceivable, with all of those constructive steps, they might be able to handle their seasonal financing without any Federal intervention.



But there is a long way to go. We have it on paper, they have promised, but we don't have any action at the present time.

THE SUPREME COURT

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I am Bill Cotterell with United Press International. Sir, what qualities are you looking for in a Supreme Court Justice? How much have you narrowed down the list, and does it include any Democrats, women, Southerners, or, sir, members of your Cabinet? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I am looking for the best person—the best person qualified. We have a preliminary list that the Attorney General has put together. I have asked a number of people to suggest names, and a number of people have made such suggestions. They are being communicated to the Attorney General. He will consult with the bar. Their observations will certainly be considered by me.

The list could be quite comprehensive, but until it is submitted to me as a firm list by the Attorney General after this consultation process, I can't make any determination who will be on it and who won't be on it. But we are trying to expedite it, because it is vitally important that the vacancy on the Court be filled as quickly as possible.

Q. How quickly do you think you can do it?

THE PRESIDENT. I hesitate to put a deadline, but I can assure you we are trying to maximize the speed, because the Court does need a full nine-member membership. They have some very serious cases coming before it. And I would hope that within 3 weeks at the most we would have some name submitted to the United States Senate.

SENATOR EDWARD BROOKE

[5.] Q. Katherine Johnston, Associated Press. Mr. President, you said today in North Carolina that you would consider the possibility of Senator Edward Brooke running as your Vice-Presidential mate in 1976. Do you consider Brooke a serious contender, and would a black enhance your chances of winning the election?

THE PRESIDENT. I was asked a question by one of the students at North Carolina Central University, was there anyone in a minority group who I would consider. And I readily said Senator Edward Brooke, a man of experience, integrity, and certainly an outstanding Member of the United States Senate.

I don't rule out anyone. The field is wide open since the Vice President withdrew. At the proper time, I will make a specific recommendation. I am simply saying that Senator Brooke is certainly a person, among many others, who ought to be considered.

## THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Mike Christenson of the Atlanta Journal. How can you possibly benefit politically from deregulation of the trucking industry, as you proposed?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if the trucking industry has been overregulated as far as the consumer is concerned and they have a competitive advantage over other forms of transportation, I think some deregulation is called for.

The recommendations made to me, which I submitted to the Congress yesterday, are carefully thought out. We have not only analyzed what has been done under the ICC over a period of time, we have consulted with the trucking industry, we have consulted with the labor organizations related to trucking.

We think that this is a bona fide, legitimate area for some deregulation, and I think it will benefit the consumer. I think it will improve and strengthen the trucking industry. Therefore, I strongly favor what we have submitted.

Q. Do you think this will help you politically?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it will, because there are elements in the trucking industry, there are consumers who deal with the trucking industry who are very supportive of this. So, I think on balance, first, it is right, and if something is right, I think it is politically beneficial.

## THE SUPREME COURT

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Nick Taylor with WXIA-TV in Atlanta. Returning to the Supreme Court for a moment, what sort of philosophical makeup would you like to see in the Supreme Court when you fill the seat vacated by Justice Douglas?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it is appropriate to start discussing such characteristics as philosophical views or other criteria that might be used. I want the best person to fill that vacancy that I can possibly get, and I think it is premature and unwise to draw a prescription, because everybody then will take a person and relate it to that prescription. I would rather have the names submitted. I will analyze them, and I will submit one name. But I think it is unwise to draw up a prescription at this time.

Q. Would you expect the Court, once your appointment is made, to continue the moves away from the sort of libertarian attitudes espoused by the Warren Court?

THE PRESIDENT. I have felt that the Court has moved somewhat in a direction that I approve in the last several years, yes.

## REVENUE SHARING AND EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, Don Hicks, with WBIE Radio in Atlanta. My question is, what is your Administration's position in regard to continued funding of revenue sharing and also CETA programs?

THE PRESIDENT. I strongly favor general revenue sharing. About 4 months ago I requested that the Congress renew the present law for a 5-year period. Unfortunately, the Congress hasn't moved in this area as rapidly as I think they should. I hope that mayors and Governors and other local officials will join with me in urging the Congress to extend the present general revenue sharing legislation.

I also favor the CETA legislation, the Comprehensive Education (Employment) and Training Act. I think it is good legislation. I recommended that it be fully funded. I think it was very helpful in the recession that we were in, and I hope that we can continue it in the future.

## GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Shelby McCash, with the Macon Telegraph and News. One of the candidates for President on the Democratic ticket, Jimmy Carter by name, is proposing a massive reorganization of the Federal bureaucracy, trimming down Government, I think, by several hundred agencies and bureaus, he claims. If this is a feasible and worthwhile goal, why isn't your Administration taking the initiative to do this?

THE PRESIDENT. He has never submitted such a plan to me—[laughter]—so I am not familiar with the details of it.

We, of course, have been undertaking for the last 6 months a very broad program to deregulate the American business, the American people. We think this is a big step in the right direction.

I think the biggest danger we fear is not the elimination of agencies—although I think some can be done away with. I think the biggest danger with this Congress, they want to foist more agencies on the President, and I might say to my good friend, the former Governor, that this Democratic Congress is the one that is trying to add to the agencies, not subtract from them.

Q. But there are a few you believe that could be eliminated? Nothing like 300, however?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is a slight exaggeration.

## ARMY TRAINING STATIONS

[10.] Q. Mr. President, I am Beryl Sellers, from the Columbus Ledger-Inquirer. Recently, the Department of the Army has come out in favor of a

one-station training program for soldiers, but this program has run into some serious trouble in Congress. I want to ask you, do you favor this program, and if so, what can you do to salvage it?

THE PRESIDENT. That particular recommendation has not come to me from the Department of Defense. In theory, I think it makes sense. You do run into, however, various Members of the House and Senate in those States where a base might be closed or a station eliminated. And so that is the problem. But until the actual recommendation has come to me—I have not, of course, made a decision.

Q. You have received no recommendation from the Department of the Army or the Department of Defense?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct, sir.

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD NOMINEE

[11.] Q. Mr. President, Bob Ketchersid, WSB Radio, Atlanta. What is your reaction, sir, to the Senate Banking Committee's action just a couple of days ago refusing to confirm Ben Blackburn to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Ben Blackburn would have been a good Chairman of the Home Loan Bank Board. I regret the decision by the Senate committee. I think he could have and would have performed his responsibilities in a most able way, and I think it is unfortunate that the decision was against him 8 to 5.

Q. Do you have any plans to renominate him or perhaps to name him to another Government post?

THE PRESIDENT. We have not had that matter before me since the action by the Senate committee.

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON ZIONISM

[12.] Q. Diane Tannen, WGAC Radio in Augusta. Some 32 nations abstained on the United Nations Zionist resolution vote. Are you now reassessing American foreign policy toward these ambivalent countries, and if so, what specific changes can be expected?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are, of course, very disappointed with the vote taken in the United Nations.<sup>1</sup> Ambassador Moynihan made a very, very strong speech setting forth the policy of this Government, strongly urging that the United Nations defeat the resolution. I think the United Nations by that resolution has seriously handicapped, at least to some extent, its usefulness. I hope and trust, however, that it will realize and understand the ramifications and will not proceed any further in that direction or anything comparable to it.

<sup>1</sup> Seventy-two nations voted in favor of the resolution, 35 nations voted against approval, and there were 32 abstentions.

I do not, however, think that the United States should withdraw from the United Nations just because of the unwise action on this resolution. You can always do better trying to correct something from within than from without. We have no particular plans for any recriminatory action against any of those 32 nations. We just think they were very wrong.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. There was some 70 nations—excuse me—that voted that way.

#### ENERGY

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Ron Wilson, Georgia Network in Atlanta. What direction are you leaning in now on the energy compromise bill, and are you in favor of extending oil price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. The energy conference report was orally agreed to by the conferees, night before last. I had a 2-hour meeting with a number of the conferees last evening. A number of the conferees are uncertain as to some of the specifics.

I am reserving judgment on that legislation until the conferees put the agreements in writing in legislative form. And I am told they won't have that done for about a week.

I would hope we could have an energy bill that I could sign, but it would be very unwise for me to make a decision without having looked at and read and analyzed the specifics once the committee puts it in writing. But we hope to do that sometime next week.

#### OIL PRICE CONTROLS

[14.] Q. On oil price controls, are you in favor of extending those passed this Saturday?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the 30-day extension to give all of us more time—which the Senate has passed and which the House of Representatives probably will pass today—I think that is desirable just to give us 30 more days to analyze the Congressional action once they put it in writing. I will sign a 30-day extension.

#### GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Walt Smith, United Press International. How does the entry of Governor George Wallace into the Democratic race, his formal entry this week—how do you think that affects the Democratic race, and specifically, do you think that Governor Wallace will get a spot on the Democratic ticket?

THE PRESIDENT. I am really not an authority on what might or might not happen in the Democratic Party. I know, of course, that in 1972 he ran very well in my State. I think he will probably run very well in my State again in 1976. He will be a factor—that is perfectly obvious. Whether he will be on the ticket or not, I just don't think I am qualified to give you an answer.

Q. As a follow-up question, if he decided to go the third party route, do you think that that would have a definite effect upon the election? Could it throw it into the House of Representatives?

THE PRESIDENT. It is very possible. It almost did in 1968 when, I think, three or four States, if they had gone one way or another, differently, might have thrown it into the United States House of Representatives.

I think the impact of Governor Wallace running as a third party candidate depends somewhat upon the Democratic nominee, and we don't know that, of course. So, I don't think I should speculate until we get more information, one, as to whether Governor Wallace is going to be on the Democratic ticket; two, whether he will be a third party candidate; and, who the Democratic nominee will be. Those are uncertainties at the present time.

#### GASOLINE TAX

[16.] Q. I am Sally Lofton with Southeastern Newspapers. Governor George Busbee is attempting to convince Congress that the Federal Government should allow States to preempt a portion of Federal taxes on motor fuel. I just wanted to know what your position is on this.

THE PRESIDENT. I recommended to the Congress several months ago a proposed new highway act, and one of my recommendations was that the Congress should take off one of the cents that is now charged by the Federal Government in the gas tax and turn it over to the States. I think that would help the States to finance their share of highway construction. The Congress thus far has not acted on my recommendation. It appears that Governor Busbee and myself agree in this regard.

#### TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY NOMINATION

[17.] Q. Mr. President, I am Alma Bowen from the Times in Gainesville, Georgia. I wanted to ask you about the Tennessee Valley Authority. You have appointed a man on the Board of Directors who is from Mississippi, and I understand he is having problems, or there has been a delay in confirmation of this appointment in the Senate. And my question is, if this man is not confirmed, would you consider a man from Georgia, since some TVA lakes are located here

and a lot of citizens up there want a representative from Georgia on the Board of Directors?

THE PRESIDENT. If Mr. Hooper is not confirmed for the TVA Board membership, I will certainly consider qualified individuals from any of the States that are affected by TVA, including Georgia.

#### PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION

[18.] Q. John Patrick, TV-5 News Scene, WAGA-TV. Mr. President, Time magazine this week was highly critical of your dismissals of Messrs. Schlesinger and Colby, labeling it bad management and subverting morale in many Government departments. Do you consider having your own team more important than the effect of another high-level change in your Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the changes that I made, or have recommended, are constructive. I was pleased yesterday that the Senate Committee on Armed Services voted 16 to nothing to approve Don Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense.

I think that is a good indication that he is a highly qualified man and will do a good job. I think George Bush will do the same in the CIA. I believe that Elliot Richardson later, when he replaces Rogers Morton, will be a highly qualified and a good appointee. I think these are all constructive, and I respectfully disagree with the conclusions as you state them.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan any other changes in your Administration very soon?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have any Cabinet changes in mind. I think it is fairly well set.

But I would like to clarify one thing. Again, up in Raleigh, I was asked a question by one of the students relating to the Cabinet, and I said it was set. And then somebody raised a question, well, does this preclude Carla Hills, Bill Coleman, Ed Levi, and others from maybe being considered for a United States Supreme Court appointment.

I want to clarify it by saying that if I nominated any one of those three, I would think it was a promotion. So, it is in a different category than asking someone to resign from the Cabinet. That would be a promotion, and I would not say that I am precluding them from being considered for a Supreme Court appointment.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[19.] Q. Mr. President, Charles Hayslett, with the Journal. Your remarks of a few moments ago suggested a healthy respect for Governor Wallace's political

strength. Assuming you win your party's nomination, who would you rather face in the South—Governor Wallace or Governor Carter? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is a very speculative, hypothetical question, as far as the Democratic nominee is concerned. So, I really don't think at this time I am qualified to give you an answer.

Q. Would you take a shot at it? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it is so speculative and so hypothetical that I don't really think I should answer it.

#### THE SOUTH AND THE 1976 ELECTION

[20.] Q. Mr. President, I am Tim Dobbs with WMAZ Radio and Television in Macon, Georgia. Continuing in the same vein of thought with my newspaper colleague there, there seems to be a great deal more emphasis being placed on the South in the early days of these campaign times, more Presidential candidates than we have seen in some time, more often—yourself, for instance, have been in Georgia three times this year. Do you feel that the South would possibly be a trigger or could be the region of the country which could be a deciding factor in the election?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I like Georgians and I like to come to Georgia. Furthermore, the South is a growing, burgeoning part of our country. It is, population-wise, a bigger percentage today than it has been, say, 20 or 30 years ago. It is more significant politically. Therefore, I think that is very understandable that more Presidential candidates are coming to Georgia and to other Southern States.

Q. A follow-up question: One of the Presidential candidates who has not yet said he is a Presidential candidate, Mr. Reagan, was asked about Southern strategy, and he said there is no such thing in his view as Southern strategy per se as far as the Presidential election is concerned. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no Southern strategy as such. I have been to, I think, 20-some, almost 30 States. I have traveled here as well as elsewhere in the South. I think it is important to visit as many of the States of the Union as possible. But as far as having a geographical thrust of my campaign, the answer is no. I want to prevail in all 50 States.

MR. MERRINER. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Mr. Merriner. It is nice to see you all.

NOTE: President Ford's twenty-second news conference began at 5:01 p.m. in the Ballroom North at the Marriott Motor Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.



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**Remarks in Atlanta at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner.  
November 14, 1975**

*Thank you very, very much, Mack.*

And may I say at the very outset how grateful I am for your hospitality and the superb job that you do as a State chairman of this great State. All of us who represent the Republican Party in office are deeply grateful for the great job that you have done and the superb organization that you have. And the fine support is obvious here. Thank you very, very much.

To Nora Allen, Nolan Murrah, Bo Callaway, Ben Blackburn, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, let me express my deepest appreciation for the warm welcome and the great day that we have had in Atlanta. I can't thank you deeply enough for this tremendous dinner and the wonderful people that I have seen and the kind of organization that I know you have. Thank you very, very much.

May I very strongly acknowledge an outstanding Republican sitting out there in the audience. He is an old and very, very dear friend, one of your number one citizens from the great State of Georgia. And while he is no longer Secretary of the Army, there is no doubt that Bo Callaway still knows how to fight.

Bo, I thank you for your unselfish dedication, and I congratulate you for your long and magnificent record, your tremendous dedication to public service. Your State and our country is better off for the things you have done for all of us. And we thank you.

It really is a pleasure to be in your great State again, particularly at this time of the year. I hear rumors that some of you may be going to the Georgia-Auburn game in Athens tomorrow. Somebody even suggested that as a football fan myself, I might make a prediction or two as to who the winner might be. *[Laughter]*

All I can say to that is, "No way." I might make my own breakfast in the morning, but I am not about to cook my own goose tonight. *[Laughter]*

Frankly, I have come to Atlanta tonight with a heartfelt conviction. The Republicans of Georgia may be outnumbered, but you are big and strong in spirit, and that counts an awful lot.

Your spirit is going to make some history in 1976. The Bicentennial year, I predict, will be a Republican year. A great comeback in Georgia can be the great

comeback for all America. Georgia needs Republicans, and Republicans need Georgia.

The tenacity of the Peach State is America's tenacity, your comeback is America's comeback, and your pride is America's pride. Georgia is not only the Peach State, it is a "Can Do State." There are some of this population we have in America who follow the defeatist philosophies of can't do or won't do. They say America has had its best days, that there will be no more quality for life, that our moral values are out of date, that our economy is bogged down in the swamps, and that we will never again see the sun shine.

To those who voice such self-fulfilling prophecy of gloom and doom for this country, I say that you had better come down to Georgia and taste the sweetness of peaches and learn about real folks and real life.

Actually, this State and the rest of the South are justifiably proud of great breakthroughs. Your excellent educational institutions, your thriving industries, your productive agricultural activities demonstrate what Americans can do. The South has moved from a basic agricultural economy to a modern industrial society which manufactures much of America's total output. More and more people are moving, for good reason, into the South. You are growing far more rapidly than any other region of our country.

I want to see the Republican Party grow with you. Just as the South came back, Republicans can come back everywhere, and especially in Georgia. You can be missionaries of a great Republican revival in every one of the 159 counties in the great State of Georgia.

Let there be no misunderstanding where I stand. I did not take the sacred oath of office for the Presidency to preside over the decline and fall of the United States of America. I totally and categorically reject the scenarios of pessimism, and I am certain all of you totally agree with my views.

Instead, I look to a future built on a proud past. I see an America whose citizens have the highest standard of living in the world and who live in peace at home and with all nations.

I see an America where we live longer because killer diseases have been conquered, where the quality of life is enhanced, where we develop stronger and stronger moral and spiritual qualities, and where we enjoy the widest opportunities, limited only by individual initiative and capability.

To make this vision come true which I think we all must have, we must return government to sound, responsible Republican principles. And with your help and the help of millions like you in 49 other States, we will. We must elect to

your State and local offices and to the Congress responsible and responsive Republican candidates who believe as we do.

The battlelines for 1976 are being drawn between opposing forces: between those who believe in fiscal responsibility and those who believe every problem will go away if we just throw enough tax money at it; between those who believe in a strong national defense as the best insurance for peace and those who would spend your tax money instead for every controversial social experiment; between those who believe in local control over local problems and those who believe Uncle Sam should solve each and every problem; between those who believe that American business should be unshackled from government over-regulation so it can expand and create jobs and those who believe that Federal papershufflers know what is best for America and American business.

I know which side Georgians will take.

Nineteen seventy-six is more than an election year—it is a year, a vital year of decision for all Americans. It is the Republican Party's golden opportunity to prove that with the help of our many friends that we have the strength to survive setbacks, the resolution to rouse the Nation's greatness, and the will to win elections. We can do it, and we will do it.

We must build a party that works year round, not just at election time. We must concentrate on winning elections, not just arguments. We must attract good candidates, welcoming all who are uncomfortable in other political pastures.

I recently proposed to the Congress a reduction of \$28 billion in your Federal income taxes and a corresponding cut of \$28 billion in the growth of Federal spending, but the Democratic-dominated Congress tells me that it can't be done. I say it can, it must, and it is up to them to do it this year.

The American Revolution started with the Boston Tea Party that protested taxation without representation. I say to the taxpayers of Georgia today, if your Democratic Congressmen won't do anything about your taxation, maybe you had better do something about your representation. If this Congress won't do the job, let's elect a Republican Congress that will.

This month, just a few days ago, we almost won a governorship of the great State of Mississippi. We came close enough to show that Mississippi has a two-party system. Let's make every State a two-party State—even Massachusetts.  
[*Laughter*]

You and I know that America's vitality and prosperity has been sapped by the irresponsible spending of recent Congresses. This Congress is controlled 2 to 1 by Democrats. In fact, Congress has been dominated by Democrats for 38 out of the last 42 years. That's long enough.

For 33 out of the last 38 years there have been deficits which have run up the cost of living and run down the value of your dollars. Under the Democratic spenders, Congress did achieve some historic firsts. For the first time in history, the Federal budget topped \$100 billion—that was 1962. It doubled to \$200 billion 8 years later. It will more than double again to \$423 billion this coming fiscal year unless we put a stop to it.

Let me emphasize that the \$28 billion reduction in taxes, which I proposed, must be accompanied by equally substantial cuts in the growth of Federal spending. This means the spending ceiling must be \$395 billion. And this is fully adequate to meet both our needs at home as well as abroad.

The big spenders in the Congress don't like my vetoes. But these vetoes have already saved our taxpayers some \$6½ billion. And I will continue to veto unwise and unnecessary spending bills again and again and again and again—as long as it saves your money and America's future. If the State of Georgia can control its budget, there is no darn reason why the United States can't do the same thing.

What concerns me most is the growth of government without consent, the increasing encroachment of government into our lives and into our pockets. And let me emphasize one special point: A government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

The time has come for a new rebel yell—a whole nation of rebels yelling—a whole nation of rebels yelling no, no to big government. But it is not enough just to be against big government. We must be for, we must favor good government.

And I am concerned about the rate of unemployment in Georgia. We need new capital investment—that is, what the economists call capital investment. But I would rather call it job creation. We need to restore confidence. We need to stimulate business and industry. My Administration is devoted to the full revival of America's great economic strength at home and in the markets of the world.

While our economy is reviving, I want to bolster our efforts through cooperation with other industrialized democracies. And I want to join with these nations in working toward sustained international prosperity.

Tomorrow I will begin a 3-day meeting with the leaders of Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and West Germany to seek those ends. These countries look to America for leadership. The United States is reducing its rate of inflation and moving vigorously out of the recession. But we must work with others to prevent future problems.

In charting the course for future international economic progress, our leadership is just as important as it is in building mutual, military security. This Nation, fortunately, was instrumental in conceiving and developing alliances to safeguard peace. We will also lead the way toward a sound, common economic future.

There are new challenges: recession, inflation, higher oil prices, under-utilized human and material resources. Americans can meet these challenges most effectively in close collaboration with our friends. The industrialized democracies share problems, but we also share great opportunities. The cohesion and the vitality of the industrial democracies can improve the well-being of our peoples in the world economy.

Our goals for recovery include economic growth among all the major industrialized countries with strong expansion accompanied by high levels of employment, a reduction in inflation, and the increase of trade throughout the world.

In trade, the assembled nations that I have mentioned along with many others must provide needed impetus to multilateral negotiations now underway in Geneva. We will also work energetically to improve the international monetary system. An objective of great, great importance is improved energy conservation and the development of alternative sources. This would enable us to reduce dependence on other nations and lessen our vulnerability to arbitrarily set prices or the disruption of our oil sources.

The societies of the industrialized democracies have an underlying strength deeply rooted in our cultures and the character of our peoples. We must now reinvigorate that unity to achieve a better future for all of our peoples.

The summit in Paris demonstrates America's determination to work with other industrialized democracies. This meeting will permit participants to better understand mutual problems and the policies used to deal with them. It will enable us to agree on goals and objectives reflecting our common interests. Our joint efforts will reinforce one another and benefit the United States. And it will be a great opportunity for all of us to help all of our people. And I am looking forward to the opportunity.

Just as world stability is based upon economic strength, it also depends upon our military strength. And you in Georgia have a great stake in this.

During a quarter of a century in the Congress and in my service as Vice President and President, I have fought to preserve America's defense as the cornerstone of freedom. It has long been my conviction that politics should stop at the water's edge in matters of foreign policy and national defense. America

retained its status in this great world in which we live largely because of wide bipartisan support to this view.

We know from experience and history that weakness invites war—military strength is the only certain foundation for peace. America must preserve its vital alliances and first-rate defense capabilities.

As long as I am President, there will never be any weakness in the Administration's commitment to military power, a power second to none. I can assure you this policy has not changed and it will not change.

I am deeply concerned by the tendency of the Congress to spend for less essential items at the expense of defense. I refer specifically to a cut of over \$7 billion in the new defense budget which I sent to the Congress in January of this year. This could weaken our hand at a time when we want no potential adversary to misjudge our resolve. It is the duty of the Senate to restore those funds that the Defense Department regards as essential and vital to our national security.

Our defenses, however, are only as good as our intelligence services. History tells how the city of Savannah, how it fell during the American Revolution because of the superiority of British intelligence. Courage alone could not save Savannah when the brave Georgians were taken by surprise.

Intelligence operations today are much more sophisticated. We must protect the rights of American citizens to cherished liberties, but we must also guard against foreign espionage. I will cooperate with the Congress, as I have, as it responsibly investigates the intelligence agencies to develop any legislation that may be necessary to preclude future abuses. But I will do everything in my power to assure that vital information does not fall into the hands of potentially hostile forces.

I will not stand idly by while our essential intelligence services are unilaterally dismantled in a world where the agencies of other nations work totally in secrecy and with unlimited resources.

Next November, the American people will provide some resounding answers to the questions raised tonight. You and many others will say no to defense cuts, no to runaway spending, no to stifling controls, no to overregulation, and no to the discredited idea that every question must be answered by expensive government programs.

But you and many, many others like you will say yes to the responsible Republican proposals, the responsible Republican solutions, and say yes to the Republican ticket.

Like all of you and like millions like us throughout the country, we believe in

America, in the wealth of our natural resources, in the goodness, the ingenuity, and the honesty and the self-reliance of our people. In 1783, our first President, George Washington, wrote to America's Governors saying, and I quote: "There is an option still left to the United States of America, that it is in their choice and depends upon their conduct, whether they will be respectable and prosperous or contemptible and miserable as a Nation."

We made that choice nearly 200 years ago. We will make it again in 1976.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:38 p.m. in the Hall of Nations Ballroom at the Marriott Motor Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Mack Mat-

tingly, Georgia State Republican chairman, and Nora Allen and William Nolan Murrah, Jr., Republican national committeemen.

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## Remarks at the Conclusion of the Economic Summit Meeting at Rambouillet, France. *November 17, 1975*

*Mr. President:*

I wish to express my appreciation for the gracious hospitality of you and the French Government and the French people. My appreciation also goes to my colleagues for the spirit of good will, the spirit of friendship which they have demonstrated during this meeting. It has been a highly successful meeting in every respect.

In our sessions, we have covered the range of economic issues of concern to the industrialized world and challenging our democratic societies. These meetings have been rewarding in a number of important ways. They have deepened our understanding and appreciation of our mutual economic interdependence. They have enabled us to harmonize our views on key issues. And they have strengthened our determination to solve the problems that we confront. Finally, and most importantly, they reaffirmed our mutual confidence in a sustained and full recovery from the deepest recession since the 1930's.

Perhaps our most important accomplishment over the past several days has been our recognition that the objective of sustained, stable economic growth will be facilitated by our common efforts. As leaders of major democratic nations, we reached substantial agreement on a number of issues concerning monetary policy, trade, energy, and our relations with the developing world, as outlined in our joint declaration.

Over the past 3 days in this beautiful setting, we have found a new spirit—a spirit of cooperation and confidence stemming from a deeper understanding of

our common destiny and our joint conviction that free peoples can master their future.

As a result of the work that we have started, the people of our countries can look forward to more jobs, less inflation, and a greater sense of economic security.

We conclude this conference with a sense of determination to carry forward this work which has been so promisingly begun.

**NOTE:** The President spoke at 3:12 p.m. at the City Hall.

Beginning November 15, 1975, meetings were held at the Chateau de Rambouillet, the French President's summer residence. Participants included President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany, Prime Minister Aldo Moro of Italy, Prime

Minister Takeo Miki of Japan, Prime Minister Harold Wilson of the United Kingdom, and President Ford. The foreign and finance ministers of each nation also took part in the discussions.

A declaration was issued following their final morning meeting on November 17. The text of the declaration is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 1292).

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## Special Message to the Congress Reporting on Budget Rescissions and Deferrals. *November 18, 1975*

### *To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith propose six new rescissions totalling \$1,289.1 million in budget authority. In addition, I am reporting three new deferrals totalling \$15.2 million in budget authority and two supplementary reports to deferrals previously transmitted that increase the amount deferred by \$4 million.

The six proposed rescissions are for education programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The rescissions would reduce Federal spending for programs that are responsibilities of State and local jurisdictions, fail to effectively focus on the persons in need of assistance, or are not justifiable on programmatic grounds.

Approval of the rescissions will reduce spending by \$182 million this year, by \$61 million in the transition quarter, by \$839 million in 1977, and by \$208 million in later years. I reiterate my firm belief that the American people want to avoid excessive Federal spending. Agreement by the Congress with these rescission proposals is an important step in avoiding unnecessary increases in Federal expenditures.

The deferrals reported are all routine in nature. Two of the deferrals are for programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Another deferral is for a program of the Department of State. Two more deferrals concern



administration of the general revenue sharing program in the Department of the Treasury.

The details of each rescission proposal and deferral are contained in the attached reports.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 18, 1975.

NOTE: The attachments detailing the rescissions and deferrals are printed in the Federal Register of November 20, 1975 (40 FR 54193).

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**Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the  
Coal Mine Health Program. November 18, 1975**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to submit to you the Fourth Annual Report on Health Activities covered by the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969, Public Law 91-173.

The report is a compendium of coal mine health research, medical examinations of coal miners, and other activities of 1973. It covers the implementation of the coal mine health programs carried out by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

It is encouraging to note that, in 1973, the Department published the final results of the first round of medical examinations of coal workers as required in the act, and that the Department's coal mine health research program continued to move significantly toward its goal of preventing the development and progression of coal workers' pneumoconiosis.

I commend this report to your attention.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 18, 1975.

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Federal Coal Mine Health Program in 1973—Fourth Annual Report of Health Activities Under the Federal Coal

Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969" (Government Printing Office, 47 pp.).

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**Statement on New York City's Financial Situation.***November 19, 1975*

I AM gratified that the leaders of New York appear to have accepted primary responsibility for solving the financial problems of the city and are proceeding in the direction of a long-term solution in accordance with the State constitution and laws. I am impressed with the seriousness of their intentions as described by Governor Carey in his letter to Secretary Simon and await further concrete actions by the State and the other parties concerned.

The bailout bill now before the House of Representatives is irrelevant because it does not address the current situation, and I would veto it.

I am convinced that if New York continues to move toward fiscal responsibility, all parties concerned can look forward to a satisfactory resolution despite the current obstacles.

If they continue to make progress, I will review the situation early next week to see if any legislation is appropriate at the Federal level.

In the meantime, should New York leaders fail to implement their intentions, New York City could still be forced into legal default. Therefore, I am asking the Congress once again to enact special amendments to the Federal bankruptcy laws which would ensure that such a default, if it occurs, would be orderly.

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**Statement on the Death of Generalissimo Francisco Franco of Spain. *November 20, 1975***

IT WAS with sorrow that I learned of the death of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, who led his country for almost four decades through a significant era in Spanish history. With his passing, I express deepest sympathy to his wife and family on behalf of the Government and people of the United States.

We wish the Spanish people and the Government of Spain well in the period ahead. The United States for its part will continue to pursue the policy of friendship and cooperation which has formed the touchstone for the excellent relations existing between our two countries.

NOTE: Generalissimo Franco was Chief of State from 1936 until his death on November 20, 1975.

Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller and U.S. Ambassador to Spain Wells Stabler represented the

United States at the state funeral of Generalissimo Franco on November 23. On the previous day, they attended the swearing in of Prince Juan Carlos as Spain's Chief of State and proclamation as King.

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**Letter to the Chairman of the House Select Committee on  
Intelligence About Contempt Resolutions Concerning  
Testimony of Secretary of State Kissinger. November 20, 1975**

[Dated November 19, 1975. Released November 20, 1975]

*Dear Mr. Chairman:*

I want you to know of my deep concern because the Select Committee found it necessary on November 14 to vote in favor of three resolutions which could lead to a finding by the House of Representatives that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is in contempt for failure to comply with three Committee subpoenas. This issue involves grave matters affecting our conduct of foreign policy and raises questions which go to the ability of our Republic to govern itself effectively. I know that you, Mr. Chairman, share my deep respect for the rights and powers of the House of Representatives—where our cumulative service spans nearly four decades—and for the obligations and responsibilities of the President. The two branches of government have an extremely serious responsibility to consider the issues raised in the ongoing foreign intelligence investigations dispassionately and with mutual respect.

Former Chief Justice Warren pointed out twenty years ago that there can be no doubt as to the power of Congress and its committees to investigate fully matters relating to contemplated legislation. Without this power, which includes the authority to compel testimony and the production of documents, the Congress could not exercise its responsibilities under Article I of our Constitution. However, this power, as broad as it is, is subject to recognized limitations. Not only is it limited by powers given to the other two branches, but it also must respect requirements of procedural due process as they affect individuals.

The action of your Committee concerning the November 14th resolutions raises, in my mind, three principal issues: the extent to which the Committee needs access to additional Executive Branch documents to carry out its legislative functions; the importance of maintaining the separation of powers between the branches and the ability of the Executive to function; and the individual rights of officials involved in this matter. I am not interested in recriminations and collateral issues which only serve to cloud the significant questions before us.

From the beginning of the investigations of the intelligence agencies, I have taken action to stop any possible abuses and to make certain that they do not

recur as long as I am President. I have also endeavored to make available relevant information in a responsible manner to the appropriate committees of Congress.

I have given great weight to my responsibility to maintain the integrity of our intelligence community and the ability of this Nation to develop and use foreign intelligence. This is one reason why I have insisted that much of the information I have made available to Congress be kept secret, so that current foreign intelligence operations, which are critical for the national security, can continue effectively. In accordance with these principles, your Committee and the Senate Select Committee have received unprecedented access to Executive Branch documents and information.

Your Committee's November 6th votes on seven subpoenas for additional Executive Branch documents came in the context of several months of working together on this very difficult subject and a record of cooperation on both sides. They were served on November 7. The documents were due on the morning of November 11, and the appropriate Administration officials immediately went to work collecting the information. Four of the subpoenas were complied with fully. However, problems arose as to the remaining three issued to:

- “Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State, or any subordinate officer, official or employee with custody or control of . . . all documents relating to State Department recommending covert action made to the National Security Council and its predecessor committees from January 30, 1961 to present.”
- “the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, or any subordinate officer, official or employee with custody or control of . . . all 40 Committee and predecessor Committee records of decisions taken since January 20, 1965 reflecting approvals of covert action projects. [separate subpoena] . . . All documents furnished by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's Standing Consultative Commission, and the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Department of Defense, and the Intelligence Community staff, since May, 1972 relating to adherence to the provisions of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty of 1972 and the Vladivostok agreement of 1972.”

These three subpoenas are the basis of the Committee resolutions of November 14.

The subpoena directed to the Secretary of State requests documents containing the recommendation of State Department officials to former Presidents concerning highly sensitive matters involving foreign intelligence activities of the United States. The appropriate State Department officials identified and referred to the

White House documents which apparently fall within the subpoena. None of these documents are from my Administration. These were carefully reviewed and, after I received the opinion of the Attorney General that these documents are of the type for which Executive privilege may appropriately be asserted, I directed Secretary Kissinger not to comply with the subpoena on the grounds of Executive privilege. I made a finding that, in addition to disclosing highly sensitive military and foreign affairs assessments and evaluations, the documents revealed to an unacceptable degree the consultation process involving advice and recommendations to Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, made to them directly or to committees composed of their closest aides and counselors. Thus, in declining to comply with the subpoena, Secretary of State Kissinger was acting on my instructions as President of the United States.

With respect to the two subpoenas directed to “. . . the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, or any subordinate officer, official or employee with custody or control . . .”, the really important point here is that the NSC staff has made a major effort to deliver the documents requested. As you know, additional documents were made available to the Committee after the deadline of the subpoenas and indeed after the Committee voted on the November 14th resolutions. There has been and continues to be an effort on the part of the NSC staff to provide the Committee with the information and documentation it needs. In fact, a very comprehensive volume of information has been made available which provides the Committee a substantial basis for its investigation.

This effort was undertaken, notwithstanding the fact that the subpoenas themselves were served on November 7, made returnable only four days later, and called for a broad class of documents, going back in one subpoena to 1965, and in the other to 1972. Substantial efforts were required to search files, identify items covered, and to review them for foreign policy and national security reasons in accordance with procedures which have been previously used with information requested by the Select Committee.

In addition to our efforts to substantially comply with these two subpoenas, I have been advised that there are serious and substantial legal and factual questions as to the basis on which the Committee seeks to find Secretary Kissinger to be in contempt. The subpoenas were directed to “. . . the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, or any subordinate officer . . .” and were in fact served on the Staff Secretary of the NSC. Secretary Kissinger had no responsibility for responding to these subpoenas nor for supervising the response to them. After November 3, he was no longer my Assistant for National Security

Affairs, and he was neither named in the subpoenas nor were they served upon him. Thus there is no basis for the resolutions addressed to Secretary Kissinger on these subpoenas.

In summary, I believe that if the Committee were to reconsider the three resolutions of November 14, it would conclude that my claim of Executive privilege is a proper exercise of my Constitutional right and responsibility. As to the two subpoenas directed to the Assistant for National Security Affairs, they do not involve Secretary Kissinger, and there has been a substantial effort by the NSC staff to provide these documents. Furthermore, they will continue to work with you and your Committee to resolve any remaining problems.

It is my hope that the Select Committee will permit Executive Branch officials to appear at tomorrow's hearing to discuss the points I have raised in this letter.

It is my desire that we continue forward, working together on the foreign intelligence investigation. I believe that the national interest is best served through our cooperation and adoption of a spirit of mutual trust and respect.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable Otis G. Pike, Chairman, House Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515]

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**Letter to Senate Leaders Concerning the Report of the  
Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations  
With Respect to Intelligence Activities. *November 20, 1975***

AS YOU will recall, I previously advised Members of the Senate Select Committee of my concern about publication of their Assassination Report. Attached is a copy of my October 31st letter.<sup>1</sup>

It is my understanding that the Senate will, this morning, consider the question of publication of the Committee Report. The purpose of my writing is to indicate to you that my earlier position has not changed. For the reasons assigned previously, I do not feel this publication is in the national interest.

It is my hope that after reviewing the Report, the Senate will concur with that view and, therefore, not authorize this publication.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 659.

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, and President pro tempore of the Senate, James O. Eastland. Copies were also sent to Senate Majority Whip Robert C. Byrd

and Senate Minority Whip Robert P. Griffin, and to Senators Frank Church and John Tower, chairman and ranking Republican member of the select committee.

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## Message to the Congress Transmitting Quarterly Report of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. *November 20, 1975*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with section 5 of the Council on Wage and Price Stability Act, as amended, I hereby transmit to the Congress the fourth quarterly report of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. This report contains a description of the Council activities during the past few months in monitoring both prices and wages in the private sector and various Federal Government activities that lead to higher costs and prices without creating commensurate benefits. It discusses in some detail the Council's studies in steel, aluminum, automobiles, industrial chemicals and tires, as well as its filings before various Federal regulatory agencies. In addition, it contains a discussion of wages and prices for the second quarter of 1975 and the outlook for the remainder of the year.

We are continuing our efforts against inflation and progress is being made. The Council on Wage and Price Stability plays an important role in supplementing fiscal and monetary policies, and will continue to call my attention to wage and price developments or actions by the Government that could be of concern.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 20, 1975.

NOTE: The report, covering the period May through August 1975, is entitled "Quarterly Report: Septem-

ber 1975—Council on Wage and Price Stability" (Government Printing Office, 46 pp.).

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## Remarks at the Swearing In of Donald H. Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense. *November 20, 1975*

*Thank you very, very much, Mr. Clements. Secretary-designate Rumsfeld, Mrs. Rumsfeld, Mr. Justice Stewart, the Vice President, General Brown, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

We are assembled here today to swear in as the Secretary of Defense one of the most dedicated, talented, and capable public servants it has been my privilege to know in 27 years of public life.

A friend once asked him to give a thumbnail description of Don Rumsfeld's work pattern, and he said it could be summed up in two very simple statements: One, Don works at a stand-up desk. And two, his staff does not work at stand-up desks—but they do very little sitting down.

Don Rumsfeld, in a series of challenging legislative and administrative capacities, has demonstrated beyond question his ability to grasp the complexity of issues and organizations, to work tirelessly and effectively at whatever task may engage him, and to serve his country faithfully and well.

As a Member of Congress from Illinois, he demonstrated a unique talent for staying in tune with the will of the people that he served, for representing their interests with fidelity and with courage, and for winning the confidence and respect of his fellow Members of the Congress.

As head of the Office of Economic Opportunity and later as Director of the Cost of Living Council, he exhibited the organizational and leadership abilities which have characterized his career in public service.

In these varied posts, he has also shown great awareness of and compassion for the social and economic needs of our Nation. That awareness and that compassion accompany him here.

As the United States Ambassador to NATO, he demonstrated a strong commitment to a strong defense for America and our allies in Western Europe. His service as Ambassador was distinguished by a strengthening of the commitment to Atlantic security and by his own diplomatic skills, which he successfully employed in a very sensitive and a very important post.

As my Assistant at the White House, he has shown that he is a man of near inexhaustible energy, a man who takes charge of a situation very quickly, forcefully, and efficiently, and a man with a wide variety of gifts and interests and expertise.

Don Rumsfeld knows, as I know, that a strong national defense for America is the surest guardian of our Nation's independence and peace throughout the world. He knows, as I know, as everyone in this Administration knows, that it is the certainty of America's military strength that makes possible our negotiations for peaceful cooperation with other great powers of the world. He knows, as I know, that the price of that strength and security is high, but it is a price that must be paid, for the price is never greater than the worth of a strong defense.



You all know where I stand on defense. All of those who say they are for a strong defense and a strong foreign policy should join with me, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of State to maintain adequate defense budgets in the Congress.

As I have said before, a military capability second to none permits us to act firmly and successfully in foreign policy around the world and in defense of our national interest.

As Don begins his new duties and assumes this new challenge, he does so with my personal best wishes and my thanks for accepting a very difficult and demanding assignment. Don Rumsfeld has my complete confidence and trust. He will earn that of the Nation and the Department of Defense because he will do a superb job as our new Secretary of Defense.

It is my pleasure to introduce for swearing in by Mr. Justice Stewart the 13th Secretary of Defense-designate, the Honorable Donald H. Rumsfeld.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. at the River Entrance of the Department of Defense. Potter Stewart, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, administered the oath of office.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to William P. Clements, Jr., Deputy Secretary of De-

fense, and Gen. George S. Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Secretary Rumsfeld's response to the President's remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 11, p. 1304).

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### Statement Announcing Measures To Respond to Discriminatory Foreign Boycott Practices. *November 20, 1975*

I AM today announcing a number of decisions that provide a comprehensive response to any discrimination against Americans on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex that might arise from foreign boycott practices.

The United States Government, under the Constitution and the law, is committed to the guarantee of the fundamental rights of every American. My Administration will preserve these rights and work toward the elimination of all forms of discrimination against individuals on the basis of their race, color, religion, national origin, or sex.

Earlier this year, I directed the appropriate departments and agencies to recommend firm, comprehensive, and balanced actions to protect American citizens from the discriminatory impact that might result from the boycott practices of other governments. There was wide consultation.

I have now communicated detailed instructions to the Cabinet for new

measures by the United States Government to assure that our antidiscriminatory policies will be effectively and fully implemented.

These actions are being taken with due regard for our foreign policy interests, international trade and commerce, and the sovereign rights of other nations. I believe that the actions my Administration has taken today achieve the essential protection of the rights of our people and at the same time do not upset the equilibrium essential to the proper conduct of our national and international affairs.

I made the basic decision that the United States Government, in my Administration, as in the Administration of George Washington, will give "to bigotry no sanction." My Administration will not countenance the translation of any foreign prejudice into domestic discrimination against American citizens.

I have today signed a directive to the heads of all Departments and agencies. It states:

(1) that the application of Executive Order 11478 and relevant statutes forbid any Federal agency, in making selections for overseas assignments, to take into account any exclusionary policies of a host country based upon race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or age. Individuals must be considered and selected solely on the basis of merit factors. They must not be excluded at any stage of the selection process because their race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or age does not conform to any formal or informal requirements set by a foreign nation. No agency may specify, in its job description circulars, that the host country has an exclusionary entrance policy or that a visa is required;

(2) that Federal agencies are required to inform the State Department of visa rejections based on exclusionary policies; and

(3) that the State Department will take appropriate action through diplomatic channels to attempt to gain entry for the affected individuals.

I have instructed the Secretary of Labor to issue an amendment to his Department's March 10, 1975, Secretary's Memorandum on the obligation of Federal contractors and subcontractors to refrain from discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex when hiring for work to be performed in a foreign country or within the United States pursuant to a contract with a foreign government or company. This amendment will require Federal contractors and subcontractors that have job applicants or present employees applying for overseas assignments to inform the Department of State of any visa rejections based on the exclusionary policies of a host country. The Department of State will attempt, through diplomatic channels, to gain entry for those individuals.

My Administration will propose legislation to prohibit a business enterprise from using economic means to coerce any person or entity to discriminate against any U.S. person or entity on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex. This would apply to any attempts, for instance, by a foreign business enterprise, whether governmentally or privately owned, to condition its contracts upon the exclusion of persons of a particular religion from the contractor's management or upon the contractor's refusal to deal with American companies owned or managed by persons of a particular religion.

I am exercising my discretionary authority under the Export Administration Act to direct the Secretary of Commerce to issue amended regulations to:

(1) prohibit U.S. exporters and related service organizations from answering or complying in any way with boycott requests that would cause discrimination against U.S. citizens or firms on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; and

(2) require related service organizations that become involved in any boycott request to report such involvement directly to the Department of Commerce.

Related service organizations are defined to include banks, insurers, freight forwarders, and shipping companies that become involved in any way in a boycott request related to an export transaction from the U.S.

Responding to an allegation of religious and ethnic discrimination in the commercial banking community, the Comptroller of the Currency issued a strong Banking Bulletin to its member National Banks on February 24, 1975. The Bulletin was prompted by an allegation that a national bank might have been offered large deposits and loans by an agent of a foreign investor, one of the conditions for which was that no member of the Jewish faith sit on the bank's board of directors or control any significant amount of the bank's outstanding stock. The Bulletin makes it clear that the Comptroller will not tolerate any practices or policies that are based upon considerations of the race or religious belief of any customer, stockholder, officer, or director of the bank, and that any such practices or policies are "incompatible with the public service function of a banking institution in this country."

I am informing the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board that the Comptroller's Banking Bulletin reflects the policy of my Administration, and I encourage them to issue similar policy statements to the financial institutions within their jurisdictions, urging those institutions to recognize that compliance with discriminatory conditions directed against any of their

customers, stockholders, employees, officers, or directors is incompatible with the public service function of American financial institutions.

I will support legislation to amend the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, which presently covers sex and marital status, to include prohibition against any creditor discriminating on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin against any credit applicant in any aspect of a credit transaction.

I commend the U.S. investment banking community for resisting the pressure of certain foreign investment bankers to force the exclusion from financing syndicates of some investment banking firms on a discriminatory basis.

I commend the Securities and Exchange Commission and the National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc., for initiating a program to monitor practices in the securities industry within their jurisdiction to determine whether such discriminatory practices have occurred or will occur. I urge the SEC and NASD to take whatever action they deem necessary to ensure that discriminatory exclusion is not tolerated and that nondiscriminatory participation is maintained.

In addition to the actions I am announcing with respect to possible discrimination against Americans on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex, I feel that it is necessary to address the question of possible antitrust violations involving certain actions of U.S. businesses in relation to foreign boycotts. The Department of Justice advises me that the refusal of an American firm to deal with another American firm in order to comply with a restrictive trade practice by a foreign country raises serious questions under the U.S. antitrust laws. The Department is engaged in a detailed investigation of possible violations.

The community of nations often proclaims universal principles of human justice and equality. These principles embody our own highest national aspirations. The antidiscrimination measures I am announcing today are consistent with our efforts to promote peace and friendly, mutually beneficial relations with all nations, a goal to which we remain absolutely dedicated.

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**Memorandum on Actions To Respond to Discriminatory Foreign Boycott Practices. November 20, 1975***Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies*

The purpose of this Memorandum is to underscore the applicability of Executive Order 11478, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 (P.L. 92-261); the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 as amended by P.L. 92-269; and pursuant regulations to all Federal personnel actions, including those which involve overseas assignment of employees of Federal agencies to foreign countries which have adopted exclusionary policies based on a person's race, color, religion, national origin, sex or age.

In making selections for overseas assignment, the possible exclusionary policies of the country to which an applicant or employee is to be assigned must not be a factor in any part of the selection process of a Federal agency. United States law must be observed and not the policy of the foreign nation. Individuals, therefore, must be considered and selected solely on the basis of merit factors without reference to race, color, religion, national origin, sex or age. Persons must not be "selected out" at any stage of the selection process because their race, color, religion, national origin, sex or age does not conform to any formal or informal requirements set by a foreign nation. No agency may list in its job description circulars that the host country has an exclusionary entrance policy or that a visa is required.

If a host country refuses, on the basis of exclusionary policies related to race, color, religion, national origin, sex or age, to grant a visa to an employee who has been selected by a Federal agency for an overseas assignment, the employing agency should advise the Department of State of this act. The Department will take appropriate action through diplomatic channels to attempt to gain entry for the individual.

The Civil Service Commission shall have the responsibility for insuring compliance with this Memorandum. In order to ensure that selections for overseas assignments are made in compliance with law, Executive Order, and merit system requirements, each agency having positions overseas must:

(1) review its process for selection of persons for overseas assignments to assure that it conforms in all respects with law, Executive Order, and merit system requirements; and

(2) within 60 days of the date of this Memorandum, issue appropriate internal policy guidance so that all selecting officials will understand clearly their legal

obligation in this regard. The guidance must make clear that exclusionary policies of foreign countries based on race, color, religion, national origin, sex or age must not be considerations in the selection process for Federal positions. A copy of each agency's guidance in this regard should be sent to the Assistant Executive Director, U.S. Civil Service Commission, 1900 E Street, NW., Washington, D.C. 20415.

GERALD R. FORD

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**Remarks Announcing Plans for a White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals. *November 22, 1975***

IT IS a real privilege and pleasure to have the opportunity of being here today and to recognize Senator Randolph, Senator Stafford, Secretary Mathews, Dr. Viscardi, and the other distinguished guests of the many organizations that are greatly interested in and most helpful to the disabled.

I am extremely happy to announce today that the first White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals will be held next year. The time has come for a coordinated, national undertaking to address the concerns of this Nation's 35 million handicapped citizens, to respond to their abilities as well as their disabilities.

This historic White House Conference will be held in December 1976, a fitting climax to the Bicentennial year and the values that we seek to regenerate.

This conference will bring together representatives of more than 50 Government agencies now dealing with the problems of the handicapped, along with the hundreds of others representing private organizations and State and local departments of government.

A 28-member National Planning and Advisory Council to the White House Conference has been appointed. And this morning I am very pleased to name Dr. Henry Viscardi, Jr., of Long Island—Kings Point—as Chairman of this Council. Jack Smith, of Rochester, New York, has been appointed as Executive Director of the planning staff. Both of these men have earned national reputations for their outstanding work for the handicapped. Both have overcome disabilities to demonstrate great abilities.

I am pleased that both Dr. Viscardi and Mr. Smith are here with us today and that also in attendance are Secretary Mathews of the Department of Health,

Education, and Welfare, Senator Randolph of West Virginia, and Senator Stafford of Vermont, as well as representatives of eight key organizations working for the handicapped.

A major purpose of this conference is to generate a responsive national awareness of the problems facing the handicapped. Concern for the handicapped is not unique to the Federal Government. State and local officials and private citizens must also turn their attention to the needs of the handicapped.

Action to alleviate these needs will be one of the major purposes of this conference. Along with my colleagues in the Congress and State and local units of government, I look forward to receiving the recommendations from the conference.

I was delighted to learn that the newly formed National Planning and Advisory Council will require that at least a half of the National Conference be handicapped individuals themselves. Obviously, this makes very good sense. The problems of the handicapped are too often left to people without handicaps who may sometimes lack personal experience which gives great insight.

Of the 28 million adults with physical and mental handicaps, only 800,000 are currently employed and many of these have jobs below their abilities.

This Nation's handicapped citizens have a right to live with self-reliance, with the same dignity as all of their fellow citizens. To help them realize their full capacity as human beings, to help them achieve higher levels of personal and professional fulfillment—these are the goals of this conference, and I wish all who participate from now on, as well as those who will participate in December, I wish them the very best.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

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**Toasts of the President and Chief Justice of the United States  
Warren E. Burger at a Dinner Honoring the Judiciary.  
November 24, 1975**

*Mr. Chief Justice, distinguished members of the judicial system, both Federal and State, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

It has been said that the law is the only profession in which the practitioner can produce something that is 200 pages in length and still have it called a brief.  
[Laughter]

Well, tonight let me assure you that the brief I am about to present will be very. This dinner revives an annual White House custom of past years to recognize the vital contribution of the Federal judiciary to the maintenance of a free republic.

Betty and I are delighted to—and I should say highly honored—by the presence of so many distinguished jurists and their spouses. It is appropriate, in my judgment, to restore the customs as we approach this Bicentennial. It is vital, as I see it, to renew our gratitude to the great Americans who conceived the American system of government.

They understood that government under law with its proven checks and balances is the firmest pillar of this Nation's freedom. With a clear understanding of history, the framers knew that an independent judiciary, the guardian of a written constitution, is essential to the preservation of individual liberties under a government of limited powers.

Our strong judicial system offers the world an example of how an independent judiciary can restrain the other branches of government when they overreach and, on occasion, force them to meet their responsibilities under our Constitution.

The American legal system we all know has produced many giants of law, both of the bench and of the bar. They symbolize the genius and the wisdom of two centuries of jurisprudence which has produced from men and women of widely differing political philosophies a great historical precedent.

It seems to me, Mr. Chief Justice, that our great pride is not only in a few outstanding individuals, it is in the many able and honest jurists whose daily performance gives our entire judiciary a well-deserved reputation for competence and total integrity.

The judiciary, as I see it, truly represents the broadest and the deepest respect of the American people. As one of the three separate branches of the Federal Government, the judiciary also deserves the highest respect of the Congress and the executive branch of the Government.

In this spirit, Mr. Chief Justice, I am honored to propose a toast to you for your dedicated work on behalf of all Americans. And I thank you and your colleagues for being with both Betty and myself on this occasion this evening. You and your associates in the judicial branch of the Government have kept the Constitution alive and, I should say, vigorous for 186 years. And it remains today our strongest guarantee of freedom for the future.

And with that, to you, Mr. Chief Justice, all that you and your associates represent.



NOTE: The President spoke at 10:04 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Chief Justice Burger responded as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, my brothers of the judiciary and my sisters of the judiciary, ladies and gentlemen:*

Mr. President, you and Mrs. Ford have done more than restore an ancient tradition, and a very pleasant and happy tradition that goes back literally, as you suggest, 186 years. And I was reminded of it as I had the pleasure of visiting with Mrs. Ford and Mrs. House, the wife of the chief justice of Connecticut, of a gift that was recently made to the newly formed Supreme Court historical society of which my brother, Tom Clark, is chairman. The gift is a small card, not much bigger than one of the placecards, perhaps half as big as the menu, and it reads something like this: "Mrs. Washington and I request the honor of the presence of Judge Cushing"—they were called Judges not Justices then—"for dinner at our house on Thursday"—naming the date—"at 8:00 p.m.," signed personally by George Washington, not by some staff member. [Laughter]

That is now a treasured item in the Supreme Court of the United States in the custody technically of its historical society.

And, Mr. President, you and Mrs. Ford perhaps do not sense it as much as we do, your guests tonight, that you have not only revived a splendid and ancient custom by inviting the Federal judges to your house, the people's house—Mrs. Ford reminded me that this is her name for the White House—you have honored our colleagues of the State courts by inviting distinguished leaders of the highest courts of the States who, in the time of George Washington and for many years thereafter, were regarded not as equals, but much superior to Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I don't think we would want to give that up, with all deference to our brothers and sisters of the State courts, but we would like to maintain parity, and you have, of course, in inviting us tonight, the Federal judges and the State judges, you have invited us as representatives of our colleagues. And I will presume to speak with leave, sir, for both the Federal and the State judges and say that we are all very grateful to you for your hospitality and for the honor you do us by inviting us to your house.

And with your leave, I will ask that the guests, your guests, President and Mrs. Ford, rise while I have the honor to propose a toast to the President of the United States.

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## Letter to President Johan Henri Eliza Ferrier on United States Recognition of Surinam. November 25, 1975

*Dear Mr. President:*

I am pleased to send to the Government and people of Surinam my congratulations and the best wishes of the American people upon the attainment of your nation's independence. At the same time I extend to you the recognition of the United States Government and express my hope that, with your agreement, diplomatic relations can be established promptly between our two countries at the Ambassadorial level.

We are fortunate in having a tradition of friendly relations between our peoples upon which we can build a cooperative relationship.

The United States shares the aspirations of your Government for the progress and welfare of the people of Surinam. We look forward to engaging in close and friendly relations aimed at prosperity in the Hemisphere and peace in the world.

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: Surinam's independence from the Netherlands was officially proclaimed in Paramaribo, Surinam, on November 25, 1975. The United States was

represented at the independence ceremony by a delegation headed by Secretary of the Navy J. William Middendorf II.

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## **Remarks for Thanksgiving Day.**

*November 26, 1975*

[Recorded November 25, 1975. Released November 26, 1975]

AS AMERICANS celebrate Thanksgiving Day, we once more count our bountiful blessings. We give thanks, first and foremost, to the Supreme Creator. We are thankful that our Nation is at peace.

This holiday reminds us of our duty to provide responsibly for the needs of our families and of our neighbors—the same values that guided those who celebrated our first Thanksgiving.

We recognize anew our national motto which proclaims “In God We Trust.” We continue to trust. Our faith has been vindicated as we approach a bicentennial of national thanksgiving.

Our belief in America's goodness, in America's greatness, and in America's future continues to inspire us.

In that spirit, my family and I gratefully give thanks and wish all of you a very happy Thanksgiving Day.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:55 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. His remarks were recorded for later use on radio and television.

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## **The President's News Conference of**

*November 26, 1975*

### **STATEMENT ON MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPROVE THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF NEW YORK CITY**

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Good evening. Before we go to questions, I would like to comment briefly on recent developments in New York. Since early this year, and particularly in the last few weeks, the leaders of New York State and of New York City have been working to overcome the financial difficulties of the city which, as a result of many years of unsound fiscal practices, unbalanced

budgets, and increased borrowing, threaten to bring about municipal bankruptcy of an unprecedented magnitude.

As you know, I have been steadfastly opposed to any Federal help for New York City which would permit them to avoid responsibility for managing their own affairs. I will not allow the taxpayers of other States and cities to pay the price of New York's past political errors. It is important to all of us that the fiscal integrity of New York City be restored and that the personal security of 8 million Americans in New York City be fully assured.

It has always been my hope that the leaders of New York, when the chips were down, face up to their responsibilities and take the tough decisions that the facts of the situation require. That is still my hope, and I must say that it is much, much closer to reality today than it was last spring.

I have, quite frankly, been surprised that they have come as far as they have. I doubted that they would act unless ordered to do so by a Federal court. Only in the last month, after I made it clear that New York would have to solve its fundamental financial problems without the help of the Federal taxpayer, has there been a concerted effort to put the finances of the city and the State on a sound basis. They have today informed me of the specifics of New York's self-help program.

This includes: Meaningful spending cuts have been approved to reduce the cost of running the city. Two, more than \$200 million in new taxes have been voted. Three, payments to the city's noteholders will be postponed and interest payments will be reduced through the passage of legislation by New York State. Four, banks and other large institutions will have agreed to wait to collect on their loans and to accept lower interest rates. Five, for the first time in years members of municipal unions will be required to bear part of the cost of pension contributions and other reforms will be made in union pension plans. Six, the city pension system is to provide additional loans up to \$2.5 billion to the city.

All of these steps, adding up to \$4 billion, are part of an effort to provide financing and to bring the city's budget into balance by the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1977.

Only a few months ago we were told that all of these reforms were impossible and could not be accomplished by New York alone. Today they are being done.

This is a realistic program. I want to commend all of those involved in New York City and New York State for their constructive efforts to date. I have been closely watching their progress in meeting their problem.

However, in the next few months New York will lack enough funds to cover its day-to-day operating expenses. This problem is caused by the city

having to pay its bills on a daily basis throughout the year while the bulk of its revenues are received during the spring. Most cities are able to borrow short-term funds to cover these needs, traditionally repaying them within their fiscal year.

Because the private credit markets may remain closed to them, representatives of New York have informed me and my Administration that they have acted in good faith, but they still need to borrow money on a short-term basis for a period of time each of the next 2 years in order to provide essential services to the 8 million Americans who live in the Nation's largest city.

Therefore, I have decided to ask the Congress when it returns from recess for authority to provide a temporary line of credit to the State of New York to enable it to supply seasonal financing of essential services for the people of New York City.

There will be stringent conditions. Funds would be loaned to the State on a seasonal basis, normally from July through March, to be repaid with interest in April, May, and June, when the bulk of the city's revenues comes in. All Federal loans will be repaid in full at the end of each year.

There will be no cost to the rest of the taxpayers of the United States.

This is only the beginning of New York's recovery process, and not the end. New York officials must continue to accept primary responsibility. There must be no misunderstanding of my position. If local parties fail to carry out their plan, I am prepared to stop even the seasonal Federal assistance.

I again ask the Congress promptly to amend the Federal bankruptcy laws so that if the New York plan fails, there will be an orderly procedure available. A fundamental issue is involved here—sound fiscal management is an imperative of self-government. I trust we have all learned the hard lesson that no individual, no family, no business, no city, no State, and no nation can go on indefinitely spending more money than it takes in.

As we count our Thanksgiving blessings, we recall that Americans have always believed in helping those who help themselves. New York has finally taken the tough decisions it had to take to help itself. In making the required sacrifices, the people of New York have earned the encouragement of the rest of the country.

Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

## QUESTIONS

## NEW YORK CITY

[2.] Q. Mr. President, I notice that you don't put any dollar figure on the amount of the loans that you would be offering. I wonder if you could supply us with a figure, and also, why were loans necessary rather than loan guarantees?

THE PRESIDENT. The amount in the proposed legislation, which is a maximum ceiling—not necessarily would they have to go up to the ceiling—but the figure is \$2,300 million per year, all of it to be repaid at the end of each fiscal year.

The reason we made it a loan rather than a loan guarantee is very simple. It is a much cleaner transaction between the Federal Government and the State and/or the city. If you have a loan guarantee, you involve other parties. And we think it is much better, we have better control over it, if we make it a direct loan from the Federal Government.

## INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING ACTIVITIES

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in view of recent revelations, are you fully satisfied that you are aware of everything that the CIA does since you became President, and do you accept full responsibility?

THE PRESIDENT. Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I certainly hope that I am fully aware of everything the CIA is doing. I can assure you that if I am not fully informed, I will welcome any information that people may have that I don't know about. But I have specifically asked for all information that I think I need concerning matters of the CIA.

Q. Can you say what steps you are taking to guarantee that the American people will never again learn that a Federal agency plotted on the life of a foreign leader or tried to defame a domestic leader like Martin Luther King?

THE PRESIDENT. I have issued specific instructions to the U.S. intelligence agencies that under no circumstances should any agency in this Government, while I am President, participate in or plan for any assassination of a foreign leader. Equally emphatic instructions have gone to any domestic agency of the Federal Government and/or the CIA, or intelligence agencies, that they should not violate the law involving the right of privacy of any individual in the United States.

## NEW YORK CITY

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in a nationally televised speech before the National Press Club on October 29, you said, and I quote, "I can tell you now that I am prepared to veto any bill that has as its purpose a Federal bailout of New York

City to prevent a default,” end of the quote. What has happened in the interim, sir, to make you change your mind? And secondly, do you regard your proposal as a Federal bailout of New York City?

THE PRESIDENT. The answer is very simple. New York has bailed itself out, because on October 29, when I made the speech before the Press Club, it was anticipated that on June 30 of 1976, there would be a cash deficit of \$3,950 million in the New York City situation. Under the plan that I have embraced, on June 30, 1976, New York City will have a zero cash balance. So New York City, by what they have done in conjunction with New York State, with the note-holders, with the labor organization, the pension fund people, they have bailed out themselves.

Q. The private sector will not invest in New York City apparently because they think it is too great of a gamble to invest any longer in New York City. Can you tell us why you are willing to risk Federal money in investing in New York City when the private sector thinks the risks are too great? .

THE PRESIDENT. Unfortunately, because a period of 10 or 12 years where the finances of New York City have been badly handled, there has been a loss of confidence in the private money markets. In order to get New York City to restore their credibility in the money markets, they have taken these steps which have eliminated \$3.95 billion cash deficit. And by the fiscal year that begins July 1, 1977, they will be on a balanced budget basis.

Therefore, in the interim while they are restoring their credit credibility, I decided that it was needed and necessary to give short-term financing on a seasonal basis. This, I think, is what we can do without any loss of taxpayers' money. And let me show you what the precautions are that we have taken.

We have said that the money will be loaned to New York City at a rate no less than the Federal Government borrows itself and with the option of the Secretary of the Treasury to impose an additional up to 1 percent on the city when they do borrow from us. And secondly, we include in the legislation a lien for the Federal Government, so that the Federal Government has a priority claim against any other creditor for the repayment of any seasonal loan made by the Federal Government.

The net result is the Federal Government will be held harmless and the taxpayers won't have to lose a penny, and the city of New York will straighten out its fiscal situation.

Q. That is a pretty good deal—1-percent loan. What will you do tomorrow when other mayors around the country call up and say, “Mr. President, how do we get in on that?”

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Schieffer [Bob Schieffer, CBS News], I think you misunderstood. They will have to pay the same interest rate that the Federal Government pays when it borrows money, plus up to 1 percent extra. So they are in effect reimbursing us over and above what the Federal Government has to pay to borrow its money.

Q. That is still a good deal.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if the Federal Government is paying 6 percent, then the city of New York will have to pay whatever the difference is. Now other cities, we hope, won't have to be in that situation.

#### STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

[5.] Q. Mr. President, have the Soviets offered any kind of proposal that could be considered enough of a breakthrough in the SALT talks to justify a visit to Moscow by Dr. Kissinger after the China trip?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are, of course, in communication with the Soviet officials, trying to narrow the differences between our last proposal and their last proposal. I can't say this evening that the differences have yet been sufficiently narrowed to justify that the Secretary go to Moscow, but I think it is worthwhile to continue the process. And if we decide that it looks reasonably optimistic, the prospects are that the Secretary will go to Moscow.

Q. Then if he goes to Moscow, it will signal a breakthrough, is that correct, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. It will signify there has been significant progress.

#### PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

[6.] Q. Mr. President, you do leave for China on Saturday. Do you foresee making any progress on any substantive matters there, and if so, in what areas?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that it is always advantageous for the heads of government of two nations, our Nation with 214 million people and the Chinese leaders of a country with 800-plus million people, to sit down and talk about our areas of agreement and to discuss how we can eliminate any areas of disagreement. It is vitally important that we consult rather than confront. And I can't tell you particularly what the outcome will be on a substantive basis—it will depend on how the talks go—but I think it is very worthwhile for those meetings to be held.

Q. Would you say it is worthwhile from a symbolic standpoint because—that you have set a meeting and must follow through with it, or can it amount to more than that?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is definitely a meeting that can have far more meaning than symbolism. I think that the meetings, the talks, can and will be constructive.

## 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[7.] Q. Mr. President, will you agree to a debate with Ronald Reagan during the Republican primaries?

THE PRESIDENT. I have always found that debates are helpful when the views of the participants are not well known. In my case, my views on matters are known virtually every day. I have to make decisions where the public knows how I feel on this issue or that issue or any other issue, and of course, between now and February 24 I have a fairly busy schedule. I am going to be preparing for the State of the Union Message, I will be putting together the Federal budget, and in the meantime, I will be signing or vetoing a lot of legislation. So my views will be very well known by everybody. So, at the present time I can't make any commitment as to whether or not there should or should not be any such debate.

## NEW YORK CITY

[8.] Q. Mr. President, Mayor Beame in New York was asking as long ago as September for short-term Federal assistance. How is the plan that you propose tonight different from what he was seeking then?

THE PRESIDENT. Significantly different. As I pointed out a minute ago, when the Governor and the mayor were asking for any kind of help, short-term or long-term there was the anticipated deficit for the current fiscal year in New York City of \$4 billion. In the meantime, the mayor and the other public officials in New York City, along with the help of private citizens, have reduced that fiscal deficit for this current year to zero. So there is quite a different circumstance.

Q. Well, you seem to be suggesting, Mr. President, that your opposition earlier to assistance for New York was based primarily on a tactical maneuver to get them to make the hard decisions that you say they have now made. Why couldn't you have said then that the aid would be forthcoming if they did all those things?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have always felt that they could do enough, but only because we were firm, have they moved ahead to accomplish what they have done now which is a bailout of New York City by New York officials. If we had shown any give, I think they would not have made the hard decisions that they have made in the last week or so.



## THE SUPREME COURT

[9.] Q. Mr. President, will you be submitting your nomination to fill the Douglas vacancy on the Court before your departure for China?

THE PRESIDENT. I will not submit it before I go to China. I will submit it as quickly as I possibly can, because I think it is vitally important that that vacancy on the Court be filled, if at all possible, by the time Congress adjourns in this session. So, we are expediting the process, and we will submit the name as rapidly as possible.

## MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, the Senate Intelligence Committee has documented widespread efforts by the FBI to discredit Dr. Martin Luther King before he was assassinated, as you know. And I just wondered, do you think the Federal Government and you, as President, have any responsibility now to see that those who were responsible for that are either purged from Government service if they still are in Government service, or prosecuted if the statute of limitations has not run out on them?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly condemn those actions which were taken regarding Martin Luther King. I think it is abhorrent to all Americans, including myself. Whether or not we can identify the individuals, if they are still alive, is difficult, but I certainly will consult with the Attorney General regarding that matter.

Q. You think an effort should be made, though, to identify those people?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so.

## 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[11.] Q. What reaction, sir, do you have to the statement of Senator Mathias that he may be forming a third force movement, and who do you think that would hurt or help if he does?

THE PRESIDENT. I strongly believe, Mr. Cannon [Lou Cannon, Washington Post], in a two-party system. It has served our country very well over a long period of time, and therefore, I would hope that all Democrats would participate in their party convention and run as a candidate in their primaries. And I would hope that we would have a similar situation in the Republican Party. The two-party system is so valuable, has served us so well, I can't believe that a multiplication of political parties will be beneficial.

Q. Have you attempted to communicate this personally to Senator Mathias, or do you plan to do so?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not communicated with him. And I would just hope that Senator Mathias would continue to be a good Republican, as he has been over the good many years that I have known him.

NEW YORK CITY

[12.] Q. Some Congressional leaders are saying that it may not be possible to enact New York City legislation in time to avert a default by December 11. Does the Administration have a plan to respond if this does occur?

THE PRESIDENT. The bill that I am submitting to the Congress is about a two- or three-page bill. It is very simple. I think Congress can take it, hold hearings, and act within a very short period of time, and I see no reason for any delay whatsoever. And I am confident they will.

Q. Is there a contingency plan, sir, in the event Congress does not act in time to avert default on December 11?

THE PRESIDENT. I asked earlier, as I'm sure you know, for a change in the Federal bankruptcy law.<sup>1</sup> That legislation is in the House and Senate committees; hearings have been held. If they want to take a precautionary measure—I don't advocate it—they could enact the change in the Federal bankruptcy law. I would rather have them take what I am sending up the day they get back from recess so we don't have to go through the process of Federal bankruptcy.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[13.] Q. Mr. President, may I follow up on the Mathias question? Do you share Senator Mathias' concern that there is a Republican drift to the right, away from the central center voters, and that this might cost you the election?

THE PRESIDENT. I am certainly not drifting away from my traditional position, which is in the middle of the political spectrum in the Republican Party.

Q. You will recall, I am sure, the days when—the football days when Stagg used to fear Purdue. My question is, do you fear Ronald Reagan, that he might beat you?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think so at all, and I am looking forward to a good campaign between now and November of 1976.

Q. Do you think that he is doing you a favor by running against you in the primaries, or is this likely to be divisive?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to speculate on that, Mr. Sperling [Godfrey Sperling, Jr., *Christian Science Monitor*]. I am a candidate, I'm going to run

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 646.

on my record—I think it is a good record—and I look forward to the campaign between now and next November.

THE SUPREME COURT

[14.] Q. Mr. President, it is reported that Mrs. Ford is pressing you to appoint a woman to the Supreme Court. And I wondered if you could tell us what luck she is having and what influence she has on the positions that you take in governmental matters such as this and others?

THE PRESIDENT. She does propagandize me on a number of matters. She obviously has a great deal of influence. We have discussed this, but I don't think I should indicate in any way whatsoever any individual that I might be considering.

As you may have noted in the list that was submitted by the Attorney General, there were two women—the Secretary of HUD, Carla Hills, and Judge Cornelia Kennedy of the district court in the city of Detroit. They are being considered. I am sure that Betty would be very pleased, but I am not making any commitment at this time.

Q. Mr. President, does she lead you to a more “liberal” position on things?

THE PRESIDENT. She, I think, has the identical political philosophy that I have.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[15.] Q. Mr. President, are you willing to take the pledge that Governor Reagan has, not to speak ill of other Republicans, to observe the so-called 11th commandment?

THE PRESIDENT. You are speaking of the 11th commandment?

Q. Right.

THE PRESIDENT. I have always thought that the first ten Commandments were pretty good guidelines for most Americans, and I am going to abide by the first ten. I think they will take care of the situation.

GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV OF THE SOVIET UNION

[16.] Q. Mr. President, there has been increased speculation that there may be another Ford-Brezhnev get-together in the works in either December or January, perhaps when and if Secretary Brezhnev goes to Cuba. Can we expect a Ford-Brezhnev get-together in the next 2 months?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said earlier, at the present time on the SALT II negotiations we are making some headway, but we have not come close enough to justify Secretary Kissinger going to Moscow and certainly not to justify a meeting between Secretary Brezhnev and myself.

On the other hand, we are going to pursue as much as we can and maintain our own position of strength, because I think it is in the national interest to put a cap on the strategic arms race. But I can't forecast at this time if and when any such meetings will be held.

Q. Well, do you think it would be helpful to have a Ford-Brezhnev meeting to perhaps break the SALT deadlock, or are we still insisting on an agreement in SALT as a prerequisite for any Ford-Brezhnev meeting?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that Mr. Brezhnev and I should not meet until we make additional progress.

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

[17.] Q. Mr. President, in the past the American Bar Association has had great input on the selection of judicial appointees, and I was wondering how you feel about this, whether the ABA's judicial committee should have a veto on your judicial appointments?

THE PRESIDENT. The ABA—the American Bar Association—has done a fine, fine job under very tough circumstances in analyzing the legal qualifications of some 15 or more names that have been submitted to them, and I thank the American Bar Association for their very, very great cooperation. But I don't think in the final analysis they should have a veto over the person that I select.

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER

[18.] Q. Mr. President, has Secretary Kissinger talked to you recently or to any top officials in your Administration about the possibility of resigning? Has he complained to you or others in the White House that he felt he was not receiving sufficient support from the White House, particularly on the House contempt citation move. And if he has, are you in a position to say whether you—to repeat your earlier promise, or your earlier statement, that you wanted him to stay on through the completion of this term?

THE PRESIDENT. Secretary Kissinger has not spoken to me about resigning. I continue to give him full and complete support because I think he is one of the finest Secretaries of State this country has ever had. I know of no criticism within the White House staff of his performance of duty, and I strongly—and I want to emphasize and reemphasize that I think he has done a superb job under most difficult circumstances. I certainly want him to stay as long as Secretary Kissinger will stay.

THE WARREN COMMISSION

[19.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the Congressional report on the CIA and the recent testimony about FBI activities and continuing doubt in the country,

don't you think it would be in the national interest to reopen the assassination investigation of President Kennedy and now Martin Luther King as well?

THE PRESIDENT. I, of course, served on the Warren Commission, and I know a good deal about the hearings and the committee report, obviously. There are some new developments—not evidence but new developments—that according to one of our best staff members, who has kept up to date on it more than I, that he thinks just to lay those charges aside that a new investigation ought to be undertaken.

He, at the same time, said that no new evidence has come up. If those particular developments could be fully investigated without reopening the whole matter that took us 10 months to conclude, I think some responsible group or organization ought to do so—but not to reopen all of the other aspects, because I think they were thoroughly covered by the Warren Commission.

Q. Are you prepared, then, to take that step on the part of the Administration to appoint a task force from the Justice Department, say, to look into the new developments and to report on those as well, or would you rather have it done by an independent organization?

THE PRESIDENT. I think in light of my former membership on the Warren Commission, it might be better done by somebody other than I appoint.

#### FEDERAL TAXES AND SPENDING

[20.] Q. Mr. President, is it still your intention, sir, to veto any tax cut package that Congress might pass if it does not conform precisely with what you proposed a few weeks ago?

THE PRESIDENT. I intend to veto any tax cut measure that does not couple with it a comparable reduction in the growth of Federal spending.

Q. Well, sir, that implies you might be flexible on the precise numbers. Is that correct, so long as there is a balance?

THE PRESIDENT. I, of course, proposed a \$28 billion tax cut, coupled with a \$28 billion reduction in Federal spending. I think that is the right level in both cases. The Congress, I hope, will accept it.

#### INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING ACTIVITIES

[21.] Q. A follow-up question, if I could, Mr. President, to the earlier statement on the Central Intelligence Agency. As you know, there is a gray area in which the CIA might take an action which could eventually lead to danger or assassination of a political leader. Now, in your first news conference you indicated that you supported such covert activities, particularly in the case of

Chile. Do you still support those activities, and if so, what kind of philosophy should the constitutional democracy of America take into the situation?

THE PRESIDENT. I repeat, under this Administration no agency of the Federal Government will plan or participate in any assassination plot of a foreign leader. The United States, however, in many cases for its own protection, its own national security, must undertake foreign covert operations, but I am not going to discuss the details of them.

Q. Will you allow the country to involve itself in situations which could potentially be dangerous to other leaders?

THE PRESIDENT. The people in the intelligence agencies know what my instructions are. If they violate them, proper action will be taken.

#### ANGOLA

[22.] Q. Mr. President, in Angola the Soviets are reported to be heavily involved. Do you find this to be consistent with your understanding of détente?

THE PRESIDENT. I agree with the content of the speech made by Secretary Kissinger in Detroit last night, where he said that the Soviet actions in Angola were not helpful in the continuation of détente. I agree with that, and I hope and trust that there will be proper note taken of it.

Q. Do you intend to do anything about it other than making this statement?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't want to get into the method or procedure. I said that I agree with the statement made by the Secretary, and I believe that the Soviet Union is not helping the cause of détente by what they are doing. And I hope the message comes across.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

[23.] Q. Mr. President, there is considerable pessimism these days as to whether peace progress can be maintained in the Golan Heights in the Middle East. The issues seem to be primarily those of land and participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization in negotiations. On the issue of land, it has been reported that the U.S. has assured Israel that it need make only cosmetic changes in its present lines in the Golan Heights. Is that the fact?

THE PRESIDENT. That is pure speculation, and we do hope that the process of negotiation will continue in the Middle East. And I hope and trust that we can get the parties together for a just and permanent peace.

Q. On the issue of Palestine Liberation Organization participation, State Department officials suggested that the Palestinian issue was the core of the problem in the Middle East. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. It certainly is a very important part of the problem, because the Palestinians do not recognize the State of Israel. And under those circumstances, it is impossible to bring the Palestinians and the Israelis together to negotiate. So, unless there is some change in their attitude, I think you can see a very serious roadblock exists.

## THANKSGIVING

[24.] Q. Mr. President, tomorrow being Thanksgiving Day, I ask this not of Jerry Ford, individual, but as the President of the United States. What do you have, number one, to be thankful for?

THE PRESIDENT. I am primarily thankful for the fact that this country is at peace on this Thanksgiving rather than engaged in a war, as we were for 4 or 5 or 6 years.

## NEW YORK CITY

[25.] Q. Mr. President, thank you, sir. As a New York reporter, I am very interested in something you said in your statement. Part of the package that you found to indicate progress on the part of New York officials involved \$205 million in taxes, which are a very onerous burden on the middle class in New York, on the working man and woman, including a 25-percent city income tax raise. Now, are you concerned politically that these taxes, these new taxes on a very heavily taxed city, one of the most heavily taxed cities in America, that these taxes are going to become known as the Ford taxes and that you are going to have to kiss the voters of New York goodbye next year?

THE PRESIDENT. As I have said repeatedly, the only requirement that I imposed was that the financial situation in New York City be such that we could handle the problem at the Federal level in the way in which we are doing it today.

As I understand it, Governor Carey has taken the full responsibility for the total package, including the taxes that were imposed through his recommendation to the State legislature. I think that is a very courageous stand by Governor Carey.

Under those circumstances, since I didn't recommend any particular tax package, or any additional taxes, I don't see how those taxes can be labeled taxes of this Administration.

Q. Although you do approve of those taxes as part of this package?

THE PRESIDENT. I approve of the financial plan of responsibility which the Governor and the city officials and others have put together.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's twenty-third news conference began at 7:30 p.m. in the East Room at the

White House. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

## 696

### **Remarks on Greeting the National Women's Basketball Team From the People's Republic of China. *November 28, 1975***

ON THIS very beautiful day, the day before we leave for the People's Republic of China, it is a special privilege for me to meet the basketball team that is representing the People's Republic of China.

When Mrs. Ford and I were in the People's Republic of China in 1972, we visited a good many areas in China, including Liaoning Province, Shenyang, Anshan, as well as Peking and Canton. Every place we went we saw more basketball courts than even in the United States.

I predicted then that we would have in the United States some very rugged competition on the basketball court, both the men as well as women. We saw young boys and girls at a very early age learning to play basketball with small balls and lowered backboards.

I am sure that this fine team from the People's Republic will do very well in competition against our American teams. I understand there is a game tonight out at the Federal City College. I wish it was possible for me to attend, but I will look forward to reading the results in the paper tomorrow morning.

The visit of these fine young ladies from the People's Republic is another step in the normalization of relations between our country and the People's Republic. I strongly believe that cultural exchanges, educational exchanges, competition in athletics are all important in trying to expand this normalization of relations between the two countries.

I am looking forward to the trip beginning tomorrow morning to visit again the People's Republic of China. It is a trip of great significance. It will be another step in the effort on the part of the two Governments to expand our relations and to broaden the normalization.

It is vital from our point of view that this dialog, these discussions continue, and I am looking forward to the trip, as I know the Secretary of State is. And Mrs. Ford and Susan and I are most anxious to have the opportunity of visiting your country.

We welcome you to the United States. We know that you will be warmly received. I know the contests will be good. I am a little prejudiced as to who I hope might win.



Thank you very much for coming to the White House. I understand you are visiting the White House after this brief meeting here. We welcome you to the residence and wish you well on your trip throughout the United States.

I might make two other comments: I mentioned earlier that I had noticed how many basketball courts there were, beginning with smaller ones. I made the comment to Mrs. Ford that I was certain that out of 800 million people I was positive there would be developed a Chinese Wilt Chamberlain. I also tried a little Ping-pong with some of the very able Chinese Ping-pong players, and I quit after about the first exchange.

Thank you very much, and I look forward to shaking hands and meeting all of you.

Thank you again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

697

## **Remarks Announcing Intention To Nominate John Paul Stevens To Be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.**

*November 28, 1975*

THE NOMINATION of a Justice of the United States Supreme Court is one of the most important decisions a President has to make. The opinions of the Court affect the course of our society and the lives of individual citizens for decades to come. The confidence in which the Court is held is the sum of the esteem extended to each of its nine Members, and nothing is more essential to our system of liberty under law than the integrity of the judicial branch of the Federal Government.

With this burden of responsibility in mind, I have conducted a thorough search and considered an extensive list of distinguished men and women to fill the existing vacancy on the Supreme Court. The views of a wide range of Americans in the legal profession and in both public and private life have been sought and are appreciated.

I have decided to submit to Congress when it returns the name of the person I believe to be best qualified to serve as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court: United States Judge John Paul Stevens of the Seventh Circuit of the Court of Appeals in Chicago, Illinois.

Judge Stevens is held in the highest esteem by his colleagues in the legal profession and the judiciary, and has had an outstanding career in the practice

and teaching of law as well as on the Federal bench. I am confident that he will bring both professional and personal qualities of the highest order to the Supreme Court.

Because of the urgency attached to the earliest consideration of this nomination by the United States Senate, in order that the Court may be at full strength in considering its current calendar, I am announcing my choice today and will submit Judge Stevens' name formally on Monday. I believe the best interests of the Nation will be served by prompt confirmation proceedings in the Senate.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:28 p.m. to reporters assembled in the Briefing Room at the White House.

698

### **Statement on Signing the Older Americans Amendments of 1975. *November 28, 1975***

I HAVE given my approval today to H.R. 3922, Older Americans Amendments of 1975.

Ten years ago, as a Member of the House of Representatives, I voted for the Older Americans Act when it was enacted by the Congress. I also voted for subsequent amendments to the act. I am pleased now to give my approval to this bill which amends the act and extends it for 3 years. These latest amendments were the result of 10 years of experiences in administering the act.

Incorporated in the Older Americans Act, as amended, are certain principles to guide the administration of the act:

—Emphasis will be placed on making services available which will enable older persons to live at home as long as possible.

—Community leaders who best know the needs of their own areas will determine the services for older persons to be started or strengthened.

—The needs of low-income, older persons, including minorities, will be given priority in use of Federal funds.

—Efforts will be made to enlist volunteers from all age groups to assist in serving older persons.

—The resources now available to meet the needs of older persons will continue to be coordinated through programs administered by a number of Federal departments and agencies.

—Emphasis will be placed on opening opportunities for older persons to continue to participate constructively in the life of our Nation.

I endorse the concept of the Older Americans Act which establishes a system to deliver coordinated comprehensive services at the community level and which is designed to enable older persons to live independent lives in their own residences and to participate in the life of their community.

There are, however, provisions of this act with which I disagree. The provisions concerned with age discrimination on the part of all Federal grantees have been modified to meet many, but not all, objections. The delineation of what constitutes unreasonable age discrimination is so imprecise that it gives little guidance in the development of regulations to prohibit such discrimination. Also, the provisions raise a question on the extent to which the Federal Government should seek to regulate private activity, particularly without holding hearings to permit affected persons and institutions to be heard.

The bill does provide, however, for study of the problems of age discrimination by the Commission on Civil Rights, and allows for these issues to be discussed thoroughly. I urge the Congress to reconsider these problems.

At a time when we are struggling to restrain growth in the Federal budget, I am not pleased to see the high authorization levels included in this bill. The authorization for social service programs for fiscal year 1976, for example, is almost twice that of my budget request. I am confident the Members of the Congress share my concern about the impact of inflation on the elderly. I look forward to working with the Congress in determining appropriations levels for this act which will be adequate, equitable, and not inflationary.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 3922, is Public Law 94-135 (89 Stat. 713).

699

### **Message to the Senate Transmitting the Agreement on the Conservation of Polar Bears. November 29, 1975**

[Dated November 28, 1975. Released November 29, 1975]

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I am pleased to transmit for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification the Agreement on the Conservation of Polar Bears, done at Oslo, November 15, 1973.

I am also transmitting, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the agreement.

This agreement, negotiated by the five circumpolar nations, the United States, Canada, Denmark, Norway and the Soviet Union, provides a plan of protec-

tion for polar bears consisting of a prohibition of hunting, killing or capturing the mammals subject to specified exceptions. It also provides for the countries involved to cooperate and consult with each other on research involving management and conservation of polar bears.

This agreement implements one of the mandates of the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 which, in Section 108, calls for development of bilateral or multilateral agreements for the protection of marine mammals, including polar bears. No legislation is necessary to implement the agreement, since the protections of the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 exceed the requirements of the agreement.

In addition to being the first international agreement to focus on the conservation of polar bears, this agreement is the first to be negotiated by the circum-polar nations exclusively. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this agreement.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 28, 1975.

NOTE: The agreement and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive I (94th Cong., 1st sess.).

## 700

### Message to the Senate Transmitting a Protocol to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty). *November 29, 1975*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I am transmitting for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification the Protocol of Amendment to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty) signed at San Jose July 26, 1975. I also am transmitting, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Protocol.

The signing of the Protocol of San Jose was a major development for the Inter-American System and a reaffirmation of the importance of our own relationship with the countries of Latin America. The Amendments, taken as a whole, do not alter the Rio Treaty's fundamental thrust; rather, they are for the most part constructive changes which will make the Treaty more flexible and politically viable in the years ahead.

The San Jose Conference of Plenipotentiaries for the amendment of the Rio Treaty constituted the final step in a process which began in April 1973 when the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, with the support of the United States, began an effort aimed at modernizing the instruments of the Inter-American System so as to make them more responsive to today's needs. The Protocol thus represents the end product of a conceptual and drafting process which began more than two years ago.

The most significant changes embodied in the Protocol in the Rio Treaty are (1) a provision for lifting sanctions by majority vote rather than the two-thirds vote required for all other decisions under the Treaty; (2) specific provision for non-binding recommendations and for conciliatory and peace-making steps as well as for binding measures; (3) a narrowing of the geographic area in which the "attack against one, attack against all" applies, eliminating Greenland and some high seas areas, and limiting its applicability to attacks against other states parties (instead of all "American states"); (4) the incorporation of a more complete definition of aggression than appeared in the original treaty, following the lines of the definition approved in 1974 by the General Assembly of the United Nations; and (5) the addition of an article providing that "collective economic security" shall be guaranteed by a special treaty (a provision to which the United States submitted a reservation at the time of signature). While the inclusion of an article on collective economic security represents an unfortunate detraction from the Protocol's balance and good sense, on the whole, the amendments improve this basic instrument of inter-American security and peace-keeping.

It is significant from the point of view of the United States that many other proposed changes were *not* embodied in the Protocol. For example, a proposal supported by some that would have limited the "attack against one, attack against all" concept to attacks coming from within the hemisphere was soundly defeated. Similarly, efforts to limit the authority of the Organ of Consultation to deal with a broad range of acts which could endanger the peace of America were unsuccessful. The result, in our view, was a reaffirmation of the basic principles of the Rio Treaty rather than a weakening of them. Nevertheless, I believe the protection of interests of the United States with respect to its position on the concept of collective economic security requires a formal reservation to that Article when the United States deposits its instrument of ratification, along the lines of the reservation made at the time of signing.

The various amendments to the Treaty are dealt with in detail in the enclosed report by the Department of State and the summary of amendments.

I strongly believe that it is in the national interest of the United States to ratify the proposed amendments. I therefore urge that the Senate give its advice and consent to ratification by the United States of the Amendment to the Rio Treaty contained in this Protocol, and that it do so as promptly as possible consistent with its constitutional responsibilities.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 29, 1975.

NOTE: The protocol and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive J (94th Cong., 1st sess.).

## 701

### **Veto of a Bill To Provide for the Protection of Foreign Diplomatic Missions. *November 29, 1975***

#### *To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning, without my approval, H.R. 12, a bill to provide for the protection of foreign diplomatic missions and to increase the size of the Executive Protective Service.

I am in agreement with the primary objective of H.R. 12—to increase the size of the Executive Protective Service to enable it to more effectively fulfill its responsibility under current law. I am also mindful of the need to assure adequate protection of foreign diplomats and missions. However, I am unable to sign this bill because it would unwisely extend the purpose and functions of the Executive Protective Service and would create a precedent that could erode current and proper distinctions between Federal and local law enforcement responsibilities.

Protection of foreign diplomatic officials and missions is an established part of the overall responsibility of local law enforcement agencies to protect individuals and property within their respective jurisdictions. The conditions under which EPS personnel could be assigned outside the Washington, D.C., area under the enrolled bill are unwarranted and unwise. Although I realize that the Congress has limited these circumstances to only seven metropolitan areas and to situations of extraordinary protective need, I am concerned that this bill would be but a first step toward a permanent and wider expansion of the role of EPS nationally.

When the Congress enacted Public Law 91-217, which established the EPS in 1970 and authorized the President to assign officers of the Service to areas outside Washington, D.C., on a case-by-case basis to safeguard foreign missions, it made its intention clear concerning the wise exercise of that authority. The House Committee on Public Works in its report on that legislation emphasized that:

“This authority extends only to situations of extraordinary gravity, where the local police force is totally incapable of providing a level of protection deemed essential to the international integrity of the U.S., or where the protection of the President himself, for example, would be involved. This additional authority is not, and may not be construed to be, a substitute for the responsibility of local police forces to provide protection for consulates, the United Nations, and similar foreign delegations within the U.S.” (House Committee on Public Works report on H.R. 14944, December 8, 1969).

I agree fully with that statement.

H.R. 12 would also authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse State and local governments for provision of protective and other services to foreign missions and visiting officials, in lieu of providing those services directly by the Executive Protective Service. A maximum of \$3.5 million annually would be authorized to be appropriated for that purpose. This authority, too, would set an unwise and potentially very expensive precedent. It would inevitably lead to pressures to reimburse State and local governments for other local services provided to foreign missions and perhaps even for protection of the President and Presidential candidates. Moreover, reimbursements to State and local governments for protective assistance, which is a historic part of their duty under our Federal system of government, are contrary to the cooperative nature of law enforcement in the United States.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 29, 1975.

NOTE: The House of Representatives reconsidered H.R. 12 on January 20, 1976, and the bill was referred to committee.

702

**Remarks on Departure for the Far East.***November 29, 1975**Good morning.*

Three times in our generation, wars in Asia disturbed the peace of the world and drew America into serious conflict. On this Thanksgiving weekend, we give thanks that America—and Asia—are at peace.

Today I begin a mission to Asia to consolidate that peace and to visit our two newest States, Alaska and Hawaii, which are most mindful of the importance of peace in the Pacific.

I am traveling to the People's Republic of China to strengthen our new relationship with that great nation from whom we were isolated, in mutual suspicion, for almost a quarter of a century. Stability in Asia and international security benefit from this new relationship of mutual respect that we are developing between the United States and the People's Republic of China. We will stand for our own views, as we always have. But we will seek, in the American tradition, to foster mutual understanding.

I will also visit two important friends in Asia: the Philippines, one of our oldest partners, an ally which symbolizes America's historic link and commitment to Asia, and Indonesia, a nation of 120 million people, a good friend of the United States, and a country of tremendous potential and importance.

As I did last year on my visits to Japan and the Republic of Korea, I will reaffirm America's undiminished interest in the security and the well-being of Asia. That vast region is of vital importance to us and to the world.

I will bring to the people of Asia the good wishes and the friendship of the American people.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:10 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.



703

**Remarks on Arrival at Fairbanks, Alaska.****November 29, 1975**

*Senator Ted Stevens, Governor Hammond, Senator Gravel, Congressman Young, Secretary Kissinger, Mayor Giliam, Mayor Carlson, General Hill, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

On behalf of Betty and myself, let me thank you all for your very generous and very enthusiastic greeting. I can assure you it is a moment that we will both long remember. I don't care what the temperature is outside, your welcome has brought us all the warmth we need. And I thank you very, very much.

Let me also thank the men and women of Eielson Air Force Base for their very gracious hospitality. Frankly, we are just a little awed by the sheer size of this building. I always knew Alaska was big, but up until now I never realized how much of it was inside. [*Laughter*]

But I found in my various trips to Alaska that your State and all of its people are very impressive. America will soon get a lot of its oil from Alaska's North Slope, and as everybody in this audience knows, when it comes to baseball, America gets a lot of its great players right here in Fairbanks. What is the name of that team—the Alaska Gold Panners? [*Laughter*]

I visited Alaska just a little over a year ago on a previous trip to the Pacific region. This obviously doesn't make me a "sourdough," but I am no newcomer to the knowledge that this great land, a part of another great land, the United States of America, is an inspiring and shining northern star in our constellation of stars.

This visit gives us all a great farewell boost on our way to the People's Republic of China, Indonesia, and the Philippines. It was just last November when Alaska gave us a grand sendoff for a very successful trip to Japan, to the Republic of Korea, and the Soviet Union.

That visit did much to advance the cause of peace. In the year that followed, we have come a long way as a nation. The United States has moved forward to stabilize our domestic economy and our national self-confidence as well as our international relations.

Your State, determined to help America become self-sufficient in energy, is in the forefront of our national revival. I commend Alaska for its determination to help achieve energy independence for all of us in the United States. And we thank you for it.

The hardy people of Alaska and the alert Armed Forces stationed in this strategic area are a source of great reassurance to all Americans. Let me reassure you on this occasion that this Administration, while striving to preserve world peace, remains aware that the best insurance for peace is the United States military power second to none.

There will be no slackening of support for a first-rate Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. We are vitally interested in the defense of Alaska. Your defense right here is our defense in the Lower 48. Worldwide diplomacy would not be credible without a credible military force, both in substance as well as in perception.

It is appropriate to stop here enroute to China. Alaskans are devoted to peace. Just as Alaska adjoins Asia, America's interests are linked to Asia. You know and I know that we must keep the Pacific peaceful.

There are fundamental differences between the American and Chinese societies. We may not agree on some issues, but we found an important area of common ground. Our mutual opposition to military expansion in Asia is basic. So is our pledge of noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations. I will seek to strengthen these understandings and to further advance a relationship based upon mutual respect and mutual accommodation.

Alaskans—some may not remember here—experienced foreign invasion in World War II. You know, as a result, better than most Americans how critical a strong national defense is to American security.

Let me assure you we will be resolute in the pursuit of peace, but we will never forget that freedom and independence come first and foremost.

Freedom and independence are precious to all Americans, but the words have a very special meaning to Alaskans. Up here when you come in you can vividly feel America's greatness, the sense of a fantastic potential not yet realized, a frontier that you fought to protect, a pioneer spirit is today not only alive but growing in Alaska. The oil which will flow gives your State an entirely and totally new dimension.

We have become unacceptably dependent on other nations for oil that is our economic lifeblood. Americans became painfully aware of our dependence on foreign oil when an embargo followed the 1973 war in the Middle East. Long lines at service stations and soaring utility bills brought home the personal hardships which oil dependence imposes.

Even more chilling was the impact on our national economy, the loss of \$20 billion in the gross national product, unemployment for more than a half a million Americans, and pressures toward a national recession. We are deter-

mined to liberate ourselves from this threat. We cannot afford it now or in the future.

In our vast Alaskan reserves, we have the means to help accomplish the goal of energy independence. We have the physical resources, the economic resources, the ingenuity, and the national will. All of our natural resources—oil and oil shale, natural gas, coal, uranium—and all of our technological capability must be fully utilized if we are to stop depending on unreliable foreign suppliers of energy for the United States.

The liquid gold which will flow from Alaska's North Slope to the rest of the country will have a tremendous impact on the Alaskan economy, yes, and that of our entire Nation. Alaskan oil is closer to making a significant contribution to our national energy supplies than any other single source of energy.

I was delighted when the pipeline portion of the project for tapping Alaska's oil reached its halfway mark last October. And I am told it is ahead of schedule, and we are all deeply grateful.

I wish I could report that all aspects of our energy program were moving as quickly. But let me add, we are making headway and we are going to achieve energy sufficiency and energy independence for 214 million Americans.

Today, it will be my good fortune to tour a part of the pipeline, to get a first-hand look at your accomplishments. And I look forward to seeing the largest privately financed construction project, as Senator Stevens said, in world history.

We expect that oil to flow through the pipeline by the middle of 1977, about 19 months from now. By the end of 1977, the daily flow will reach 1.2 million barrels. This is more than one-eighth of all domestic crude oil production expected at that date. By 1980, the Alaskan North Slope could deliver 2 million barrels per day. And that would be 20 percent of America's total national crude production. When your oil production reaches that level, America will save, at today's prices, at least \$25 million each day in payments for foreign oil. Alaskan oil will reduce the loss of dollars to foreign oil producers by nearly \$10 billion each year by 1980.

There will be a huge economic benefit for the entire United States, and especially for Alaska. Crude oil produced in Alaska last year was valued at nearly \$350 million. Last year's 70 million barrels of oil from Alaskan wells was only one-tenth of the production expected from the North Slope in 1980. Imagine the revenue—I am sure you will appreciate it, Governor—when oil begins to flow through that pipeline.

The influx of workers to your State has been dramatic. Last September, the total labor force amounted to some 21,000. The payroll obviously invigorated

Alaska's economy. Of course, there have been problems in absorbing so many newcomers from the Lower 48, but you have done a splendid job. And by any standard the benefits far, far outweigh the disadvantages. When the pipeline is completed, oil tax revenues will greatly benefit all the citizens of Alaska and stimulate your entire economy.

It doesn't take a great deal of reading to know that your State is blessed with many priceless natural resources. Now, some feared—and I think it was understandable—that the pipeline would destroy this great environment that you have in the State of Alaska. Actually, by a fair appraisal, the pipeline has proven to be an outstanding example of how our ecology can be preserved while energy needs are met. We can—yes, we must—have both a decent environment on the one hand and decent energy on the other, and we will.

The example that you have set in Alaska has convinced me and, I am sure, many others in the Congress and throughout the United States that we can have both. We can use your example to have balanced policies, for both are vitally important to our future.

Alaska's energy wealth doesn't stop with oil. It is estimated that Alaska has almost 32 trillion cubic feet of recoverable natural gas, only slightly less than the total reserves in the Gulf of Mexico. I can assure you it is urgently needed in other States of the Union.

In flying up here, I had the privilege of learning something else—that Alaska has unbelievable reserves of coal. Yes, our drive for energy independence relies very heavily upon Alaskan oil, gas, and coal reserves. And all Americans are very, very proud that Alaska has contributed so much by accelerated construction of the oil pipeline. Obviously, your contributions in the future will even be greater. In addition to oil and gas, Alaska will help to meet America's critical needs for other essential minerals.

I salute Alaska. I count on Alaska. The State of Alaska is separated geographically from our other States. It took us just a little over 7 hours to fly to Fairbanks from Washington, D.C. Yet, all of us in the Lower 48 feel very close in our hearts to the people of Alaska and your great State.

I am very mindful, as I stand here today, of the pride I felt some years ago when, as a Member of the Congress, I voted for Alaskan statehood. And you have never let me and those others who voted for it down at all. We are very grateful for your efforts.

We were told then, and it has been said many times since, Alaska is America's last real frontier. Your pioneer spirit is developing not only our natural resources but vital human resources.

All America benefits from your many, many, many achievements. We, as fellow Americans, are proud, appreciative, and most grateful.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:48 a.m. in the Big Hangar at Eielson Air Force Base. In his opening remarks, he referred to Donald E. Giliam, mayor of Kenai Peninsula Borough, John A. Carlson, mayor

of Fairbanks-North Star Borough, and Lt. Gen. James E. Hill, USAF, Commander, Alaskan Air Command.

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### Remarks at a Birthday Party for Senator Ted Stevens in Anchorage, Alaska. *November 29, 1975*

IT IS a great privilege and pleasure for me to be here in Anchorage and to participate along with Governor Hammond, Congressman Don Young, Secretary Kissinger, Mayor Sullivan, Betty, Susan, Mr. Tobin, and all of you honored guests, and of course, my old friend Wally Hickel. It is a very nice kickoff for the trip that we are making to the Far East.

I have been in Alaska a number of times. I have reminisced as I have traveled through the audience here with some whom I saw in 1968 when I first had the privilege.

I understand that this is the time of the year in Anchorage when the sun rises at 8:40 in the morning, sets at 2:54 in the afternoon, the nights are 18 hours long. All I can say: What a great place to have a party! And of course, what a great guy to honor on an occasion and a party such as this. Ted, congratulations.

I can say from personal experience, Ted is one of the most conscientious, one of the most capable, and one of the most astute legislators in the United States Congress. I can also say that Ted Stevens is highly respected on both sides of the aisle, Democratic as well as Republican. And I understand there are a number of Democrats in the audience here tonight, and by your presence here tonight you are reflecting the views and attitudes of the Democrats in the United States Senate and the House, because they respect him. They know he is a person of ability and fairness.

We are celebrating in America today, or soon will be, I should say, our 200th birthday, the 16th year of Alaskan statehood, and Ted Stevens' 52d birthday. You know, that's a young country, and it is a young State, and I happen to think when you get right down to it, Ted Stevens is a dynamic young United States Senator.

Whenever I want to get the lowdown on the problems or the issues involving

Alaska, I go to Ted in the United States Senate, go to Don Young in the House of Representatives. I get the benefit of their good sound advice. But I also get a broader perspective than just the Alaskan point of view. Ted is a leader in the United States Senate, one of the legislative leaders of the Republican Party. And in that capacity, as well as that of representing all of you, he has done a superb job, one of those in the forefront of making it possible for the Congress to enact the Alaskan pipeline legislation.

He, of course, was out in front and did a superb job in reference to the Alaska native claims settlement legislation. He has fought hard and very successfully in trying to build for us—when I say us, I mean those of us in the Lower 48 as well as Hawaii—a sound energy policy. And that's not an easy job with all the crosscurrents that we are faced with in the Congress as well as elsewhere in the country.

For far too long this country has been dependent upon unreliable foreign sources of oil. And as our domestic production goes down—and it has been—we are increasingly dependent upon foreign oil. And that will be true until we get this great pipeline that I had the privilege of going out and seeing this afternoon up in Fairbanks. But in the meantime, we have to do everything possible, by a wide variety of legislative proposals, to strengthen America's capability to have energy sufficiency and, hopefully, energy independence. And I can say that Ted is in the forefront of fighting for the kind of legislation that we need.

Let me say this, as we leave tomorrow for the trip to the Pacific area. We are leaving tomorrow morning to visit the People's Republic of China, Indonesia, and the Philippines, coming back through Hawaii. I know that you in Alaska have probably a greater recognition of the need and necessity for the United States to be forward-looking, to have views that encompass the views of those who believe that we have to live in a world, not just within the United States. I don't believe that we have a trend towards isolationism in America. And I know that you in Alaska are those who are in the forefront trying to convince people that our interests are involved in the Far East.

Let me say that our Asian neighbors, we hope, can and will be our friends. We, of course, count Indonesia and we count the Philippines as friends of the United States. We are opening, or have opened several years ago, a historic relationship with the People's Republic of China. For literally years, the United States and China were friends. We had a period where that friendship was abruptly cut off. But we are starting a new relationship. And with the 800 million people in China and 214 million people in the United States, there is no

reason why we can't agree in many instances. We don't have the same political philosophy, but there is no reason we can't work together, not to confront, but to consult. And it is in the best interest of us, as well as those in China, to broaden, to strengthen, to deepen this relationship. And my purpose in going on this trip is precisely for that reason. We have an interest in the Pacific, and we have an interest in making our relationship better than it has been in the past.

Let me say that we have gone through some tough days in the last few months. We had a setback or two in the Far East. We have had some economic problems at home. But we have also had some successes. We have made great strides towards peaceful solutions in the long run in the Middle East. We have strengthened NATO. We are trying to build a better world.

And I am an optimist about the future of America. I happen to believe that the cynics and the skeptics in America are not going to prevail. I believe very strongly in our fellow Americans. I believe in the kind of government we have. I feel that working together, with the character of our people and the drive and the energy and the leadership, America can be all that we have had in the past and much, much more.

It is a privilege to be in Alaska, to be in Fairbanks and in Anchorage, and to have an opportunity of participating in Ted Stevens' 52d birthday. You know, that isn't so old; he is a lot younger than I am. So, Ted, we all wish you well. I have enjoyed the opportunity of being with you today, and we wish you many, many more days, months, and years, not only of health and happiness but continued good service in the United States Senate.

Thank you very much.

They suggested, not knowing how badly I sing, that I get all of you to sing "Happy Birthday."

*[At this point, the President led the crowd in "Happy Birthday."]*

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:07 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Anchorage Westward Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to William

Tobin, manager of the Anchorage Daily Times, and Walter J. Hickel, Governor of Alaska 1966-68 and Secretary of the Interior 1969-70.

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**Special Message to the Congress Reporting on Budget Rescissions and Deferrals. *December 1, 1975***

[Dated November 29, 1975. Released December 1, 1975]

***To the Congress of the United States:***

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith propose 13 new rescissions totalling \$838.6 million in budget authority. In addition, I am reporting 18 new deferrals that total \$253.2 million in budget authority and changes to one deferral previously transmitted that decrease the budget authority deferred by \$4.1 million.

If we are to avoid excessive Federal spending, the kinds of actions I am proposing today are essential. I believe that both the legislative and executive branches must continually weigh the contribution made by each Federal program against the limited resources available. We must carefully assess new or expanded activities before they are implemented. To make room for necessary new spending, we must eliminate Federal spending for programs that are no longer needed, that duplicate other programs, or that can be financed from other sources.

The details of each rescission proposal and deferral are contained in the attached reports.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
November 29, 1975.

NOTE: The attachments detailing the rescissions and deferrals are printed in the Federal Register of December 4, 1975 (40 FR 56803).

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**Toasts of the President and Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping of the People's Republic of China at a State Banquet in Peking. *December 1, 1975***

*Mr. Vice Premier, Mr. Foreign Minister, and all Chinese friends here tonight:*

On behalf of Mrs. Ford, our daughter, the members of our family, and the people of the United States, let me express appreciation for your very friendly



reception. It is symbolized by this gracious banquet that you have accorded us tonight.

Although this is the second visit by me to the People's Republic of China, it is the first time that I have been in your country as President of the United States. In 1972, I had the opportunity to meet a number of your leaders, including Premier Chou En-lai. I learned something of their views and saw the impressive work of the people of China in developing their country. And I recall your hospitality with great pleasure.

It is now more than 4 years since our two countries started discussing how to build a more constructive relationship. Reality and common necessities brought us together in a bold and farsighted move.

In the Shanghai communique, our two Governments recognized that there are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. But more importantly, we also agreed that the normalization of relations would be in the mutual interests of our peoples and would contribute to the development of a more secure international order. We therefore established certain principles to guide the growth of our relations and our approach to the international scene.

The moves that were taken in 1971 and 1972 by the leaders of China and the United States were of historic significance. And I take this occasion to reaffirm my commitment to the objectives and to the principles that emerged from those first steps, and specifically to the normalization of our relations.

Developments since 1972 verify the wisdom of the Shanghai communique. We still differ on certain issues, but we have progressed toward a more normal relationship. Our many authoritative discussions have enabled our two nations to explore areas of mutual interest and to understand each other's views on the issues on which we disagree.

The two liaison offices which we established in our respective capitals facilitate our contact and understanding. The development of cultural and scientific exchanges, as well as trade, strengthens the ties between the Chinese and the American people.

In the international field, we have a mutual interest in seeing that the world is not dominated by military force or pressure, what in our joint statements we have called hegemony. In pursuing our objectives, each of us will, of course, determine our policy and methods according to our differing positions in the world and our perceptions of our respective national interests.

In the past 4 years, there have been many changes in the international situation. The world confronts us all with dangers, but it also offers opportunities.

The United States will strive both to reduce the dangers and to explore new opportunities for peace without illusion.

The current situation requires strength, vigilance, and firmness. But we will also continue our efforts to achieve a more peaceful world, even as we remain determined to resist any actions that threaten the independence and well-being of others.

I look forward to our frank and beneficial discussions. We will explore areas of agreement and seek to foster understanding where our perspectives differ.

In that spirit, we remain firmly committed to the process of building a normal relationship between our two countries on the basis of the Shanghai communique and to enlarging the areas of cooperation on international issues of mutual concern.

So, as I begin my visit, I would like to propose a toast to the health of Chairman Mao, to the health of Premier Chou En-lai, to the health of Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, to the health of other officials and friends here tonight, to the success of our discussions here this week, and to the further development of friendship and understanding between the peoples of China and the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 9 p.m. in the Great Hall of the People in response to a toast proposed by Vice Premier Teng. In his opening remarks, he referred to Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua of the People's Republic of China.

Vice Premier Teng spoke in Chinese. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President and Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends:*

We are very glad today that President and Mrs. Ford, traveling thousands of miles across the ocean, have arrived in China for an official visit. As the Republican leader of the House of Representatives, Mr. Ford visited China before in June 1972 with Mrs. Ford. So, they are already known to the Chinese people.

At this banquet, which I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to host, I wish to express welcome on behalf of the Chinese Government to President and Mrs. Ford and the other American guests accompanying them on the visit.

The Chinese and American peoples are both great peoples. Our two peoples have always been friendly to each other. I would like to take this opportunity to convey the cordial greetings of the Chinese people to the great American people.

More than 3 years ago, President Nixon visited China, and the Chinese and American sides issued the famous Shanghai communique. This is a unique international document. It explicitly sets forth the

fundamental differences between the policies of China and the United States, which are determined by their different social systems, and at the same time points out that in today's world our two countries have many points in common.

An outstanding common point is that neither should seek hegemony and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish hegemony.

The communique provides the basis for the development of Sino-U.S. relations and indicates its direction and goal. Its issuance accords not only with the common desire of our two peoples but also with the interests of the people of the world. And it has made a deep impact internationally.

Since the Shanghai communique, there have been, on the whole, an increase in the contacts and friendship between our two peoples and an improvement in the relations between our two countries.

Since he took office, President Ford has stated more than once that he will adhere to the principles of the Shanghai communique and work to promote Sino-U.S. relations, a statement which we welcome. To realize the normalization of relations between our two countries conforms to the common desire of the Chinese and American peoples.

We believe that, so long as the principles of the Shanghai communique are earnestly observed, this desire will eventually be realized through the joint efforts of our two sides.

At present, a more important question confronts the Chinese and American peoples—that of the international situation. Our basic view is: There is great disorder under heaven, and the situation is excellent. The basic contradictions in the world are sharpening daily. The factors for both revolution and war are clearly increasing.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution. This torrential tide of our time is mounting. In particular, the Third World has emerged and grown in strength and has become a force that is playing an important role in the international arena, a force that must not be neglected.

On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony is intensifying, and strategically, Europe is the focus of this contention. Such continued contention is bound to lead to a new world war.

This is independent of man's will. Today, it is the country which most zealously preaches peace that is the most dangerous source of war. Rhetoric about détente cannot cover up the stark reality of the growing danger of war.

The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains. The wind is blowing harder and harder, and nothing can prevent the storm. In the face of this international situation, the crucial point is what line and policy to pursue.

We consider that it is in the interest of the people of the world to point out the source and danger of the war, dispel illusions of peace, fully arouse the people, make all preparations, unite with all the

forces that can be united with, and wage a tit-for-tat struggle.

Hegemonism is not to be afraid of. It is weak by nature. It bullies the soft and fears the tough. Its expansion in all parts of the world bears the seed of defeat. The outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.

In this regard, the consistent policy of the Chinese Government and people is dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony. We base ourselves on independence, self-reliance, and millet, plus rifles.

The people are the makers of history. Mankind always advances in storm and stress. The road is tortuous, the future is bright. We are full of optimism and confidence in the future of mankind.

President Ford's visit to China is a major event in the present international relations. It is beneficial for leaders of the two countries to have a direct exchange of views on issues of mutual interest. We wish President Ford a successful visit.

In conclusion I propose a toast to the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples, to the health of President and Mrs. Ford, to the health of the other American guests, and to the health of all comrades and friends present here.

On the following day, the President went to the Great Hall of the People in the morning for a meeting with Vice Premier Teng. In the afternoon, he met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung at his residence.

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## Statement on Signing the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975. *December 2, 1975*

I HAVE approved S. 6, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975.

Unfortunately, this bill promises more than the Federal Government can deliver, and its good intentions could be thwarted by the many unwise provisions it contains. Everyone can agree with the objective stated in the title of this bill—educating all handicapped children in our Nation. The key question is whether the bill will really accomplish that objective.

Even the strongest supporters of this measure know as well as I that they are falsely raising the expectations of the groups affected by claiming authorization levels which are excessive and unrealistic.

Despite my strong support for full educational opportunities for our handi-

capped children, the funding levels proposed in this bill will simply not be possible if Federal expenditures are to be brought under control and a balanced budget achieved over the next few years.

There are other features in the bill which I believe to be objectionable and which should be changed. It contains a vast array of detailed, complex, and costly administrative requirements which would unnecessarily assert Federal control over traditional State and local government functions. It establishes complex requirements under which tax dollars would be used to support administrative paperwork and not educational programs. Unfortunately, these requirements will remain in effect even though the Congress appropriates far less than the amounts contemplated in S. 6.

Fortunately, since the provisions of this bill will not become fully effective until fiscal year 1978, there is time to revise the legislation and come up with a program that is effective and realistic. I will work with the Congress to use this time to design a program which will recognize the proper Federal role in helping States and localities fulfill their responsibilities in educating handicapped children. The Administration will send amendments to the Congress that will accomplish this purpose.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 6, approved November 29, 1975, is Public Law 94-142 (89 Stat. 773).

## 708

### Toasts of the President and Vice Premier Teng of the People's Republic of China at a Banquet in Peking Honoring the Vice Premier. *December 4, 1975*

*Mr. Vice Premier, Mr. Foreign Minister, and our Chinese friends here this evening:*

On behalf of Mrs. Ford and all the Americans present, I extend to each and every one of you a very, very warm welcome.

Tomorrow morning we leave China with many regrets. It has been a significant visit. The wide-ranging talks that I have held with Chairman Mao and with Vice Premier Teng have been friendly, candid, substantial, and constructive. We discussed our differences, which are natural in a relationship between two countries whose ideologies, societies, and circumstances diverge. But we also confirmed that we have important points in common.

We reviewed our bilateral relationship. The visit confirmed that although our relations are not yet normalized, they are good. They will be gradually

improved because we both believe that a strengthening of our ties benefits our two peoples. I am confident that through our mutual efforts we can continue to build a relationship which advances the national interests of the United States and the People's Republic of China. In our talks, I reaffirmed that the United States is committed to complete the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the Shanghai communique.

Our bilateral ties are very important. But both of us attach even greater significance to the international aspects of our relationship. It was certain common perceptions and common interests which brought our countries together 4 years ago.

Among these is our agreement not to seek hegemony over others and our fundamental opposition to the efforts of others to impose hegemony in any part of the world. This reflects the realism which is a hallmark of our relationship. And realism is a firmer basis than sentiment for sound and durable ties.

It is only natural that the People's Republic of China and the United States will follow their own policies and tactics, governed by their perceptions of their own national interests.

The United States is firmly dedicated to an international order of peace, justice, and prosperity for all. The task which confronts us—which confronts all peoples of the world—is not easy. It requires both firmness of principle and tactics adapted to particular circumstances.

It requires national strength and the will to use it, as well as prudence to avoid unnecessary conflict. It requires acceptance of peaceful change to accommodate human aspirations for progress. All must help to build a durable and equitable international system, though inevitably contributions will often be diverse.

I believe that our discussions this week have significantly promoted those objectives we share concerning both bilateral relations and the international scene. They will benefit our two peoples, as well as the peoples of the world.

In closing, I wish to express the sincere appreciation of Mrs. Ford and myself, and all of those traveling with us, for the very warm hospitality that we have received.

Mr. Vice Premier, I hope that you will convey my personal thanks to all who have helped to make our visit so pleasurable.

I ask all of you to join me in a toast to the health of Chairman Mao, to the health of Premier Chou En-lai, to the health of Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, to the health of all Chinese friends here tonight, and to the friendship between the American and the Chinese people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. in the Great Hall of the People.

Vice Premier Teng spoke in Chinese. His response was translated by an interpreter as follows:

*Mr. President and Mrs. Ford, Mr. Secretary of State, ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends:*

President Ford will conclude his visit to China tomorrow. Here, on behalf of my Chinese colleagues present, I would like to thank President Ford for giving this banquet on the eve of his departure.

In the last few days, our two sides have held several beneficial talks on matters of mutual interest. What is particularly important, Chairman Mao Tse-tung had an earnest and significant conversation with President Ford on wide-ranging issues in a friendly atmosphere.

China and the United States have different social systems, our two sides have different ideologies, and naturally there are differences of principle between us. At the same time, in the present international situation, our two countries face problems of mutual concern and share many common points.

The direct exchange of views between the leaders of our two countries on this occasion helps to increase mutual understanding and serves to promote efforts by both the Chinese and American sides to-

ward the direction and goal defined in the Shanghai communique.

Both sides agree that the Shanghai communique is a document of historic significance and constitutes the basis of Sino-U.S. relations. As facts prove, it remains full of vitality today.

President and Mrs. Ford and their party have also visited places of interest in Peking and come into contact with people of various circles in our capital. Our American guests must have found that the Chinese people are friendly to the American people.

On the eve of the departure of President and Mrs. Ford from China, I would like to take this opportunity to convey the best wishes of the Chinese people for the American people. I wish President and Mrs. Ford and their party a pleasant journey.

In conclusion, I propose a toast to the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples, to the health of President and Mrs. Ford, to the health of the other American guests, and to the health of our comrades and friends present.

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On December 3 and 4, 1975, the President's activities included meetings with the Vice Premier.

## 709

### Toast at a State Dinner in Djakarta, Indonesia.

*December 5, 1975*

*Mr. President, Mrs. Suharto, distinguished hosts:*

Our two great nations enjoy a growing bond of friendship while reflecting differences that enrich humanity. We are on opposite sides of the world with great contrasts in history, geography, and culture. But Indonesia and the United States also have very, very much in common.

We share a dedication to peace in Asia and in the world. We share a commitment to economic and social progress. We share the realization that international cooperation is essential for international stability and prosperity.

In recent years, we have seen many dramatic changes in the world transforming the international and political and economic affairs. But the last vestiges of colonial empires have disappeared. The cold war division of the world has broken down. We now live in a world of some 150 independent nations. It is a smaller world in which the destinies of nations are more clearly interdependent.

In this complex time of change, America, as always, looks to its relationships with friends. Indonesia is such a friend. Indonesia exemplifies strength and self-

reliance, as well as international leadership and responsibility. We respect your nonalignment and your goal of national resiliency. We admire your contribution to regional peace. We value very deeply your friendship.

Indonesia is one of the proud nations of Southeast Asia that are preserving independence. This is being done by meeting the aspirations of the people, seeking to reconcile differences, and building regional cooperation.

Just a few months ago, as you mentioned, Mr. President, we had a productive series of talks at Camp David.<sup>1</sup> Tonight, I am delighted to be in your country. The United States, as you know, regards itself as a Pacific nation. No area of the world is more important to us than Asia.

We remain firmly committed to peace and security in Southeast Asia and throughout Asia. We see our own prosperity and progress linked with vast populations, the dynamic economies, the abundant resources, and the rich cultures of this great region of the world.

I have come here, Mr. President, because of America's continuing interest in your country's security and well-being. I am delighted our two nations have developed a genuine and growing friendship based upon mutual respect and cooperation on many, many international issues.

Our relationship involves a common concern for the right of every nation to pursue its destiny on its own independent and sovereign course. And our ties go beyond security, embracing the challenges of economic and social development, the energy problem, and a whole new spectrum of interests and issues which require a continuing dialog between developed and developing nations.

The spirit of partnership and friendship achieved by our two countries is example to others. The importance of our relationship increases with every passing year. This is our view, Mr. President. I know from our previous conversations that it is also yours.

On behalf of Mrs. Ford and myself and all of our delegation, I raise my glass and propose a toast: to you and your gracious wife, to the people of Indonesia, to our friendship, and to our common goals.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 p.m. at the Presidential Palace in response to a toast by President Suharto.

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<sup>1</sup> See Item 381.

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**Joint Communique Following Discussions With President Suharto of Indonesia. *December 6, 1975***

PRESIDENT and Mrs. Gerald Ford of the United States of America visited the Republic of Indonesia from December 5 to December 6, 1975, at the invitation of President Suharto. Accompanying the President and Mrs. Ford were Miss Susan Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger. The visit followed upon the informal July 1975 visit of President and Mrs. Suharto to the United States where they were entertained at Camp David by President and Mrs. Ford.

President and Mrs. Ford were the guests of honor at a State dinner given by President and Mrs. Suharto on December 5.

President Ford and President Suharto met on December 6 for a cordial and frank exchange of views on international, regional and bilateral issues of interest to the two governments. Secretary of State Kissinger, Foreign Minister Malik and Minister/Secretary of State Sudharmono participated in the meeting.

During this exchange of views President Ford expressed the intention of the United States to continue to provide substantial aid to Indonesia in support of Indonesia's development efforts.

Reflecting the many areas of interest shared by the two countries in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, President Ford and President Suharto agreed to an expanded dialogue between the two governments through periodic consultations at the ministerial level. Such consultations will be held as required, alternating between Washington and Djakarta at the level of the Foreign Minister of Indonesia and the Secretary of State of the United States with the host presiding over meetings.

Further consultations on specific issues as agreed by the two Foreign Ministers will be held between Ministers and other senior officials of the two governments. The process will be inaugurated with a meeting between Foreign Minister Malik and Secretary Kissinger in Washington in spring of 1976.

The two Presidents concluded that their meeting and their decision to establish an expanded dialogue at the ministerial level marked an important further step in developing increasingly close and friendly ties between the Governments and peoples of Indonesia and the United States.

President and Mrs. Ford and the members of the American party expressed



their deep appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by President and Mrs. Suharto and by the Government and people of Indonesia.

Djakarta, December 6, 1975.

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Djakarta, Indonesia.

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## Remarks on Arrival at Manila, the Philippines.

*December 6, 1975*

*Mr. President, Mrs. Marcos:*

I thank you very kindly for the especially warm welcome that you have extended to me and Mrs. Ford and to the American people. I have long looked forward to visiting this beautiful country, which is renowned throughout the world for its warm hospitality.

After your more than generous remarks, I now see that all these forecasts are accurate and totally true.

I find it very significant that this visit to the Pacific nations should conclude here in the Philippines, among some of my country's best and oldest Asian friends. Our two countries, Mr. President, have shared a unique history—a unique history together both in times of peace and in times of dire adversity.

The years of common history which bind us together provide a unique relationship of deep understanding and of deep trust which survives the test of time. I am confident that that relationship will continue for many, many years to come.

The past decade, Mr. President, has seen remarkable changes in the world around us, yet that relationship between our two countries has deepened and matured.

We meet today as sovereign nations, each with its own pride and with its own independence. We meet as friends who have known what it is to fight shoulder to shoulder for common ideals.

The days ahead, Mr. President, hold great challenges for our two countries and also great promise. Your country is already moving out and exploring new horizons, both in Asia and elsewhere.

Mr. President, I look forward to the opportunity of discussing with you freely and very frankly the many and varied relationships between our two countries, as well as to the future of Asia.

Thank you again, Mr. President, and to the Philippine people for your especially generous and warm welcome. May I add from the American people to the people of the Philippines—*Mabuhay* [Best wishes].

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 4:30 p.m. at Manila International Airport in response to the welcoming remarks of Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos. President Marcos spoke as follows:

*President and Mrs. Ford, their daughter Susan, Your Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

We are indeed happy and honored that the President of the United States and his lady and their daughter have been able to pay a visit with us. And they come to Manila in the course of a long journey that has brought them to two of the most important capitals of this region of the world—Peking and Djakarta.

Mr. President, that you have come to Asia during this, one of the most eventful periods of our history and of your country, demonstrates the urgency of your concern and the quality of your present undertaking.

The relations between our two countries are old and tested by time and events. Perceptions may change, but these relations have remained. The Philippines considers the United States its strongest ally. It will so remain for a long time to come.

The world may be in a state of flux, and new realities may present new challenges, new opportunities. In Asia today, Asian nations ask questions that require and demand intelligent answers.

We have watched as you, Mr. President, from the assumption of the Presidency of your great country, sought to set the course of American diplomacy in a world of change, disruptive change. And we have cheered from the sidelines as you sought genuinely to expand the domains of peace.

This visit to Asia is in this direction. It therefore occasions many expectations. As we remark these dramatic changes, not only in Asia but throughout the world, we cannot but observe that certainly America's Pacific destiny is inextricably linked with

these changes.

As we look around the world, we see that it is the destiny of America that while she alone may be unable to solve all the problems of the world, there is no serious problem of the world that can be solved without America.

This is the burden that is borne by the American people, and this is the weight of responsibility that is on the shoulders of their President.

So, today, Mr. President, you come to a country that is prepared to meet you with affection. In the past, our relations have been marked with candor and with generosity of spirit, as well as of the mind. As we seek to reassess these relations in accordance with the conditions and the temper of the times, we shall need this same candor and this generosity of the spirit and of the mind, for our two countries are partners that have seen the growth of productive, cooperative undertakings, and which has allowed America to maintain a concentration of the greatest naval and aerial power in this part of the world.

This partnership has served the Pacific and Asia well, but there are new realities in the world. And these new realities pose challenges and opportunities not only to all peoples but especially to our two countries.

Our two countries seek new solutions to new problems—yours as a great power, and ours as a small developing country, but an independent and free country nonetheless. And we, too, seek an authentic role in the future.

Mr. President, I have great faith in the future of our relations. On behalf of our people, I say we have great confidence that you shall share with us your wisdom and fill our minds with understanding.

Once again, I say with affection, we extend you warm welcome.

*Mabuhay.*

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**Toasts of the President and President Ferdinand E. Marcos  
of the Philippines at a State Dinner in Manila.**

***December 6, 1975***

*President Marcos, Mrs. Marcos, distinguished guests, honored friends:*

I come to the Philippines at the end of a strenuous but very exciting journey. Two nations once regarded as distant but with the modern means of transportation are now our neighbors in a new and interdependent world.

On the way home, I have stopped here to visit America's old and very dearest friend and to be exposed to the very gracious and the world-renowned Philippine hospitality which is not exceeded in any place in the world.

Throughout this trip, we have been most graciously welcomed and warmly received, but the experience this afternoon, Mr. President, driving from the airport to the palace was an exhilarating, unbelievable experience. To see the many, many traditions, the songs, the gowns, the actions of all of your people was a great experience. It showed a great diversity in your society, but it reminded me of something I learned in Sunday school a good many years ago.

My then Sunday school teacher told me that the beauty of Joseph's coat was its many colors. So, I say to you in the Philippines, the strength of your nation is its diversity which has been woven into a strength that will forever be a pillar for your great country.

Mr. President, throughout this trip I have observed an international sense of community, a shared commitment to peace and a better life for all peoples. I found a common determination to have the leaders of the world, the leaders of the nations to chart their own courses, to shape their own character. And I saw a growing awareness that this determination of individuals and of nations to be independent and self-reliant is a constructive force in the world in which we live today.

It encourages the sense of respect for one's self and for others. And that is the basis of a real community of nations in the world in which we live.

Today in the Philippines I find something far more. Our two nations have a most unique history of shared experiences and similarity of outlook. We have both known the pain of war.

President Marcos and myself are only two out of many, many thousands in both nations who fought together in earlier years, one in the forests and fields of Luzon and the other on the waters of the Philippine Sea.

As individuals and as nations, however, we have both tasted the bitterness of defeat, the satisfaction of joint devotion to a common goal, and the lesson that victory once achieved is only the beginning of a new challenge.

We have already observed the common determination of people throughout Asia and the rest of the world to achieve a more satisfying life. That determination is shared by you in the Philippines and by us in the United States.

We have learned as nations to recognize that we need not all be identical to survive. We have learned that we need only to treat one another, different or similar as we may be, in a spirit of generosity and mutual benefit and respect.

This spirit which our nations share is the essence of real hospitality. It is one of the very special elements that strengthens our sense of common interests in each other's security and well-being.

In that spirit, Mr. President, let me offer a toast to you, to Mrs. Marcos, to the people of the Philippines, and to the mutual respect and sense of community that unite us as two great republics.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:20 p.m. at the Presidential Palace in response to a toast by President Marcos. President Marcos spoke as follows:

*Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, Mr. Chief Justice,<sup>1</sup> distinguished guests, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is indeed a great honor for the Filipino people and for ourselves, the First Lady and your humble servant, to have as guests at tonight's dinner the President of the United States of America and his lady and his daughter and the members of his party.

It is my hope that my words tonight will record, even but to a modest degree, the appreciation that we feel for the honor that you have bestowed upon our country and people, Mr. President, for visiting us at this momentous period of Asia's and the Philippines' history.

Our relations are not only deep-rooted, they have been constant. We have had our differences, but as you can see from the demonstration not only of good will but of affection, almost of hysteria, in the effort to welcome you and Mrs. Ford and your daughter and the members of your party, there is a deep reservoir of good will for America in the Philippines.

Our relations, the relations between the Philippines and the United States, is indeed different from any other relations between two countries. When, at the start of your historic journey, you said that your

<sup>1</sup> Querube Makalintal, Chief Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court.

visit to the Philippines symbolizes the links and commitments of America to Asia, we took it as an affirmation that such a commitment to the peace of the world has not diminished, arising out of any changes in perceptions brought about by recent events.

The United States, in times past, has opened and adjusted its perspectives on Asia and the Pacific, but the American response to any changed situation has always been the improvement of the quality of relations with its Pacific and Asian allies.

We are encouraged, too, by the fact that the political leadership of America has often initiated the basic policy that if there be any changes and adjustments so by any of your allies, we will find America flexible.

Not only the occurrences in Vietnam but the aspirations of the new nations of Asia seem to have brought about a changed situation which challenges the historic commitment of the United States to the peace and stability of the region. All the new nations of Asia, ours included, now seek to fulfill a belated appointment with modernization.

All these nations now attempt to confront and change the conditions that have converted them into spawning grounds for conflict, dependent upon foreign assistance and susceptible to internal strife and, worst of all, intervention.

We seek a new basis for order, for harmony, and for cooperation. And what we seek we seem to see symbolized in your leadership and in your effort at establishing a climate of global peace. For this we extend to you congratulations on behalf of our people and on behalf of the leadership of Asia.

The visit of any American President to Asia and, more particularly, to the Philippines has often generated within the framework of our relationship great expectations. We in the Philippines, Mr. President, see in your visit a similar and historic relation to those of your predecessors and also see in it the response of America to these new challenges of the new situation in Asia.

We have watched with admiration your efforts to establish this climate throughout the world which would ensure safety for each and every one. We think we understand the vision which has prompted you to go through this global itinerary that has brought you to many continents.

Your visit to Asia seems to be in this direction. By this visit you have raised to a new stage the program, the effort to build a new international order and confirmed our faith that Asia retains and enjoys up to now a high priority in the American purpose abroad.

But beyond the broader significance of your visit to the American links to the future of Asia is its significance to us, for it is of great moment to the Philippines. You come at a time when we seek readjustment of our relations. You come at a time when we must convert the weaknesses of such relations into areas of strength.

Again, we are encouraged by the candor and the generosity of spirit and of the mind with which you deal with these subjects.

We in the Philippines, Mr. President, are engaged in an earnest effort of social transportation, economic development, political modernization, and like any small, developing country, of course we are sensitive to sovereignty, independence, dignity, national identity.

We seek to broaden our contacts with the world, and yet we do not intend to diminish the ties that have sustained us for many generations, including the ties with the United States.

We seek to establish a self-reliant nation, hopefully strong in its defense and prosperous in its economy.

When we welcomed you this afternoon, Mr. President, I said America's destiny is that, while she alone may not be able to solve the problems of the world, certainly there is no serious problem of the world that can be solved without America.

This is the burden of the American people, and this is the weight of responsibility upon your shoulders. We, the Filipino people, do not intend to add to your burdens. It is our hope that we shall be able to carry our own weight and contribute, no matter how modestly, to the solution of the problems that confront the world and America.

As it is that while we pursue our programs for economic development and for security, we do not seek any special advantages, but certainly we hope

that we shall not be disadvantaged by the special positions of other trading nations.

If by virtue of any arrangements of treaties there should be deliveries to our country of foreign equipment and technology, we seek arrangements and understandings wherein we shall so build our capability that in the future this will render obsolete and unnecessary farther and future deliveries of military aid to our people.

If there is any valid and noble contribution that the United States can make to the small, developing countries of Asia, perhaps it is the development of the indigenous capabilities of these nations in order that they may meet any threat to their security with honor and dignity.

Yes, Mr. President, it is our dream to establish a country that is self-reliant. It is our hope that as we do so, we can—with this same self-reliance—say our strongest and most dependable ally is still the United States; for our treaties of security we do not interpret to mean, nor is it the policy of our Government, to call upon American foot soldiery to defend our soil.

It shall be the firm result of our Government and of our people that we shall defend our own soil with our own troops. It is the firm resolve of the political leadership of this country and of our people that we shall so strengthen ourselves by the exercise of political will that we shall be able to meet any internal or external threat.

In this manner do we see, can we contribute to the solution of the problems of the world and lessen the burdens of our ally and partner, the United States of America.

If we believe in the commitments of the United States, it is not because America has not suffered any setbacks—for it has—but it is because whatever be those setbacks the new leaders have always sought to enrich and renew such commitments.

We see in your leadership, Mr. President, the constancy of such commitments and the vigor of the American imagination to meet the complex problems that threaten the lives of nations and the survival of humanity itself.

We have listened to you, we have watched you, and you have proved this with your words and with your actions and shown the quality of the energy that you have imparted to this great endeavor.

It is, therefore, with great affection that we say, Mr. President, we, the Filipino people, pray for your success.

So, ladies and gentlemen, I now request you to join me, to rise and join me in a toast to the continued success and health of the President of the United States of America, the prosperity of the American people, and the strengthening friendship between the United States and the Philippines.

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**Joint Communique Following Discussions With President Marcos of the Philippines. *December 7, 1975***

DURING the visit of President and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford at the invitation of President and Mrs. Ferdinand E. Marcos, the two Presidents welcomed the opportunity to renew the bonds of friendship between their two nations and to review the status of their alliance in the light of changing circumstances in the Pacific region.

They affirmed that sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence of all states are fundamental principles which both countries scrupulously respect.

They confirmed the mutual respect for the dignity of each nation which characterizes their friendship as well as the alliance between their two countries.

The two Presidents discussed the measures which they agreed were desirable to enhance their relations, and to adjust them to current conditions and needs.

In the field of economic and commercial relations, they agreed that it was timely to conclude negotiations on a new agreement on trade, investment and related matters as a means to enhance economic cooperation between the two countries. This agreement would modernize the terms for conducting economic and commercial relations, taking account of the end of the Laurel-Langley agreement and giving due consideration to the requirements for the development of the Philippine economy. The Philippine Government stressed its urgent desires regarding United States tariff treatment for such significant Philippine products as mahogany and coconut oil.

In the field of security cooperation, they declared that the alliance between the United States and the Philippines is not directed against any country, but is intended to preserve the independence and promote the welfare of their two peoples, while at the same time contributing to peace and progress to all. They considered that the treaty of August 30, 1951 enhanced the defense of both countries, strengthened the security of the Pacific region, and contributed to the maintenance of world peace. They agreed that the military bases used by the U.S. in the Philippines remain important in maintaining an effective United States presence in the Western Pacific in support of these mutual objectives.

They agreed that negotiations on the subject of United States use of Philippine military bases should be conducted in the clear recognition of Philippine sovereignty. The two Presidents agreed that there should be an early review of

the steps necessary to conclude the negotiations through the two panels already organized for that purpose.

President Marcos explained his efforts to attain military self-reliance for the Philippines and his policy not to allow introduction of foreign ground troops into the Philippines for its defense except as a last resort. President Ford expressed support for those realistic policies and to this end indicated that the United States intended to continue to provide assistance to the Philippines within the framework of available resources.

The two Presidents reaffirmed their commitment to continue close association on all matters of mutual concern. They concluded that the ties between the Philippines and the U.S. remain strong and mutually beneficial.

President Ford thanked President Marcos for the magnificent hospitality extended to him and Mrs. Ford. President Marcos accepted President Ford's invitation to make a return visit to the United States at a mutually convenient time.

Manila, December 7, 1975.

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Manila, the Philippines.

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## Remarks on Departure From the Philippines.

*December 7, 1975*

*Mr. President, Mrs. Marcos, our dear friends here in the Philippines:*

No words can express the deep gratitude and great appreciation that Mrs. Ford and I have had for the opportunity of visiting your very beautiful country and meeting your just superb people.

To you and to all the Philippine people, my deepest thanks for the exceptional, unbelievable hospitality which made our visit here truly memorable. The frank and very cordial discussions that we have had here, Mr. President, have convinced me of the unshakable bonds between our two countries in the search for a better world for our children and our children's children.

In the past 24 hours, Mr. President, we have discussed a great variety of subjects. We talked in particular about the economic relationship between our two countries and our alliance and our security arrangements.

As befits two old and battle-tested allies, these talks have been very frank and very penetrating. I thank you for the keen insight you have given me into your country's hopes and great aspirations.

Our conversations convinced me of the depth of understanding between the United States and the Philippines, which will permit points on which we may differ to be resolved without becoming items of major conflict.

As I leave today, I go home convinced that the relationship of mutual respect and mutual trust between our two countries is the continuing basis for a true alliance today as well as in the future.

On behalf of Mrs. Ford, our daughter Susan, and all of our delegation—yes, all of the American people—I thank you and Mrs. Marcos and all of the people of the Philippines for the gracious, the kind, and the wonderful reception that we had. We are most appreciative.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:52 p.m. at the Manila International Airport. President Marcos responded as follows:

For and on behalf of the 42 million Filipinos, on behalf of the Republic of the Philippines, and on my own personal behalf and that of my wife, I wish you a happy trip home and hope that you will bring with you to the American people the affection and good will that you have found in the Philippines.

You came to Asia, Mr. President, with one message underneath—that America has no intention of withdrawing into the Pacific and into your hemisphere and abandoning Asia and your allies in the Pacific.

It is, therefore, with confidence that we face the future. All Asian countries and Asian leaders take courage in your work and shall mark your work

with resolution to move forward in preparedness for their security as well as for their development.

The confidence that you instill in the Asian nations today shall be met with the effort of obtaining self-reliance, and it is our hope that the bond of friendship and comity that now exists between our two countries shall continue strengthening.

With the faith on the part of the Filipino people, we can hopefully say, go with God, Mr. President, and may you succeed on your mission of peace.

Thank you.

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Earlier in the day, President Ford and President Marcos went to Manila Harbor where they boarded the presidential yacht for a trip to Corregidor Island. During the trip, the two Presidents held a meeting on the yacht.

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## Remarks at Pearl Harbor Memorial Ceremonies in Honolulu, Hawaii. *December 7, 1975*

*Admiral Gayler, distinguished guests:*

We who remember Pearl Harbor will always remember. For us it is a moment etched in time, a moment of shock and mixed feelings and, particularly, disbelief, a moment of shame and a moment of sorrow, of anguish and of anger, an end to irresolutions, a summons to action, the start of a total commitment that comes but rarely to men and to nations.

Whoever watched the Pacific churned by winds of war comes to this hallowed



place with feelings overcoming words. Our shipmates who rest in honor here, our comrades in arms who sleep beneath the waves and on the islands that surround us need no eulogy beyond the eternal gratitude of the land that they loved.

On this Sunday morning in December, we remember them. In all the history of war there is a recurrent question, why do young men have to die? Why not save, instead of spend, our bravest and our best? Could they not live for their country, work for their country, achieve for their country? Can't we have living heroes, patriots of peace, and raise our monuments to lives well lived rather than memorials to lives snuffed out in the black smoke of battle?

I believe we can and will build a safer and saner world. If I did not believe it, then I and hundreds of thousands like me learned nothing in the Pacific during World War II. If I didn't believe it, I would not have supported America's bipartisan policy of peace through strength for more than a quarter of a century of severe challenges—trials that are far from finished here today.

If I didn't believe it, I would not have journeyed 27,000 miles around the Pacific as President to talk peace and mutually beneficial ties with the leaders of Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

The 1,600 million people of these nations and of the United States make up more than half of the whole human family. If a majority of people want peace, why cannot the world have peace? If a majority want to live in friendship, why cannot we all live in friendship?

There may be uncertainties, but surely it is worth a try. Here in Hawaii, with its diversity and its harmony, such a goal seems neither impractical nor impossible. The crossroads of the Pacific can become the crossroads of old and new civilizations, the lives of all lands can be preserved and prosper in the Pacific.

We who remember Pearl Harbor will never drop our guard nor unilaterally dismantle our defenses. But we Americans must and will use our moral leadership and our material strength to bring the Pacific community and the world little by little, year by year, closer and closer to real and reliable peace.

We will hold our course for a peaceful Pacific, remembering that vigilance, the price of liberty, must be paid and repaid by every generation. We will keep faith with our past as we work to build a better world for our children and our grandchildren.

I believe they will see peace come through and thank us as we thank those fallen heroes we honor here today. Their duty is done. Let us do ours.

Thank you and *aloha*.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:01 a.m. at the U.S.S. *Arizona* Memorial. In his opening remarks, he referred to Adm. Noel A. M. Gayler, USN, Commander in Chief, Pacific.

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## Address at the University of Hawaii.

*December 7, 1975*

*Thank you very much, Dr. Kleinjans. Governor Ariyoshi, Senator Fong, Congressman Matsunaga, Dr. Matsuda, students, faculty, and members of the community here in Hawaii:*

It was nice to see you, Doctor. I had the honor for a good many years of representing an area, a wonderful community, from which the Doctor came. I know more of his relatives perhaps than he does—[laughter]—and they were always very kind to me, for which I was deeply grateful.

But it is good to be home again in the United States. I have just completed, as many of you know, a 7-day trip to the State of Alaska, to the People's Republic of China, to our good friends Indonesia and the Philippines, and now I am obviously happy to be home in our 50th State, Hawaii.

This morning I reflected on the past at the shrine of Americans who died on Sunday morning 34 years ago. I came away with a new spirit of dedication to the ideals that emerged from Pearl Harbor in World War II—dedication to America's bipartisan policy of pursuing peace through strength and dedication to a new future of interdependence and cooperation with all peoples of the Pacific.

I subscribe to a Pacific doctrine of peace with all and hostility toward none. The way I would like to remember or recollect Pearl Harbor is by preserving the power of the past to build the future. Let us join with new and old countries of that great Pacific area in creating the greatest civilization on the shores of the greatest of our oceans.

My visit here to the East-West Center holds another kind of meaning. Your center is a catalyst of America's positive concern for Asia, its people and its rich diversity of cultures. You advance our hope that Asia will gain a better understanding of the United States.

Last year we were pleased to receive and to welcome nearly 54,000 Asian students to the United States, while thousands upon thousands of American

students went to Asian countries. I applaud your contribution to partnership in education. Your efforts represent America's vision of an open world of understanding, freedom, and peace.

In Hawaii, the crossroads of the Pacific, our past and our future join.

I was deeply moved when I visited Japan last year and when I recently had the honor of welcoming the Emperor and the Empress of Japan to America. The gracious welcome that I received and the warmth of the welcome the American people bestowed upon the Emperor and the Empress testify to a growing friendship and partnership between our two great countries. This is a tribute to what is best in man—his capacity to grow from fear to trust and from a tragedy of the past to a hopeful future. It is a superb example of what can be achieved in human progress. It inspires our new efforts in Asia to improve relations.

America, a nation of the Pacific Basin, has a very vital stake in Asia and a responsibility to take a leading part in lessening tensions, preventing hostilities, and preserving peace. World stability and our own security depend upon our Asian commitments.

In 1941, 34 years ago today, we were militarily unprepared. Our trade in the Pacific was very limited. We exercised jurisdiction over the Philippines. We were preoccupied with Western Europe. Our instincts were isolationist.

We have transcended that age. We are now the world's strongest nation. Our great commercial involvement in Asia is expanding. We led the way in conferring independence upon the Philippines. Now we are working out new associations and arrangements with the trust territories of the Pacific.

The center of political power in the United States has shifted westward. Our Pacific interests and concerns have increased. We have exchanged the freedom of action of an isolationist state for the responsibilities of a great global power. As I return from this trip to three major Asian countries, I am even more aware of our interests in this part of the world.

The security concerns of great world powers intersect in Asia. The United States, the Soviet Union, China, and Japan are all Pacific powers. Western Europe has historic and economic ties with Asia. Equilibrium in the Pacific is absolutely essential to the United States and to the other countries in the Pacific.

The first premise of a new Pacific Doctrine is that American strength is basic to any stable balance of power in the Pacific. We must reach beyond our concern for security. But without security, there can be neither peace nor progress.

The preservation of the sovereignty and the independence of our Asian friends and allies remain a paramount objective of American policy.

We recognize that force alone is insufficient to assure security. Popular legitimacy and social justice are vital prerequisites of resistance against subversion or aggression. Nevertheless, we owe it to ourselves and to those whose independence depends upon our continued support to preserve a flexible and balanced position of strength throughout the Pacific.

The second basic premise of a new Pacific Doctrine is that partnership with Japan is a pillar of our strategy. There is no relationship to which I have devoted more attention, nor is there any greater success story in the history of American efforts to relate to distant cultures and to people. The Japanese-American relationship can be a source of great, great pride to every American and to every Japanese. Our bilateral relations have never been better. The recent exchange of visits symbolized a basic political partnership. We have begun to develop with the Japanese and other advanced industrial democracies better means of harmonizing our economic policy. We are joining with Japan, our European friends, and representatives of the developing nations this month to begin shaping a more efficient and more equitable pattern of North-South economic relations.

The third premise of a new Pacific Doctrine is the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China, the strengthening of our new ties with this great nation representing nearly one-quarter of mankind. This is another recent achievement of American foreign policy. It transcends 25 years of hostility.

I visited China to build on the dialog started nearly 4 years ago. My wide-ranging exchanges with the leaders of the People's Republic of China—with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping—enhanced our understanding of each other's views and each other's policies.

There were, as expected, differences of perspective. Our societies, our philosophies, our varying positions in the world give us differing perceptions of our respective national interests. But we did find a common ground. We reaffirmed that we share very important areas of concern and agreement. They say and we say that the countries of Asia should be free to develop in a world where there is mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states; where people are free from the threat of foreign aggression; where there is noninterference in the internal affairs of others; and where the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and coexistence shape the development of peaceful international order. We share opposition to any form of hegemony in Asia or in any other part of the world.

I reaffirmed the determination of the United States to complete the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the Shanghai communique. Both sides regarded our discussions as significant, useful, and constructive. Our relationship is becoming a permanent feature of the international political landscape. It benefits not only our two peoples but all peoples of the region and the entire world.

A fourth principle of our Pacific policy is our continuing stake in stability and security in Southeast Asia.

After leaving China, I visited Indonesia and the Philippines. Indonesia is a nation of 140 million people, the fifth largest population in the world today. It is one of our important new friends and a major country in that area of the world. The Republic of the Philippines is one of our oldest and dearest allies. Our friendship demonstrates America's longstanding interest in Asia.

I spent 3 days in Djakarta and Manila. I would have liked to have had time to visit our friends in Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia. We share important political and economic concerns with these five nations who make up the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

I can assure you that Americans will be hearing much more about the ASEAN organization. All of its members are friends of the United States. Their total population equals our own. While they are developing countries, they possess many, many assets—vital peoples, abundant natural resources, and well-managed agricultures. They have skilled leaders and the determination to develop themselves and to solve their own problems. Each of these countries protects its independence by relying on its own national resilience and diplomacy. We must continue to assist them. I learned during my visit that our friends want us to remain actively engaged in the affairs of the region. We intend to do so.

We retain close and valuable ties with our old friends and allies in the Southwest Pacific—Australia on the one hand and New Zealand on the other.

A fifth tenet of our new Pacific policy is our belief that peace in Asia depends upon a resolution of outstanding political conflicts.

In Korea, tension persists. We have close ties with the Republic of Korea. And we remain committed to peace and security on the Korean Peninsula, as the presence of our forces there attests. Responding to the heightened tension last spring, we reaffirmed our support of the Republic of Korea. Today, the United States is ready to consider constructive ways of easing tensions on the peninsula. But we will continue to resist any moves which attempt to exclude the Republic of Korea from discussion of its own future.

In Indochina, the healing effects of time are required. Our policies toward the new regimes of the peninsula will be determined by their conduct toward us. We are prepared to reciprocate gestures of good will—particularly the return of remains of Americans killed or missing in action or information about them. If they exhibit restraint toward their neighbors and constructive approaches to international problems, we will look to the future rather than to the past.

The sixth point of our new policy in the Pacific is that peace in Asia requires a structure of economic cooperation reflecting the aspiration of all the peoples in the region.

The Asian-Pacific economy has recently achieved more rapid growth than any other region in the world. Our trade with East Asia now exceeds our transactions with the European Community. America's jobs, currency, and raw materials depend upon economic ties with the Pacific Basin. Our trade with the region is now increasing by more than 30 percent annually, reaching some \$46 billion last year. Our economies are increasingly interdependent as cooperation grows between developed and developing nations.

Our relations with the five ASEAN countries are marked by growing maturity and by more modest and more realistic expectations on both sides. We no longer approach them as donor to dependent. These proud people look to us less for outright aid than for new trading opportunities and more equitable arrangements for the transfer of science and technology.

There is one common theme which was expressed to me by the leaders of every Asian country that I visited. They all advocate the continuity of steady and responsible American leadership. They seek self-reliance in their own future and in their own relations with us.

Our military assistance to allies and friends is a modest responsibility, but its political significance far surpasses the small cost involved. We serve our highest national interests by strengthening their self-reliance, their relations with us, their solidarity with each other, and their regional security.

I emphasized to every leader I met that the United States is a Pacific nation. I pledged, as President, I will continue America's active concern for Asia and our presence in the Asian-Pacific region.

Asia is entering a new era. We can contribute to a new structure of stability founded on a balance among the major powers, strong ties to our allies in the region, an easing of tension between adversaries, the self-reliance and regional solidarity of smaller nations, and expanding economic ties and cultural exchanges. These components of peace are already evident. Our foreign policy in recent years and in recent days encourages their growth.

If we can remain steadfast, historians will look back and view the 1970's as the beginning of a period of peaceful cooperation and progress, a time of growing community for all the nations touched by this great ocean.

Here in the Pacific crossroads of Hawaii, we envision hope for a wider community of man. We see the promise of a unique republic which includes all the world's races. No other country has been so truly a free, multiracial society. Hawaii is a splendid example, a splendid showcase of America and exemplifies our destiny as a Pacific nation.

America's Pacific heritage emerged from this remarkable State. I am proud to visit Hawaii—the island star in the American firmament which radiates the universal magic of *aloha*.

Let there flow from Hawaii—and from all of the States in our Union—to all peoples, East and West, a new spirit of interchange to build human brotherhood.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. at the East-West Center. In his opening remarks, he referred to Everett Kleinjans, president of the center,

and Fujio Matsuda, president of the University of Hawaii.

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## Exchange With Reporters on Board Air Force One en Route to Washington, D.C. *December 8, 1975*

BARBARA WALTERS [NBC News]. Mr. President, at the end of this trip, as you look back, what were the highlights for you? What do you think was the most important thing that came out of it?

THE PRESIDENT. Barbara, every stop we made, whether it was Alaska, which was significant in seeing what the pipeline was doing or how it was progressing; and China, of course, where we had very extensive substantive meetings which I thought were extremely beneficial; or whether it was Indonesia, where I had an opportunity to talk in some detail and depth with President Suharto; whether it was the Philippines, where we had not only a meaningful meeting, but we had a very pleasant time; or whether it was Hawaii, where the opportunity to go to the *Arizona* and subsequently to the East-West Center—it seemed to me that everything fitted in extremely well. There were no minuses and many, many pluses.

Q. There will inevitably, Mr. President, be some criticism—those who will say that you wasted time and energy and that a lot of this could have been accom-

plished by someone below you or by meetings closer to home. How do you answer that criticism?

THE PRESIDENT. Barbara, we worked a good many hours. I was in constant contact with people in Washington—in fact, I called several people from Peking—involving the legislative situation to determine, with the Republican legislative leaders, what we ought to do in reference to the tax bill.

So, it was not only work on foreign policy, which was very significant, but it also gave us a chance to keep in good contact with the people back in Washington on domestic matters.

Q. But did you, yourself, have to go? Were they the kinds of meetings that demanded the President of the United States?

THE PRESIDENT. Barbara, I think the discussions we had in Peking were mandatory at my level, and the discussions also with President Suharto and President Marcos were likewise discussions that could only be carried on by the heads of government. So, if you look at it that way and the importance of the discussions in all three countries, yes, it was extremely important and essential that I participate.

Q. Mr. President, we are all exhausted. How do you do it? What are they feeding you?

THE PRESIDENT. I enjoy the work, for one thing, and I really get stimulated by the challenge in every place we go. So, it is one of those things that just keeps you going because it is necessary and challenging.

Q. What time are you going to be in the office today?

THE PRESIDENT. I will probably be there reasonably early, but not as early as normal.

Q. We hear that you may go to the Middle East next, Mr. President. Are there any plans?

THE PRESIDENT. There are no definite plans, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. The word “definite”—that is what is throwing us off.

THE PRESIDENT. We probably will at some point. It, of course, is an area of tremendous importance, not only to the United States but to many other countries, including those in the Middle East. But at the present time we have no specific plans for any trip overseas at all.

Q. Things are looking better now with Brezhnev to come here, perhaps, or a break in SALT?

THE PRESIDENT. We are going to hold some very important meetings with the



NSC within the next week or 10 days, and of course, those meetings will determine to a substantial degree what we can do, if anything.

We certainly are of the same mind today, as we have been in the past, that a SALT II agreement, if mutual, that in its responsibilities is in the best interests of the United States, as well as the rest of the world.

It is really nice to see you all. Thank you.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The exchange began at 1:52 a.m., e.s.t.

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## Message to the Congress Reporting on Administration Efforts To Settle the Cyprus Conflict. *December 8, 1975*

### *To the Congress of the United States:*

I am submitting, pursuant to Public Law 94-104, the first of a series of reports on efforts this Administration is making to help resolve the Cyprus problem. Subsequent progress reports, as required by this legislation, will be forwarded to you at sixty-day intervals.

In his speech before the U.N. General Assembly on September 25, 1975, the Secretary of State outlined the Administration's policy on the complex Cyprus problem as follows:

"The details of a Cyprus settlement are for the two communities themselves to decide. However, in keeping with U.N. resolutions which the United States has fully supported, the following principles are essential:

"A settlement must preserve the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

"It must insure that both the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot communities can live in freedom and have a large voice in their own affairs;

"The present dividing lines cannot be permanent. There must be agreed territorial arrangements which reflect the economic requirements of the Greek-Cypriot community and take account of its self-respect;

"There must be provisions for the withdrawal of foreign military forces other than those present under the authority of international agreements; and,

"There must be security for all Cypriots; the needs and wishes of the refugees who have been the principal victims and whose tragic plight touches us all must be dealt with speedily and with compassion."

These elements, which we consider essential to a settlement, are consistent with the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people of Cyprus. Beyond that, only the Cypriot people can decide how to rebuild and preserve their sovereign, independent nation so it may again serve the interests of all its citizens.

With this appreciation of both the opportunities and limitations of U.S. action, I declared immediately following enactment of P.L. 94-104 on October 6 that the United States would make a major effort to encourage a resumption of the Cyprus negotiations and to facilitate progress by all the parties involved—Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus—toward a peaceful and equitable solution. I also stated that the United States would undertake whatever role the parties themselves wanted us to play in achieving a settlement.

Immediately thereafter, we took a number of steps through diplomatic channels aimed at helping the parties find a basis for resuming the intercommunal talks under the aegis of U.N. Secretary General Waldheim. As a first step, I wrote directly to the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey to stress the importance the United States attaches to the resumption of the intercommunal Cyprus talks and to emphasize our wish that the Cyprus problem be removed as a source of instability in the Eastern Mediterranean. My letters were followed by a series of communications from Secretary Kissinger to the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey and to President Makarios of Cyprus. In each of these communications, an effort was made to define the differences as we saw them between the negotiating positions of the other parties and to urge that an effort be made to narrow the gap.

The Secretary of State, during the past sixty days, also has consulted extensively with several of our major European allies who have engaged in corresponding and complementary initiatives with the Greek, Turkish and Cypriot governments. Parallel initiatives also were undertaken during this period by the European Community.

These initiatives have not produced a major breakthrough; but taken together they have advanced prospects for a negotiated settlement. A new appreciation now exists in Athens, Ankara, and Nicosia that delay in resuming the intercommunal talks will harden attitudes and make future progress more difficult. In each capital, there is a desire to begin anew an earnest search for a solution. Each party also has a realistic understanding of what it must do to make progress possible.

In Ankara, the Turkish Foreign Minister announced on October 21, shortly after the Turkish senatorial elections, that the time was opportune to search

for a solution and that all aspects for a settlement could be discussed at the intercommunal talks. Turkey has also indicated that it would encourage the Turkish Cypriots to engage in meaningful negotiations within the intercommunal framework. There is also a recognition in Ankara that a discussion of their position on territory is essential once the intercommunal talks have been resumed and that troop reductions as well as steps to resolve the refugee issue are essential ingredients to any Cyprus settlement.

Similar meaningful changes have occurred in the Greek and Greek-Cypriot negotiating positions with respect to such subjects as the organization of the future central government and the division of responsibilities and delegation of authority to the future regional administrations.

In sum, we have seen, as have our principal Western allies, a narrowing of differences on most of the key issues necessary to negotiate a Cyprus solution. The range of disagreement between the parties now seems to us surmountable. Under such circumstances, it should have been possible in November to bring the parties back to the negotiating table. However, once a date had been scheduled in New York for the Cyprus debate at the U.N. General Assembly, the parties felt compelled to await the outcome before sitting down with the U.N. Secretary General to resume actual negotiations.

Now that the United Nations has completed its consideration of the Cyprus question and passed a new resolution calling for intercommunal negotiations, efforts to schedule new talks are underway. We have consulted U.N. Secretary General Waldheim and the Governments of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. Our common interest is to have renewed negotiations of sufficient depth and duration to allow full discussion of all key substantive issues. There is every reason to believe this kind of negotiation will begin in the very near future. To facilitate this effort, I have asked the Secretary of State to give special emphasis to the subject of Cyprus negotiations when he meets with the Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministers during the NATO Ministerial meeting in Brussels in the second week of December.

We now find ourselves at an important juncture in the search for a Cyprus settlement. The negotiating framework which has emerged finally should allow early and orderly discussion of the most serious substantive issues, including refugees which hold the key to a final settlement. We have succeeded in moving to this point in large part because, since early October, the United States has been free to resume an active, evenhanded role among all the parties. The outcome of the resumed Cyprus negotiations may depend upon our ability to maintain this role in the months ahead.

An important beginning has been made in the past sixty days toward the elusive goal of a peaceful, equitable, and enduring Cyprus solution. In the days ahead, I believe our efforts will bring results if we continue to have the support and understanding of the Congress. I intend to review with you in subsequent reports the progress that has been made in the common quest to restore peace and stability to the island of Cyprus.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
December 8, 1975.

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**Letter to the Speaker of the House and Senate Committee  
Chairmen Recommending Economic and Military  
Assistance for Greece. *December 8, 1975***

PURSUANT to Section 2(b)(2) of P.L. 94-104, I am pleased to submit to the Congress my recommendations for economic and military assistance to Greece for fiscal year 1976.

The bonds between the United States and Greece have historically been close and deep. Both countries were linked together as allies in World War II. They later cooperated in defeating the communist guerrilla movement in Greece in the late 1940's. Subsequently, Greece sent a military force to Korea to assist the United Nations' effort against the communist aggression. In 1952, Greece joined NATO. The bonds between our two nations are not only political, but ethical and cultural as well. The peoples of Greece and the United States cherish a common heritage and a common belief in freedom and human dignity.

My Administration has worked with the new Greek Government in this spirit of friendship and alliance to identify areas in which we might be of assistance and, thereby, advance our common interests. Following consultations with the Greek Government, we began consideration of a program aimed at assisting Greece economically. We supported increased financial assistance for Greece at the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. For fiscal year 1975, we also raised the level of military credit assistance to Greece from \$71 million to \$86 million. In addition, to increase the amount of Export-Import Bank lending to Greece, the Bank Chairman visited Athens last spring to discuss with Greek businessmen and officials ways in which Greece could take better advantage of

the Bank's programs. This visit was followed by a further Export-Import Bank mission in November.

The Greek Government itself has moved vigorously to confront its most serious problems. It has dramatically reduced the level of inflation. It has reversed the decline in its Gross National Product. In addition, it has moved to restore public confidence in the military establishment as a non-political force capable of defending Greece's security interests.

At the same time, the government in Athens has made clear to this Administration its need for increased levels of assistance for the current fiscal year. Based on that request and in keeping with the spirit of Congressional debate preceding passage of P.L. 94-104, I sent an expert team to Athens from the Department of State and the Agency for International Development in October to consult with senior Greek officials on that Nation's most urgent needs for economic and military assistance.

The team of experts concluded that Greece, faced with continued domestic economic difficulties and a need to modernize its military establishment, merited increased U.S. support for fiscal year 1976. Based on Greek requests and the findings of our own experts, I submitted to the Congress on October 30, 1975, a request for fiscal year 1976 for \$50 million in grant military aid, \$90 million in FMS credit and \$65 million as a supporting assistance loan. This latter loan is designed specifically to ease Greece's temporary balance of payment difficulties.

This package of assistance is justified on three grounds. First, it will help strengthen the foundation of representative democracy in Greece. Second, it will demonstrate our interest in modernizing and improving the Greek armed forces, and will be consistent with our stated desire that Greece return at an early date to a full participation within the NATO Alliance. Finally, it will assist the Greek Government and the Greek people in a moment of critical economic need.

Based on my review of Greece's need as well as our overall budgetary situation, I have concluded that my proposals of October 30 are appropriate for this fiscal year. I strongly urge the Congress to give them early and favorable consideration.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable John L. McClellan,

chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, and the Honorable John Sparkman, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

720

**Letter to the Speaker of the House and Senate Committee  
Chairmen Reporting on Discussions With Turkey on  
Control of Opium Poppies. *December 8, 1975***

PURSUANT to Public Law 94-104, discussions have been held with the Government of Turkey on effective means of preventing diversion of the Turkish opium poppy crop into illicit channels. These discussions continue long-standing consultations between the Governments of the United States and the Republic of Turkey on suppression of the illegal international traffic in narcotics.

The Government of Turkey is aware of our concern and that of other nations of the world regarding the terrible plight of drug abuse. This concern has been made known to successive Governments of Turkey by this and previous Administrations, by many other governments, and by the United Nations.

I have been encouraged by reports from our Embassy in Ankara, from the Drug Enforcement Administration and from the United Nations, indicating the Government of Turkey's efforts to keep poppy cultivation under effective control thus far have been successful. I have received no evidence to date that there has been any illicit diversion of the current Turkish crop.

When Turkey permitted the resumption of poppy cultivation in 1974, the production of opium gum was forbidden and the poppy straw harvesting process was adopted instead. At the same time, Turkey implemented stringent inspections and controls of the poppy crop. The poppy straw process makes control of the crop much easier. It has been used successfully in several countries to facilitate efforts to prevent illicit diversion from legal opium poppy growing areas. Turkey has reissued the same control decree to cover next year's crop. We expect the controls to be as effective as before, because of the introduction of more modern communications and surveillance equipment and more experience in administering the controls.

The United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control has provided Turkey with technical assistance in meeting the requirements of the poppy straw process. I believe the United States should continue to support the good work of the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control in its assistance to Turkey and other countries in combating the diversion of legally produced opiates from legitimate pharmaceutical uses.

I also share the views of the majority in the Congress that close bilateral cooperation with Turkey is essential to prevent illicit diversion of poppy crops.

In July of this year at our meeting in Helsinki, I discussed with Prime Minister Demirel my continuing deep concern about the ravages of drug abuse and the need to suppress diversion of opiates into illicit channels. Prime Minister Demirel strongly concurred in my views and affirmed his personal commitment to the prevention of illicit diversion of opiates from his country.

On October 29, following enactment of Public Law 94-104, I sent a letter to the Prime Minister of Turkey urging that already existing discussions between our two governments on opium poppy controls be intensified in the period ahead. On November 28, Prime Minister Demirel sent me a very positive response confirming his earlier assurance that he fully supports continuing effective poppy controls and maintaining a dialogue between the two governments on this vital subject.

Since the passage of Public Law 94-104, discussion and meetings on poppy controls have been held with Turkish Government officials at many levels. Ambassador Macomber has reviewed the issue with the Turkish Prime Minister. Additionally, the Deputy Chief of Mission and the Embassy Narcotics Control Coordinator have met with the Turkish Foreign Ministry's Director of Narcotics Control Affairs. The U.S. AID poppy specialist in Ankara has held consultations with Turkish Soils Product Office and Agriculture Ministry officials in Ankara, Izmir, and in the poppy growing areas. In addition, the Regional Director of the Drug Enforcement Administration in Ankara has been in continuing contact with high Turkish law enforcement officials. Our Ambassador and his staff will continue these meetings and discussions on poppy controls.

I believe the desire of the Congress that meaningful discussions be conducted with the Government of Turkey on insuring continued effective poppy controls have been met by the actions described above.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable John L. McClellan,

chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, and the Honorable John Sparkman, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

721

**Statement Announcing Formation of the National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life. *December 10, 1975***

ON November 28, 1975, I signed into law S. 2195,<sup>1</sup> a bill creating the National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life. As I have stressed many times, continued productivity growth is vital to improving the standard of living of all Americans and to maintaining our competitive position in the international economy. By providing a unique forum for cooperative labor, management, and government efforts, the National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life holds great promise for stimulating America's productivity.

Today, I am happy to announce that Vice President Rockefeller has agreed to serve as Chairman of the Board of the new Center. The Vice President deserves much credit for the tremendous energy he has devoted in the past as Chairman of the former National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality. Because of the importance I personally attach to this Center, I am delighted that the Vice President will continue his leadership as Chairman of the Board. Under his direction, I expect major contributions from this new Center in the months ahead.

The National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life will assume a greatly enlarged role in stimulating productivity in both the private and public sectors of the economy. In addition to encouraging the joint efforts of labor, management, and government to improve productivity and quality of working life, it will have the responsibility for reviewing government regulations and policies on productivity.

The creation of this new Center is a fine example of bipartisan cooperation between the Congress and this Administration. I thank the many Members of Congress who worked on this legislation as well as the many others who have made major contributions to the creation of the Center.

A policy statement concerning productivity growth in this country prepared by the members of the National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality is being released today. This important statement provides suggestions on establishing priorities for our Nation in dealing with the problems and opportunities for improved productivity. I am grateful to those members of the Commission who labored so diligently to develop it. As we all know, this will not be a simple

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<sup>1</sup> Public Law 94-136 (89 Stat. 733).



task, but our success can bolster the strength of our economy and improve the well-being of current and future generations.

722

**Memorandum Extending the Federal Cost Reduction Campaign. *December 11, 1975***

[Dated December 10, 1975. Released December 11, 1975]

*Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies*

On May 6 of this year, I announced a campaign for cost reduction within the Federal Government. I am pleased and grateful that the response of civilian and military personnel has been outstanding.

It has been my pleasure to sign 362 congratulatory letters for constructive ideas and other contributions which produced savings to the Government of \$25 million. These outstanding results demonstrate the interest and abilities of those in the public service of our Nation.

The need is great to continue to reduce Federal spending and to conserve energy and other vital resources. Because civilian and military personnel can help meet this urgent need, I am extending the cost reduction campaign through May 5, 1976. Therefore, I ask that until that date you continue to inform me of contributions approved within the Federal Incentive Awards Program which have measurable benefits of \$5,000 or higher. Further, I urge that agencies continue to use this program to encourage and to recognize cost saving and other significant achievements made by Federal personnel.

GERALD R. FORD

723

**Remarks Upon Signing the Consumer Goods Pricing Act of 1975. *December 12, 1975***

OBVIOUSLY, I am extremely pleased to have the opportunity of signing this very important piece of legislation. And I congratulate my former colleagues in the Congress on a bipartisan basis for the rapid and, I think, constructive enactment of this important legislation.

The repeal of the fair trade laws will permit consumers to get the discounts in all 50 States. And the best way to ensure that consumers are paying the most

reasonable price for consumer products is to restore competition in the marketplace. This legislation will do that.

This is one of the prime examples of how I intend to work with the Congress, the House and the Senate, on a bipartisan basis to get the Government out of unnecessary, inefficient regulation in the setting of prices and return that function to the marketplace.

I look forward to working with the Congress to restore competition in other areas of our economy now under inefficient Government regulation. I have submitted to the Congress proposed regulation, or the abandonment of regulation, in a number of areas, including financial institutions, transportation—including the airlines, the rails, and the trucking areas—as well as energy. And I hope that we can work together to make some substantial progress in all of these areas.

I congratulate those who have worked with the Congress in getting this legislation through to give the consumer a better break in the marketplace so that competition will be the prime factor in ensuring a fair and reasonable opportunity for the consumer to be the prime beneficiary.

I congratulate the Members of Congress. And it is a real pleasure for me on this occasion to sign this legislation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:03 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 6971) is Public Law 94-145 (89 Stat. 801).

## 724

### **Statement on the Consumer Goods Pricing Act of 1975.** *December 12, 1975*

I AM today signing into law H.R. 6971, which will make it illegal for manufacturers to fix the prices of consumer products sold by retailers. This new legislation will repeal laws enacted in 1937 and 1952 which amended the Federal antitrust laws so States could authorize otherwise illegal agreements between manufacturers and retailers setting the price at which a product would be sold to consumers. Altogether, over the years, 46 States enacted such laws.

The so-called fair trade laws were a response to the unique economic conditions of the Depression. These State laws require all retail merchants to sell brand name merchandise at a price set by the manufacturer if the manufacturer wanted his product to be labeled a fair trade item. In essence, these laws prohibit price competition between retailers on many consumer products.

If a merchant offers consumers a discount price on a fair trade item, he is subject to criminal action in those States with fair trade laws. As a result, these laws prevent the American people from receiving the benefit of lower prices on cameras, watches, sporting goods, small appliances, auto supplies, and many other brand name products. In today's economy, these restraints on competition no longer make sense.

When this new legislation takes effect 90 days from now, retailers will again be able to set prices on a more competitive basis, thereby enabling consumers in all 50 States to shop for the best products at the lowest possible prices.

Many States already have recognized the unfairness of these laws. Since January of this year, 15 State legislatures have repealed their fair trade laws. I commend the actions of these States.

I commend the Congress as well for its bipartisan recognition that price competition is important to American consumers and for its timely consideration of this legislation. Now that H.R. 6971 is law, I hope that the Congress and the Administration will continue to work together to achieve the much needed reform of other Government laws and regulations which impose hidden and unnecessary costs on American consumers. In particular, I hope that the Congress will support my program of regulatory reform in such important areas as air transportation, trucking, and financial institutions.

As I have been saying since taking office, the best way we can protect the consumer is to identify and eliminate costly, inefficient, and obsolete laws and regulations. Thus, I take particular pleasure in signing this bill for the benefit of the American consumer.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6971 is Public Law 94-145 (89 Stat. 801).

725

**Memorandum to Secretary of Transportation Coleman on  
Airline Safety. December 12, 1975**

[Dated December 10, 1975. Released December 12, 1975]

*Memorandum for: Honorable William T. Coleman, Jr., Secretary, Department  
of Transportation*

*Subject: Airline Safety*

I have read with considerable concern news reports on the recent "near miss" incidents involving large passenger jets. It is of great importance that we main-

tain our excellent record in air safety. Therefore, I am requesting a report from you summarizing the circumstances surrounding these incidents and identifying the steps that are being taken to avoid similar problems in the future.

This matter merits immediate attention, particularly as we enter the holiday season when air travel will be heavy.

GERALD R. FORD

726

**Statement on Signing a Bill Designating a National Forest Area in Colorado as the Flat Tops Wilderness.**

*December 13, 1975*

I HAVE approved S. 267, which designates a 235,230-acre Flat Tops Wilderness within the Routt and White River National Forests of Colorado.

The Congress and the executive branch have worked together during the past 11 years to augment the National Wilderness Preservation System established by the Wilderness Act of 1964. The System, now including more than 12 million acres, shows that much progress has been made in securing for all Americans the benefit of an enduring resource of wilderness. Last year, in two separate messages, I proposed a total of 52 new additions which, if accepted by the Congress, would add about 15 million acres to the Wilderness System.

Although I have signed S. 267, it should be noted that the bill designates an area some 93,000 acres larger than the approximately 142,000-acre wilderness proposed by President Johnson in 1968. Furthermore, it illustrates three concerns of mine regarding the designation of wilderness within the National Forest System.

First, the Administration has strongly and consistently urged the Congress not to designate National Forest areas as wilderness where the evidence of man's activity is clearly apparent. The Flat Tops Wilderness, nevertheless, includes some constructed reservoirs, partially constructed roads, and private lands with cabins and other improvements.

Second, Administration proposals for National Forest Wildernesses follow careful study and are designed to assure that the proposed boundaries would, to the maximum extent possible, follow recognizable natural features and be located to facilitate protection of the wilderness. The Flat Tops Wilderness boundaries, in contrast to the Administration's proposal, contain several narrow and deep boundary indentations that will be difficult to define and manage.

Third, this Administration and every other administration since 1964 have urged the Congress to consider carefully trade-offs between wilderness values and other resource values and uses. These trade-offs are particularly important within the National Forest System where wilderness is but one of several very important resources that must be managed for the benefits of all Americans. The Flat Tops Wilderness contains important forest, water, recreation, wildlife, and forage resource values that will now be partially or completely forgone. Moreover, a mineral survey has not been conducted within much of the area which the Congress added to the Administration's Flat Tops Wilderness proposal. However, because mineral resources within the general Flat Tops area are believed to be minimal, I have decided not to insist that additional mineral studies be undertaken.

I am hopeful the Congress will work more closely with the executive branch regarding proposed additions to the Wilderness System. Several National Forest Wilderness proposals now being considered by the Congress would include acreages significantly larger than those proposed by the Administration. In some cases, the additional areas would more than double the acreage we proposed. More careful consideration must be given to these proposals if we are to maintain a high-quality Wilderness System while protecting many other important management opportunities for these lands.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 267, approved December 12, 1975, is Public Law 94-146 (89 Stat. 802).

727

**Message Congratulating Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser of  
Australia on His Election Victory. *December 13, 1975***

I WISH to extend to you my congratulations on the Liberal Party/National Country Party coalition victory in the recent Australian election. Americans continue to attach great importance to the warm friendship and close cooperation between the United States and Australia, and to the ANZUS alliance which symbolizes the basic identity of our values and objectives.

I look forward to working with you and your government as we face the challenges of strengthening the structure of peace and economic cooperation.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

728

**Remarks at a Christmas Party for the White House Staff.**  
*December 15, 1975*

*Mr. Vice President, members of the White House family:*

Christmas has a very special meaning for all of us regardless of our religious beliefs, because it is a holiday built around the concept of the family. What began with Joseph and Mary and the infant Jesus in the manger in Bethlehem—the sentiments of togetherness and love—has spread over the centuries to millions and millions of homes. And as a result, regardless of where it is around the world, I think it has become an almost universal blessing.

Betty and I, along with Susan and the rest of the family, are very delighted to have all of you in this wonderful home and to participate in the first showing of the wonderful decorations that have been put together and made available for as many as can come and see what we have here in the White House. Betty says for an old-fashioned Christmas. [*Laughter*]

But let me say, in addition to seeing the wonderful decorations and, I hope, getting the warmth of the feeling that exists here, we do want to express to all of you our deepest appreciation and broadest gratitude for all that you have done over the last 16 or 17 months to try and make our Government work from the White House as effectively as possible.

We can't express deeply enough or vigorously enough our gratitude and indebtedness to you. Naturally, we know the long hours you have put in have interfered with your own family and, I suspect, some of your Christmas shopping. But if you will excuse the hours even on these days at this time of the year, we want to say strongly, forcefully, and with the deepest gratitude, our best wishes for a very, very Merry Christmas and the happiest of New Years.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:58 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

729

**Letter to Vice President Rockefeller on Receiving the Report  
of the President's Panel on Federal Compensation.**  
*December 16, 1975*

*Dear Nelson:*

I thank you and the other members of the President's Panel on Federal Com-

pensation for your report of the Panel's recommendations. All of you are to be commended for the tremendous effort you put into this study.

Your assessment of the current Federal Compensation System is very important and timely. It provides the Administration with a valuable tool to improve the Federal pay system so that it is equitable and fair to both Government employees and the American public.

Once again, thank you for a job well done.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, The Vice President of the United States, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The report is entitled "Report to The President of the President's Panel on Federal Compensation—December 1975" (Government Printing Office, 44 pp.).

730

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals. *December 17, 1975*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I am pleased to transmit for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals, with Annex, done at London June 1, 1972. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

Though commercial sealing has not yet started in the water and on the sea ice in Antarctica, this Convention provides some valuable protection for seals of that region. It prohibits entirely the commercial taking of three species of Antarctic seals and sets conservative limits on the taking of three other species. It prohibits sealing in the water, except in limited quantities for scientific research. It sets aside reserves where no sealing can take place and forbids sealing entirely during six months of the year. More importantly, it sets up the machinery to give the necessary warning when catch limits are being approached. It obligates the Parties at that point to prevent further sealing by their nationals and vessels. Provision is also made for adoption of additional controls, including an effective system of inspection, if commercial sealing starts in the area. There is nothing in the Convention to prevent a Party from adopting for its nationals and vessels more stringent controls than provided in the Convention. The United States has done this in the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972. While that legislation is in effect, and until the Parties decide to adopt controls and inspec-

tion procedures, in accordance with Article VI, no new legislation is needed to implement the Agreement.

Unfortunately in recent years, it has often been only after a species or class of wildlife has become severely depleted or even endangered that international conservation measures have been initiated. This Convention represents a unique opportunity for the world community to put into practice the hard learned lessons of the past and to act prospectively to protect the seals of Antarctica. I urge the Senate to give the Convention its prompt and favorable consideration.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
December 17, 1975.

NOTE: The convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive K (94th Cong., 1st sess.).

731

### Remarks Announcing Veto of a Tax Reduction Bill. *December 17, 1975*

*Good evening, everybody.*

I am vetoing the temporary tax cut extension bill sent to me by the Congress today. I have been telling the Congress ever since October that I would veto any tax cut if the Congress failed to cut Federal spending at the same time. Congress has refused to put any limit at this time on spending for the next fiscal year and instead sent me a temporary 6-month extension of the present temporary 1975 tax levels due to expire on New Year's Eve.

There is no need for your withholding taxes to go up in 1976. There is no need for a prolonged confrontation with the Congress on this question. I believe and the Congress evidently believes that our Nation will benefit by giving American taxpayers a break in 1976.

The differences between Congress and me are these:

As I proposed last October 6, I want a larger tax cut in 1976 than we have had in 1975—\$28 billion to be exact—while the bill before me would merely extend this year's tax rate which works out to about \$18 billion a year.

As I made clear over 2 months ago, I want any cut in Federal tax revenues coupled with a cut in the runaway growth of Federal spending. Unless we start doing this now, we will run up larger and larger deficits and get farther and farther away from a balanced budget. We will risk a new round of double-digit



inflation which would invisibly tax every dollar you have or you earn in the future by a much higher figure than any relief this bill offers.

The Congress offers only to keep a temporary lid on taxes while leaving the Federal cash register wide open for whatever spending Congress wants to take out in an election year. That I cannot and will not accept.

I said I would submit a \$395 billion budget for fiscal year 1977 next January, and I intend to do so. This represents a \$28 billion reduction in the growth of Federal spending. If Congress will go along on this overall ceiling—not on every detail as to where the cuts should come—we could have a \$28 billion tax cut next year without adding to inflation.

I must return this bill to Congress, but this does not mean your taxes must go up next year. The Congress still has time before Christmas to send me back a tax cut extension for 1976 coupled with a clear commitment to cut the growth of Federal spending. Such a signal to the country and to the world that the Federal Government in Washington is at last facing up to its responsibility to control runaway spending would be the best Christmas present overburdened American taxpayers have had in decades. I am willing and waiting to sign such legislation.

There is only one real issue here, and it requires some very plain speaking. The American people want tax relief, need tax relief, and deserve Federal tax relief. But they also want uncontrolled Federal spending to stop. Their Government, the officials they entrust with the power to tax and to spend taxes, for years and years have not been playing fair with them. Their Government has been raising Federal benefits knowing full well those benefits have to be paid for by future taxpayers or by the merciless tax of constant inflation.

The American people know this. You know it, and I know it. Upon serious second thought, I am sure the majority of the Congress will recognize it. The only honest way to reduce taxes is to reduce the spending of tax money.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. to reporters assembled in the Briefing Room at the White House.

732

## Veto of a Tax Reduction Bill.

*December 17, 1975*

*To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning without my approval the bill, H.R. 5559, sent to me today.

I have clearly stated ever since last October 6 that I would veto any tax cut if you failed to cut future Federal spending at the same time. You have refused at this time to put any limit on spending for the next fiscal year and instead sent me a temporary 6-month extension of the present temporary 1975 tax levels due to expire on New Year's Eve.

There is no need for withholding taxes to go up in 1976. There is no need for a prolonged confrontation between us on this question. I believe and you evidently believe that our nation will benefit by giving taxpayers a break in 1976.

The differences between us are these:

As I proposed last October 6, I want a larger tax cut in 1976 than we have had in 1975—\$28 billion to be exact—while the bill before me merely extends this year's tax rate which works out to about \$18 billion a year.

As I made clear over two months ago, I want any cut in Federal tax revenues coupled with a cut in the runaway growth of Federal spending. Unless we start doing this now we will run up larger and larger deficits and get farther and farther away from a balanced budget. We will risk a new round of double digit inflation which would invisibly tax every dollar the American people have or earn in the future by a much higher figure than any temporary relief this bill offers.

I said I would submit my recommendations for a \$395 billion budget for fiscal 1977 to you next January and I intend to do so. This represents a \$28 billion reduction in the projected growth of Federal spending and—if you will go along with me only on this overall ceiling—not on every detail as to where the cuts should come—we could have a \$28 billion tax cut next year without adding to inflation, instead of this \$18 billion cut that contains no spending cut commitment.

The third difference between our positions as represented by the bill I am vetoing is that your smaller tax cut extension does not give middle income taxpayers their fair share of relief. My \$28 billion tax cut proposal would remedy this glaring inequity in the current schedule. While I want even lower Federal income taxes than you have approved in this legislation, I am determined to turn our whole tax policy toward a more fundamental reform. I believe we should leave more and more dollars with the people to spend or save as they please rather than send us more and more dollars to be spent in Washington.

I must return this bill, but this does not mean that taxes must go up next year. I am aware of the new Congressional budgetary procedures for which I voted when I was a member of the House of Representatives. I know that many Senators and Congressmen are trying in good faith to make them work in order to

gain control of the currently uncontrollable growth of Federal spending. You still have time before Christmas to send me back a tax cut extension for 1976 coupled with a clear commitment to cut the growth of spending. Such a signal to the country and to the world that the Federal government in Washington is at last facing up to its responsibility to control runaway inflationary spending would be the best Christmas present overburdened American taxpayers have had in decades. I am willing and waiting to sign such legislation.

There is only one real issue here, and it requires some plain speaking. The American people want tax relief, need tax relief and deserve tax relief. Their government—the officials they entrust with the power to tax and to spend taxes—for years and years has not been honest with them. Their government has been cutting Federal taxes with one law and raising Federal benefits with another, knowing full well those benefits have to be paid for by future taxpayers or by the merciless tax of constant inflation, which even taxes the poor.

The American people know this. Upon serious thought, I am sure the majority of this Congress will recognize it. The only honest way to reduce taxes is to reduce the spending of tax money.

I am returning this half-way legislation and asking you to send me a bill that goes all the way, that takes the honest and responsible first step toward a balanced Federal budget, a stable economy, lower taxes and reduced rates of government spending.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
December 17, 1975.

NOTE: The House of Representatives sustained the President's veto on December 18, 1975.

For the President's statement on the House action, see Item 735.

733

**Letter to the Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee  
Concerning the Nomination of George Bush To Be Director of  
Central Intelligence. December 18, 1975**

*Dear Mr. Chairman:*

As we both know, the Nation must have a strong and effective foreign intelligence capability. Just over two weeks ago, on December 7th while in Pearl Harbor, I said that we must never drop our guard nor unilaterally dismantle our

defenses. The Central Intelligence Agency is essential to maintaining our national security.

I nominated Ambassador George Bush to be CIA Director so we can now get on with appropriate decisions concerning the intelligence community. I need—and the Nation needs—his leadership at CIA as we rebuild and strengthen the foreign intelligence community in a manner which earns the confidence of the American people.

Ambassador Bush and I agree that the Nation's immediate foreign intelligence needs must take precedence over other considerations and there should be continuity in the CIA leadership. Therefore, if Ambassador Bush is confirmed by the Senate as Director of Central Intelligence, I will not consider him as my Vice Presidential running mate in 1976.

He and I have discussed this in detail. In fact, he urged that I make this decision. This says something about the man and about his desire to do this job for the Nation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your efforts on behalf of Ambassador Bush's nomination. I will deeply appreciate your efforts to expedite approval of this nominee by your Committee and the full Senate.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable John C. Stennis, Chairman, Armed Services Committee, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510]

734

### **Message on the Observance of March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month. *December 18, 1975***

EVERY year more than 200,000 American babies suffer birth defects. Some of these abnormalities are relatively minor and can be corrected or treated to reduce their harmful effects. Others cause lifelong disability and limit individual fulfillment. Still others are fatal, striking in either infancy or later life. Some of these defects can be diagnosed before or immediately after birth. Others may not show up until many years later.

Nearly a quarter-million babies each year are threatened by low birthweight. Infants weighing less than five and one-half pounds are less likely to survive and develop normally. Many are born prematurely. In others, the underweight is due to abnormalities of pregnancy, including maternal malnutrition.

About one-fifth of birth defects are inherited. Another twenty percent are thought to result from environmental influences, including drugs, viral infections and radiation—acting on the mother and fetus. The rest are caused by a combination of both factors. More than two thousand hereditary disorders have been catalogued. And the list continues to grow. The potential for environmentally induced defects increases as man-made substances enter the environment.

Many of these defects, particularly low birthweight, can be prevented if we effectively apply present knowledge and strengthen current prenatal and post-natal services. We must do so now if we are to reduce human suffering and costs to society in the future.

Continuing advances in medical technology are increasing our ability to diagnose, prevent and treat some birth disorders. Rapidly developing genetic services allow parents to gain accurate information on their chances of having children with certain heritable birth defects.

But despite two hundred years of progress in nearly every other field of human endeavor, the United States sadly ranks but eighteenth among the nations of the world in combatting infant mortality. For this reason, I call upon the American people to join with me in observing January 1976 as March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month, and I salute those who have brought national attention to this critical concern. Only through the cooperation of government, voluntary agencies and the people they serve can we begin to take significant steps toward solving these problems.

I urge everyone to give special attention to efforts to prevent birth defects and lessen infant death in this country. I particularly emphasize to women of child-bearing age the importance of seeking regular medical care and maintaining good health in order to ensure the best possible outcome of pregnancy.

Let us all heed the message of March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month: a healthy birthright for all babies.

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: The President signed the message at an Oval Office ceremony attended by the 1976 March of Dimes National Poster Child, 6-year-old Tammy

Patterson, of Mt. Pleasant, Tenn., and Arnold Palmer, honorary national chairman of the March of Dimes.

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**Statement on House Action Sustaining Veto of the Tax Reduction Bill. December 18, 1975**

I AM very gratified that the Congress has sustained my veto of the temporary tax cut extension bill sent me yesterday.

As I said then, I am willing and waiting to sign legislation coupling a tax cut extension for 1976 with a clear commitment by Congress to cut the growth of Federal spending. Today's vote was a major milestone toward my goal.

I had every confidence that enough Members of the House of Representatives would have the courage to face the fundamental issue of fiscal responsibility and face it now. I am still convinced that a majority of the House and Senate will, before recessing for Christmas, send me a tax extension bill that recognizes this basic truth: The only honest way to reduce taxes is to reduce the spending of tax money.

There is no need for income taxes to go up on New Year's Day if the Congress in the 13 days remaining in 1975 will join me in such a simple commitment to the American people.

NOTE: On December 23, 1975, the President approved H.R. 9968, the Revenue Adjustment Act of

1975. As enacted, the bill is Public Law 94-164 (89 Stat. 970).

736

**Remarks at the Lighting of the National Community Christmas Tree. December 18, 1975**

*Thank you very much, Mr. John Dixon. Mayor Washington, Mr. Ambassador, Secretary Kleppe, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

As we gather here before our Nation's Christmas tree, symbolic of the communion of Americans at Christmastime, we remind ourselves of the eternal truths by which we live. We celebrate the virtues of the human spirit—faith in God and love of one another, and the guiding principles of America—liberty and justice for all.

In our 200 years, we Americans have always honored the spiritual testament of 2,000 years ago. We embrace the spirit of the Prince of Peace so that we might find peace in our own hearts and in our own land, and hopefully in the world as well.

Christmas is a celebration of love—it is a time of joy, of giving, of caring. We

renew, we demonstrate our conviction that it is more blessed to give than to receive, to believe than to doubt, to hope than to despair, to love rather than stand apart.

We are a national family called America. We come from varied backgrounds. We live in areas far apart from each other. We have different dreams. But we are united this Christmas by our common commitment to one another.

We have much to be grateful for as we enter this Christmas season. We are at peace, and through our efforts significant progress has been made toward a more durable peace throughout the world.

Yes, we have endured economic difficulties, but our Nation and we in the American family can now look forward to a more prosperous new year. And on this eve of our Bicentennial year, liberty and justice still burn brightly as the guiding stars of our Nation.

We pray this Christmas not only for ourselves and our country but for all our brothers and sisters on Earth. We ask for the strength and resolution to help lift the burdens of poverty, ignorance, hunger, and disease from the minds and bodies of men and women and children everywhere.

As we enter America's third century, let us make sure we carry with us our abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of peace on Earth and the living example of good will to all men and women. Let us join the great principles of our past—spiritual and temporal—with the great promise of our future. With the help of God, America's third century will be our proud legacy to so many generations yet to come.

Tonight, as we light the national Christmas tree, Betty joins me in wishing all of you a very merry Christmas and a new year of peace and happiness.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. at the 22d annual Pageant of Peace ceremonies on the Ellipse near the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to John W. Dixon, president, Pageant of Peace, Inc., and Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua, dean of the Washington diplomatic corps.

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## Veto of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1976. *December 19, 1975*

*To the House of Representatives:*

I return without my approval H.R. 8069, the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1976.

As you know, I have just vetoed H.R. 5559, which would have extended for six months the temporary tax cut due to expire on New Year's Eve, because it was not accompanied by a limit on Federal spending for the next fiscal year. H.R. 8069 is a classic example of the unchecked spending which I referred to in my earlier veto message.

H.R. 8069 would provide nearly \$1 billion more in spending authority than I had requested. Not only would the \$45 billion total in this bill add significantly to the already burdensome Federal deficits expected this year and next, but the individual increases themselves are unjustified, unnecessary, and unwise. This bill is, therefore, inconsistent with fiscal discipline and with effective restraint on the growth of government.

I am not impressed by the argument that H.R. 8069 is in line with the Congress' second concurrent resolution on the budget and is, therefore, in some sense proper. What this argument does not say is that the resolution, which expresses the Congress' view of appropriate budget restraint, approves a \$50 billion, or 15 percent, increase in Federal spending in one year. Such an increase is not appropriate budget restraint.

Effective restraint on the growth of the Federal Government requires effective limits on the growth of Federal spending. This bill provides an opportunity for such limitation. By itself, this bill would add \$382 million to this year's deficit and would make next year's deficit \$372 million more than if my recommendations had been adopted. In addition, the increases provided for this year would raise expectations for next year's budget and make the job of restraining spending that much more difficult. Thus, this bill would contribute to excessive deficits and needless inflationary pressures.

Furthermore, if this bill became law, it would increase permanent Federal employment by 8,000 people. I find it most difficult to believe the majority of the American people favor increasing the number of employees on the Federal payroll, whether by Congressional direction or by other means. On the contrary, I believe the overwhelming majority agree with my view that there are already too many employees in the Federal Government.

I am returning this bill without my signature and renewing my request to the Congress to approve a ceiling on Federal spending as the best possible Christmas present for the American people.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,  
December 19, 1975.



NOTE: On January 27, 1976, the House of Representatives voted to override the President's veto. With the vote in the Senate to override the veto

on January 28, H.R. 8069 was enacted as Public Law 94-206 (90 Stat. 3).

738

### Remarks on Senate Action To Prohibit United States Assistance to Angola. *December 19, 1975*

THE SENATE decision to cut off additional funds for Angola is a deep tragedy for all countries whose security depends upon the United States. Ultimately, it will profoundly affect the security of our country as well.

How can the United States, the greatest power in the world, take the position that the Soviet Union can operate with impunity many thousands of miles away with Cuban troops and massive amounts of military equipment, while we refuse any assistance to the majority of the local people who ask only for military equipment to defend themselves?

The issue in Angola is not, never has been, and never will be a question of the use of U.S. forces. The sole issue is the provision of modest amounts of assistance to oppose military intervention by two extracontinental powers, namely the Soviet Union and Cuba.

This abdication of responsibility by a majority of the Senate will have the gravest consequences for the long-term position of the United States and for international order in general. A great nation cannot escape its responsibilities. Responsibilities abandoned today will return as more acute crises tomorrow.

I therefore call upon the Senate to reverse its position before it adjourns. Failure to do so will, in my judgment, seriously damage the national interest of the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:58 p.m. to reporters assembled in the Briefing Room at the White House.

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### The President's News Conference of *December 20, 1975*

THE PRESIDENT. Well, this morning I spent about 3 hours in the next to last budget review process with a number of appeals, and tomorrow I expect to spend approximately 3 hours on the final decisions on the budget. We have a number

of bills, of course, down from the Hill—some easy, some controversial—but we expect to get an awful lot of work done over this weekend.

With those very general observations, I would be glad to answer any questions.

#### FEDERAL BUDGET

[1.] Q. What are some of the hardest budget decisions you are making right now?

THE PRESIDENT. They are all hard, Ann [Ann Compton, ABC News], because even though the budget will reflect an increase over the current fiscal year, it will reflect a \$28 billion cutback in the growth of Federal spending, and therefore, you have to make hard decisions in practically every department. But if we are going to get a \$28 billion tax cut, we have to have a \$28 billion cutback in the growth of Federal spending. And we are going to have a \$395 billion spending budget for the next fiscal year, and that will permit me to recommend to the Congress a bigger tax reduction than the Congress passed and which I will sign Monday when the bill gets down here.

The American people need and deserve a larger tax cut. And I am delighted that the Congress after a lot of pulling and hauling finally agreed that we would have in principle a tax reduction and a spending limitation on a one-for-one basis. That, I think, is a very sound principle. That is what I have been fighting for. And now that the Congress has made a good faith commitment, I think my larger tax recommendations to cut taxes more than the Congress passed means that we will get a firm handle on the growth of Federal spending.

#### TAX REDUCTION

[2.] Q. Is the \$28 billion what you will propose again next month as far as a tax cut goes?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the tax bill that I intend to sign reduces taxes on a full year basis of about \$18 billion. My tax reduction proposal will add another \$10 billion in additional tax cuts, and it will all be predicated on a restraint, a control in the growth of Federal spending of a like amount.

#### ENERGY

[3.] Q. What are you going to do on the energy bill, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I have recommendations from people on the outside on both sides of the issue. I have recommendations from my top advisers on both sides of the issue. And I am going to spend a good part of this weekend analyzing the pros and cons. We have had an Economic Policy Board meeting on that issue, and I will make the final decision probably on Monday.

## COMMON SITUS PICKETING

[4.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided on situs picketing?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't. That is another measure that I will be working on this weekend. There is, of course, in the Administration differing views. The American people have very strong convictions on both sides of that issue. We have gotten a tremendous amount of mail in opposition to it. We are getting some mail in favor of it. I am going to try and make an honest judgment over this weekend.

Now, of course, that bill, as of this moment, has not come down from the Congress. I hope it will be here so that the difficult decision can be made.

Q. Is there a difference in the mail, Mr. President? I mean, is the mail that is against that bill—does it seem to be more from organized forces?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't tell, but the last count I showed there were something like 620,000 communications against the common situs picketing bill and something less than 10,000, as I recall, for it.

## RONALD REAGAN

[5.] Q. Mr. President, you have been working very hard on this budget and had a hard time getting Congress to agree to any spending cuts. Do you have any opinion on this proposal of former Governor Reagan's to cut \$90 billion from the Federal budget by turning this over to the States and local communities? What do you think of that idea?

THE PRESIDENT. I met with, I think it was, nine Governors—Democrats as well as Republicans—several days ago. And I got recommendations from them because the Governors, I think, play a very important role not only in running their own States but in working with the Federal Government. And the consensus—well, the unanimous view of all of those Governors was, don't put any extra burdens on us and our taxpayers in each State.

I gather from that that any reduction in the Federal budget of \$90 billion, turning all of that extra responsibility over to each of the 50 States, would not be acceptable and would not be supported by the 50 Governors.

## 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[6.] Q. Mr. President, now that we are in the field of politics, tangentially, can you——

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't answer it on that basis.

Q. No, I know you didn't, but we were trying to get in there, so I will try again.

[*Laughter*] Can you tell us anything about your campaign plans for next year? Are you going into New Hampshire and Florida, for example?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a lot of open dates in those months, because we first felt that the most important thing was to do the business of the Federal Government. I am sure that we will participate to some degree in various primary campaigns, but I emphasize, and say it very strongly, that the principal responsibility of the President of the United States is to make sure that he exercises his full responsibilities as President. If there is time for any campaigning—and only time can tell—then I will do what I can, but I have no concrete plans at this moment.

Q. Mr. President, could you give us a sense of how you feel you are doing politically right now, especially in view of that poll that showed Ronald Reagan ahead of you by a substantial margin among both Republicans and Independents?

THE PRESIDENT. The way I judge it is whether I think I am doing a good job as President. I am concentrating on that responsibility. I think we have made substantial progress in the last 16 or 17 months in straightening out a very serious economic problem, in carrying on a sound foreign policy. And in my opinion, the American people in the final analysis will judge whether I should be nominated and/or elected on the basis of how I conduct myself in this office. And that is where the concentration will be.

Q. Just to follow up on that, sir. In view of the fact, of course, you have been President, what do you think is the significance of that poll? What does it tell you, if anything?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not sure I understand the intent of the question.

Q. Well, since you have been functioning as President and doing the best job you know how, as you say, what is the importance of the poll that shows you trailing Mr. Reagan politically even so?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the final answer, of course, comes in the ballot box. And if I do the job—and I think we have made some great progress certainly in solving economic problems, and I think we have done a very good job on foreign policy—that will be the test, not any interim polls.

Q. Mr. President, after Mr. Callaway stirred up a bit of a storm in Houston with criticizing Mr. Reagan's record as Governor, you talked to him the next day. Did you tell him to lay off this, and what do you think of the way he is running the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I think overall that Bo Callaway has done a good job. I get weekly reports on the status of our organization in the various States, and when

I look at that, I am convinced that we are in good shape in most States and we are working to improve in those where we are not.

Q. But, Mr. President—excuse me.

THE PRESIDENT. Excuse me just a minute.

Now, I think both Bo Callaway and I agree that there should be no personal attacks on Mr. Reagan. And I understand he feels the same way about any campaign on his behalf. The thing that I think we are going to emphasize—myself particularly and, I hope, Bo and the others—is my record, which is one that is examined on a day-to-day basis by literally millions and millions of people. And I will stand on that record, and Bo is going to accentuate, as I and others will, the success of this record. If the public as a whole wants to examine not only my record but the Governor's record, that of course is the option that they have.

#### ANGOLA

[7.] Q. Mr. President, yesterday you issued a statement about your sentiments on what the Senate has done on Angola.

THE PRESIDENT. I said it fairly strongly.

Q. You sure did. After you did it, Dr. Kissinger said something a little more—even stronger over at the State Department around 5 o'clock. He said the responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy is not altered or affected simply because Congress has taken an action. I don't know quite how to read that, but I can read that once you spend the money that is in the pipeline there isn't any more. What is the United States policy toward Angola going to be, given the fact that you are going to run out of money in about 2 months?

THE PRESIDENT. Our fundamental purpose in Angola was to make sure that the people of Angola decide their own fate, establish their own government, and proceed as an independent nation. We think it is fundamentally very unwise, very harmful for any foreign power, such as the Soviet Union is obviously doing and as Cuba is doing, to try to dominate any government in that country. All we want is for the majority of the people in Angola to decide for themselves what they want.

Now unfortunately, because the Soviet Union has spent literally millions and millions of dollars and, unfortunately, because Cuba has anywhere from 4,000 to 6,000 combat troops in Angola, we think this is a setback for the people in Angola. Now, I take this problem very seriously.

Q. Well, what is to be done with your hands tied, so to speak?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Congress, unfortunately, has tied our hands, and

I think it is a serious mistake. I feel very strongly that a great country like the United States should have flexibility to help those people in any one country to decide their own fate. And the action of the Congress is crucial in that it has deprived us of helping a majority of the people in Angola to make their own decisions.

And the problem that I foresee on a broader basis is a good many countries throughout the world consider the United States friendly and helpful, and we have over a period of time helped to maintain free governments around the world. Those countries that have depended on us—and there are many—can't help but have some misgivings, because the Congress has refused any opportunity for us in Angola to help a majority of the people. And they can't help but feel that the same fate might occur as far as they are concerned in the future.

I hope the House of Representatives will have a different view, and we are certainly going to try and get the House of Representatives to reverse the Senate action.

Q. If not, are we through there?

THE PRESIDENT. I never say we are through, but the action of the Senate has seriously handicapped any effort that we could make to achieve a negotiated settlement so that the people of Angola could have a free and independent government.

Q. Mr. President, on that subject, why did we not start earlier in making public our opposition to what the Soviet Union was doing there and telling this country how much money and what effort we were making there, and can you tell us how much money we spent there?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it is wise for me to discuss in any detail what we have done or contemplated doing. It was a legitimate covert operation where not one American military personnel was involved in the operation, and we had no intention whatsoever of ever sending any U.S. military personnel there. But to discuss any further details than that, I think, in this case as in any other covert action case, the President just should not discuss it publicly.

#### THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA

[8.] Q. Mr. President, now that the Soviet Union is persisting—despite what the Congress did on our side—in pouring equipment and material into Angola, do you see now the possibility that this might seriously harm any chance for a completion of SALT II?

THE PRESIDENT. The persistence of the Soviet Union in Angola with a hundred

million dollars or more worth of military aid certainly doesn't help the continuation of détente.

Now, I will add another comment. As I said earlier, there are between 4,000 and 6,000 Cuban combat military personnel in Angola. The action of the Cuban Government in sending combat forces to Angola destroys any opportunity for improvement in relations with the United States. They have made a choice. It, in effect, and I mean very literally, has precluded any improvement in relations with Cuba.

#### ANGOLA

[9.] Q. Mr. President, do you see any possibility that this matter could be taken to the United Nations or worked on from the diplomatic standpoint now?

THE PRESIDENT. We certainly intended to try to get diplomatic efforts underway and to help in the diplomatic area, but I think our influence in trying to get a diplomatic solution is severely undercut by the action of the United States Senate.

Now, there is a meeting in early January of the Organization of African Union [Unity]—the foreign ministers of that organization. They are meeting the first week or so in Africa. We hope that they will take some action to let the Angolans themselves decide this. In addition, there is a meeting later in January of the heads of government of the OAU. That body, of course, is the one that could do the most. And I know that there are a number of African States who have apprehension about a foreign power dominating a country as rich and potentially strong as Angola. And so I can assure you, to the extent that we can have any impact in diplomatic areas, we are certainly going to maximize our efforts. But I repeat that what the Senate did yesterday undercuts very, very seriously any impact we can have in the diplomatic field.

PRESS SECRETARY NESSEN. Jim Lynn has a lot of tough questions waiting for you, too.

THE PRESIDENT. Two more.

Q. Mr. President, a couple of months ago there were some efforts by the Administration to try and warm relations with Cuba—Dr. Kissinger made some statements, I believe. It is apparent now that at that very time the Cubans had to be gearing up or knew that they were probably at least considering sending troops to Angola. Did our intelligence pick up this fact, and was there any cause and effect? Were we, in effect, trying to persuade them not to participate in Angola, and were we offering friendship to them in return for their not participating?

THE PRESIDENT. The sending of military personnel by Cuba to Angola is a rather recent development in any magnitude. The statements made by the Secretary indicating that if there was a softening, a change on the part of Cuba, it would be reciprocated by us, was made before there was any significant military involvement by Cuba in Angola. I wanted to be on the record and as forceful as I can say. The action of the Cuban Government in the effort that they made to get Puerto Rico free and clear from the United States and the action of the Cuban Government to involve itself in a massive military way in Angola with combat troops ends, as far as I am concerned, any efforts at all to have friendlier relations with the Government of Cuba.

Q. Sir, I don't think you answered my question. Can you tell me if the efforts were connected in any way with the Cuban efforts?

THE PRESIDENT. I thought I answered it.

Q. I am sorry.

THE PRESIDENT. To be very specific and short, no.

#### TAX REDUCTION

[10.] Q. Mr. President, can we go back to the tax cut a moment. As you probably know, there are a lot of people in Washington, including a lot of Democrats, who are saying you caved in, that you could have gotten the same deal a week ago on this nonbinding resolution and that with an election year coming up you couldn't very well give people the Christmas present of higher taxes. Was your decision to accept this bill motivated in any part by election year politics, and do you think you caved in?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the compromise which was achieved was a good tax bill for 6 months, but I under no circumstances believe that I backed off a very fundamental principle which was, if you are going to have a tax reduction, you have to have a corresponding limitation on the growth of Federal spending. I won on that issue 100 percent. And if you tied that principle which the Congress has agreed to with the budget ceiling that I am going to submit of \$395 billion, it does mean that the Congress will have to respect their good faith commitment and operate within the \$395 billion figure.

Q. Sir, did you have the same deal offered to you though a week or so ago?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. You didn't have the option of taking the deal as some people say?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all. Well, the evidence of that is that the Republicans in the House of Representatives roughly a week ago offered as a motion to re-commit a \$395 billion ceiling for fiscal 1977, and virtually every Republican



voted for it and very few Democrats did. That, in my opinion, was a rejection of the ceiling concept at that time. But after the veto of the tax bill and it being sustained, the Democrats in the Congress then came forward with this dollar-for-dollar reduction in taxes and a dollar-for-dollar reduction in Federal spending. It was their proposition, but it followed the guidelines that was within the parameters of what we had long sought.

Q. Mr. President, do you expect Congress to go along with the \$395 billion ceiling? They haven't said they will so far.

THE PRESIDENT. We are going to submit a budget for \$395 billion or less, and I think we can justify it fully. I believe there is a little different attitude up on the Hill among Republicans as well as some Democrats that that is a responsible figure. I think we have a fair chance of achieving it. We are certainly going to try.

#### NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE

[11.] Q. On John's [John Cochran, NBC News] question, he had asked about political motivation as far as the tax cut. Taking that a step further, what do you think when you look at the cover of Newsweek and some of the other stories that have your face and says "Ford in Trouble"? Have you been misjudged by some of the people who are covering politics?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the record is good, and I think time will prove it.

Q. Time magazine? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. The passing of time—and don't take that wrong either. [*Laughter*] I think when the record is laid out from August a year ago and 1976, I think the public will support what I have done, and it will be done in the ballot box.

FRANK CORMIER [Associated Press]. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you all. Have a good weekend.

Tom [Thomas M. DeFrank, Newsweek], you were going to ask a question. You have been sitting there silently, and that is unusual. [*Laughter*] Well, go ahead, one for you, Tom.

#### COMMON SITUS PICKETING

[12.] Q. Thank you, Mr. President. I was going to go back to situs picketing just for a second. There is a lot of speculation around town that Secretary Dunlop might resign if you veto the situs picketing bill, and some of the people standing over here kind of get that same queasy feeling themselves. I am wondering whether you and Secretary Dunlop have talked about that, whether he has

raised that possibility with you, and whether you think if you do veto the bill that that might happen? Do you expect him to?

THE PRESIDENT. I would not want to speculate on that aspect. I know that he feels very strongly about the legislation. I feel very strongly that he is one of the finest members of my Cabinet. We have had several discussions in depth as to the merits, the substance of the common situs picketing bill. There has been no indication to me that he would resign, but since I haven't made a decision on the legislation yet, I think any discussion is a little academic.

Q. The only other thing I can say is that you will probably like the cover of Newsweek this week better than last week since it—[*laughter*]—

THE PRESIDENT. I understand that the better half of the Ford family is going to be on it with a little more complimentary cover. [*Laughter*]

Q. That is what I meant.

THE PRESIDENT. I keep telling Betty that I get embarrassed all the time with her polls and good pictures. When they take a picture of her dancing, it is beautiful. When they take a picture of me dancing and publish it, it is not very complimentary. [*Laughter*]

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's twenty-fourth news conference began at 2:08 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

## 740

### Statement on Signing the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act. *December 20, 1975*

I HAVE today signed S. 1800, the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act.

S. 1800 authorizes the Federal Government, under certain circumstances, to indemnify certain art, artifacts, and other objects to be exhibited internationally. One of the conditions which the bill requires to be met is that the Secretary of State or his designee certify that the proposed exchange would be "in the national interest." In approving S. 1800, I note that the legislative history links the determination of national interest specifically to exhibits and exchanges which would be in the "foreign policy interests of the United States," and "in the interests of the people of the United States" so that the indemnification program does not become simply an insurance relief mechanism. I believe that such linkage is essential to justify involvement of the Federal Government in this kind of an indemnification program, and I am therefore directing the Secretary of State

to establish appropriate criteria for his certifications to assure that the intent of the legislation in this regard is properly and carefully carried out.

Another concern about S. 1800 grows out of the provisions designating the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities as an agency for the purpose of administering the indemnification program. Under existing law, the Council is essentially an advisory body. This bill, however, would assign executive functions to the Council. Thus, its members must be officers of the United States. In this regard, four of the current statutory members of the Council—the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Director of the National Gallery of Art, the member designated by the chairman of the Senate Commission on Art and Antiquities, and the member designated by the Speaker of the House—are not appointed in the manner prescribed in the Constitution for appointment of officers of the United States. Furthermore, the conversion of the Council from an advisory body into an executive agency for the purpose of the act would place the Congressional member of the Council in violation of the constitutional prohibition against Members of Congress holding civil offices of the United States.

However, I am approving S. 1800 since these surface constitutional defects can be cured by Executive action. Under the authority vested in me by the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 to change the membership of the Council to meet changes in Federal programs or executive branch organization, I am today directing that, because of the constitutional provisions noted above, the four Council members previously mentioned shall not serve as members of the Council when it acts as an agency in carrying out functions under this act.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1800 is Public Law 94-158 (89 Stat. 844).

741

## **Remarks Upon Signing the Energy Policy and Conservation Act.** *December 22, 1975*

THE TIME has come to end the long debate over national energy policy in the United States and to put ourselves solidly on the road to energy independence. We cannot afford continued delays. We cannot afford prolonged vulnerability to foreign producers. We must act.

It is in that spirit that I have decided to sign the energy bill just passed by the Congress. While this bill is only a beginning, it does achieve several major

objectives. It opens the way to an orderly phasing out of controls on domestic oil, thereby stimulating our own oil production.

As I requested earlier this year, it will enable us to set up a strategic oil storage system, convert more utility and industrial plants to coal, and take other steps to increase production and promote energy conservation. It makes possible the removal of the oil import fee of \$2 per barrel. And finally it provides a foundation upon which we can build a more comprehensive program for the future.

I now ask the Congress to work with me to put into place additional programs essential to achieve energy independence, including immediate Congressional action to deregulate natural gas, to stimulate far greater production.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:09 p.m. to reporters assembled in the Briefing Room at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (S. 622) is Public Law 94-163 (89 Stat. 871).

742

## **Statement on the Energy Policy and Conservation Act. *December 22, 1975***

FOR nearly a year the American people and many of our friends abroad have been waiting to see whether the executive and legislative branches of our Government could reach agreement on the basic framework of a national energy policy. It has long been apparent that further delays and indecision would only prolong our Nation's vulnerability to foreign energy producers. Since the oil embargo of 1973, we have in fact become more dependent upon foreign oil, and our total payments to foreign producers have continued to increase at an intolerable rate.

The single most important energy objective for the United States today is to resolve our internal differences and put ourselves on the road toward energy independence. It is in that spirit that I have decided to sign the Energy Policy and Conservation Act.

This legislation is by no means perfect. It does not provide all the essential measures that the Nation needs to achieve energy independence as quickly as I would like. However, after balancing the inadequacies and the merits, I have concluded that this bill is in the national interest and should be enacted into law. There are three factors that I have found persuasive in reaching this decision.

First, this bill will enable the United States to meet a substantial portion of the midterm goals for energy independence that I set forth in my first State of the Union Address. Among the measures I requested in January which are provided

in this legislation are authorities for a strategic storage system, conversion of oil and gas fired utility and industrial plants to coal, energy efficiency labeling, emergency authorities for use in case of another embargo, and the authorities we need to fulfill our international agreements with other oil-consuming countries.

Second, the pricing provisions of this legislation, properly implemented, will permit the gradual phasing out of controls on domestic oil. The bill seeks to lower retail prices in the short term and runs the risk of creating a false impression that we can have all the energy we want at cheaper prices. But over time, this legislation removes controls and should give industry sufficient incentive to explore, develop, and produce new fields in the Outer Continental Shelf, Alaska, and potential new reserves in the lower 48 States. I fully intend to use the flexibility which is granted to me by this legislation to expedite the decontrol of crude oil in order to increase domestic production. I do not expect the Congress to stand in the way of such actions.

I know there are some who fear that this legislation could mean that the energy industry will be subjected indefinitely to governmental controls which would create further distortions and inefficiencies. As one who believes that minimizing governmental interference in the marketplace is essential to a strong economy and more jobs, I share those concerns. Accordingly, I pledge that I will work to ensure that by the end of 40 months, governmental controls over domestic oil prices will be fully phased out. We will begin immediately, as authorized by the legislation, to remove all current price and allocation regulations except those on crude oil prices.

Third, I am also persuaded that this legislation represents the most constructive bill we are likely to work out at this time. If I were to veto this bill, the debates of the past year would almost surely continue through the election year and beyond. The temptation to politicize the debate would be powerful, and the Nation could become further divided. The most responsible action now is to set the best course we can and stick to it.

On balance, therefore, I find that this legislation is constructive and puts into place the first elements of a comprehensive national energy policy. It permits me to remove the \$2-per-barrel oil import fee. It provides a foundation upon which we can build together toward our goal of energy independence.

Now we should move forward to complete the legislative tasks I set before the Nation last January. Specifically, we still need natural gas legislation to deal with immediate shortages and to increase our supply of natural gas over the long run. The only solution is to deregulate the price of new natural gas. The

Senate has acted favorably on such legislation. I urge the House to act expeditiously so that, by the end of January, deregulation of the price of new natural gas will have become law. But this isn't the only new legislation we need. For example, our Nation needs prompt Congressional action to permit production of oil from the naval petroleum reserves, to ensure greater energy efficiency in our homes and buildings, to stimulate the commercial development of synthetic fuels, and to permit greater use of nuclear power for generating electricity. I will continue to press in 1976, as I have done in 1975, to see that all these programs and other elements of my comprehensive energy programs are enacted. Having now built a foundation, we must maintain our determination to achieve energy independence.

743

**Statement Announcing Intention To Veto the Common Situs Picketing Bill. *December 22, 1975***

I AM today announcing my intention to veto H.R. 5900, commonly known as the common situs picketing bill. I and my principal advisers have thoroughly analyzed the proposed legislation and all of its ramifications. The issues involved have become the subject of much controversy, and I believe the matter should be resolved as soon as possible. Therefore, I am taking the action of announcing my decision now.

Actually the bill before me represents a combination of H.R. 5900, which would overturn the United States Supreme Court's decision in the *Denver Building Trades* case, and the newly proposed construction industry collective bargaining bill, S. 2305, as amended. During the development of this legislation I stipulated that these two related measures should be considered together. The collective bargaining provisions have great merit, and it is to the common situs picketing title that I address my objections.

For many years I have been familiar with the special problems of labor-management relations in the construction industry and sympathetic to all good faith efforts to find an equitable solution that would have general acceptance by both union and nonunion workers and building contractors.

Because this key industry has been particularly hard hit by the recession and its health is an essential element of our economic recovery, I have been especially hopeful that a solution could be found that was acceptable to all parties and would stimulate building activity and employment, curtail excessive building costs,

and reduce unnecessary strikes, layoffs, and labor-management strife and discord in the construction field.

Therefore, since early this year Secretary of Labor John Dunlop, at my direction, has been working with Members of Congress and leaders of organized labor and management to try to obtain comprehensive legislation in this field that was acceptable and fair to all sides and in the public interest generally. Without such a general consensus I felt that changing the rules at this time would merely be another Federal intervention that might delay building and construction recovery but not effectively compose the deep differences between contractors and union and between organized and nonorganized American workers.

From the outset, I specified a set of conditions which, if met, would lead to my approval of this legislation. Virtually all of these conditions have been met, thanks to the good faith efforts of Secretary Dunlop and others in the building trades unions and the Congress. During the course of the legislative debate, I did give private assurances to Secretary Dunlop and others that I would support the legislation if the conditions specified were met.

Nonetheless, after detailed study of the bill and after extensive consultations with others, I have most reluctantly concluded that I must veto the bill. My reasons for vetoing the bill focus primarily on the vigorous controversy surrounding the measure and the possibility that this bill could lead to greater, not lesser, conflict in the construction industry. Unfortunately, my earlier optimism that this bill provided a resolution which would have the support of all parties was unfounded. As a result, I cannot in good conscience sign this measure, given the lack of agreement among the various parties to the historical dispute over the impact of this bill on the construction industry.

There are intense differences between union and nonunion contractors and labor over the extent to which this bill constitutes a fair and equitable solution to a longstanding issue.

Some believe the bill will not have adverse effects on construction and indeed rectifies an inequity in treatment of construction labor. But with equal sincerity and emotion there are many who maintain that this bill, if enacted into law, would result in severe disruption and chaos in the building industry. I have concluded that neither the building industry nor the Nation can take the risk that those who claim the bill, which proposes a permanent change in the law, will lead to loss of jobs and work hours for the construction trades, higher costs for the public, and further slowdown in a basic industry are right.

It has become the subject of such heated controversy that its enactment under present economic conditions could lead to more idleness for workers, higher costs

for the public, and further slowdown in a basic industry that is already severely depressed. This is not the time for altering our national labor-management relations law if the experiment could lead to more chaotic conditions and a changed balance of power in the collective bargaining process.

NOTE: The President's message vetoing H.R. 5900 on January 2, 1976. On January 19, the House was transmitted to the House of Representatives reconsidered the bill and referred it to committee.

744

**Statement on Signing the Metric Conversion Act of 1975.**  
*December 23, 1975*

I AM today signing H.R. 8674, the Metric Conversion Act of 1975. This legislation establishes a national policy of coordinating and planning for the increased use of the metric measurement system in the United States.

To say that this legislation is historic is an understatement. The question of a common measurement language is, in fact, nearly as old as our country. President George Washington raised the issue in his first message to Congress on January 8, 1790. He called at that time for a uniform system of currency and weights and measures. He repeated his request several times thereafter.

President James Madison also urged Congressional action on a measurement system. Fifty years later—in July 1866—Congress did pass legislation making it legal to use the metric system in U.S. trade and commerce.

In 1875, the United States was one of the 17 countries which signed the Treaty of the Meter. In spite of that, the country retained its old measurement system. There have been expressions of legislative interest from time to time since 1875, but no further definitive statement of national policy has been forthcoming.

We should learn from this brief history that legislation cannot solve all our problems. Indeed, if the legislation is not founded on public acceptance, it will have less than no effect at all.

That is why I think this bill is so interesting—because the real impetus came from the private sector, from people in the business of buying and selling American products here and overseas. U.S. industry in this regard is miles ahead of official policy. American companies already are making great use of metric measurements. Many areas of our industry—such as pharmaceuticals, cameras, and space exploration—already are entirely or largely metric. In addi-



tion, many of the country's largest retailers are finding it is good business to deal metrically with their customers.

The truth is that our continued use of the English system of measurement was making us an island in a metric sea. In 1965, Great Britain renounced its old system of measurement in favor of metric. It was followed by the Commonwealth countries. Today, more than 90 percent of the world's people uses metric measurement in their everyday lives.

A few years ago, the Congress asked the Secretary of Commerce to determine what impact the increasing worldwide use of the metric system was having on the United States and whether it was desirable to increase the use of metric weights and measures here. The National Bureau of Standards, which conducted that study, urged wider use of the metric measurement language. NBS also proposed a coordinated national program to bring this about. The legislation before us today implements that NBS finding.

It is important to stress that the conversion contemplated in this legislation is to be a completely voluntary one. The Government's function, through a U.S. Metric Board that I shall appoint, will be to coordinate and synchronize increasing use of metric measurement in the various sectors of our economy.

I sign the bill with the conviction that it will enable our country to adopt increasing use of this convenient measurement language—both at home in our schools and factories and overseas with our trading partners.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 8674 is Public Law 94-168 (89 Stat. 1007). The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

745

## **Statement on the Death of Richard S. Welch.**

***December 23, 1975***

I WAS shocked and horrified by the terrorist murder of Mr. Richard Welch outside his home in Athens, Greece. Mr. Welch has long been a dedicated official of the United States Government and the hearts of all Americans go out to his family in sympathy and in gratitude for a life given in devoted service to his country.

NOTE: Richard S. Welch was the station chief for the Central Intelligence Agency in Greece.

The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

746

**Statement on the Conclusion of the Indochina Refugee Resettlement Program. *December 24, 1975***

EIGHT MONTHS ago, I initiated a program designed to open America's doors to refugees from Indochina seeking a new life. To facilitate their entry, I ordered the establishment of four reception centers in the United States to house the refugees temporarily until sponsors came forward to assist them.

The last remaining refugees departed the reception center at Fort Chaffee, Ark., on Saturday, December 20. The closing of that reception center marks the successful conclusion of our organized resettlement program. Since its inception in April, over 130,000 refugees passed through these camps before settling in communities in every State of the Union.

The success of this massive undertaking was due mainly to the openhearted generosity of the American people who, both individually and through their churches and civic groups, came forward to sponsor these newest members of our society. But the program could not have succeeded without the efforts of those who worked long hours in this humanitarian cause.

The Nation owes a special tribute to the Interagency Task Force for Indochina Refugees which I set up on April 18 to coordinate refugee evacuation, reception, and resettlement, and to the voluntary agencies which handled the sponsorship of the refugees in American society. To those thousands of military and civilians, volunteers, and resettlement agency personnel who dedicated these past months to the refugees, we owe heartfelt thanks. Their work reflects the truly humanitarian achievement of public agencies and the private sector working in harmony. This demonstration of strength will continually reinforce the refugees as they begin their journey toward becoming fully self-sufficient and contributing members of our Nation's communities.

Initial fears that the refugees would become an ongoing problem are now allayed. The refugees have proven themselves to be hard-working and industrious people with a thirst for education and a deep-seated desire to improve themselves. I am confident that they will follow the example of former immigrants who have so richly contributed to the character and strength of the American system. The warmth and generosity that have characterized the welcome that Americans have given to the refugees serve as a reaffirmation of American awareness of the roots and the ideals of our society.

NOTE: The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

747

**Christmas Message.****December 24, 1975**

MERRY CHRISTMAS! These two words conjure up all of the good feelings that mankind has ever held for itself and its creator: reverence, tenderness, humility, generosity, tolerance—love. These are the stars we try to follow. These are the most enduring treasures we can bring to our world. I can remember a few Christmases in my own youth when just about the only thing we had to offer each other as a family was the love we shared, and the faith that together we could see things through to a better future. And it did. It made us work harder, study harder, try harder—and it brought out qualities and depths of strength and character that none of us in those days thought we had.

The spirit of Christmas is ageless, irresistible and knows no barriers. It reaches out to add a glow to the humblest of homes and the stateliest of mansions. It catches up saint and sinner alike in its warm embrace. It is the season to be jolly—but to be silent and prayerful as well.

I know this will be a particularly happy Christmas for me. I celebrate it surrounded by those I love and who love me. I celebrate it by joining with all of our citizens in observing a Christmas when Americans can honor the Prince of Peace in a nation at peace.

The Ford family wishes you and your family a Christmas that brings all of the joy, the fulfillment, and the inspiration of this most precious of seasons. May God's blessings be with you all.

GERALD R. FORD

748

**Statement on Actions To Combat Drug Abuse.****December 26, 1975**

DRUG abuse is a tragic national problem which saps our Nation's vitality. It is also a major contributor to our growing crime rate. All of us must redouble our efforts to combat this problem.

Earlier this week I met with Representative Charles B. Rangel and other Members of the Congress to discuss the problem of drug abuse. The Congressmen reported the growing availability and use of illicit drugs and expressed their

concern about the continuing flow of drugs across the Southwest border from Mexico and their continuing concern about a possible resurgence of heroin traffic from Turkey.

Aware of the worsening situation, last spring I directed a high-priority review of the entire Federal effort in drug law enforcement, treatment and prevention, and international control. The resulting White Paper on Drug Abuse contained a frank assessment of where we are in these efforts, as well as a number of comprehensive recommendations to improve our response to this critical problem. I endorse the white paper, and the budget I will submit in January will request sufficient funds to implement all of its major recommendations.

This Administration already has begun to take strong action to deal with the mounting threat, however. I have spoken with Presidents Echeverría of Mexico and Lopez Michelsen of Colombia and with Prime Minister Demirel of Turkey in an effort to strengthen cooperation of other nations involved in the fight against illicit drug traffic. Because of my particular concern about the problem of Mexican heroin, I am directing Secretary of State Kissinger to express to the Mexican Government my personal concern that we explore opportunities for improved control. I have also directed the Domestic Council Drug Abuse Task Force to present me with specific recommendations for improving our ability to control drug trafficking along the Southwest border.

I call upon the Congress to enact my proposal for mandatory minimum sentences for drug traffickers, so those who are spreading this evil throughout our communities will be put behind bars where they belong. And I urge the Congress to ratify the Convention of Psychotropic Substances, so we can fulfill our obligations to the other nations of the world to see that strong international controls exist for all drugs. In the weeks ahead I will send to the Congress a comprehensive message on drug abuse establishing a framework for a broad government response to the problem.

NOTE: The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

749

### **Statement on the Bombing Incident at La Guardia Airport, New York City. *December 29, 1975***

I AM deeply grieved by the loss of life and injuries which occurred tonight at La Guardia Airport in New York. It appears this senseless act involved the use of a bomb.

I have instructed Secretary of Transportation William Coleman and the FAA to investigate immediately and to give me a complete report on the tragedy as soon as possible. The Justice Department and the FBI have been directed to provide whatever assistance they can to the FAA and local law enforcement agencies.

NOTE: Eleven persons were killed by the explosion from a bomb placed in the baggage-claim area at the airport.

The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

On the following day, the President met in the Cabinet Room at the White House with Secretary of Transportation William T. Coleman, Jr., Federal

Aviation Administrator John L. McLucas, Deputy Attorney General Harold Tyler, and Deputy Director James Adams of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to discuss the progress of the investigation of the bombing incident. They also considered measures to be taken to reinforce airport and airplane security.

## 750

### Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters. *December 31, 1975*

#### VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Let me just start out by saying that we will primarily talk about 1975, but I think you have to add to that and put it in proper context the few months that I was President in 1974.

Let me talk about personnel for just a moment. I think we have put together a very good team, both in the White House and in the Administration. And probably one of the best examples of the quality is the nomination of John Paul Stevens to the Supreme Court. I can't positively say that his nomination and confirmation was a record, but it is pretty close to it. We did a good job in checking all of the potentials, and the net result was in a very, very short period of time we ended up with a man who was confirmed 98 to nothing. That is a pretty good batting average by any criteria. I am certain he will do a superb job as a member of the Court.

But if you look at the Cabinet, I think they are quality people. If you look at the individuals we have selected for the various regulatory agencies, I think they are top people who will follow a constructive line in trying to update some of the procedures and concepts in the various agencies. I think all of the regulatory agencies have been strengthened, not in aiming toward more regulation, but in taking the line that I think is important—of deregulating where there has been overregulation.

If you look at the problems that we had when I became President—inflation, the disastrous unemployment that developed—I think we have made significant

progress in both areas. Inflation is about half of what it was a year ago; unemployment soared. On the other hand, the trend is in the right direction, and I am convinced beyond any doubt that unemployment will continue its downward path. It is still too high, but I think the trend is right and the prospects are encouraging.

In foreign policy, we had, of course, a setback in Southeast Asia. But if you take a look at what has been accomplished elsewhere, whether it is in NATO, where we have convinced our allies that the American people are going to stand strong in that area, they absolutely believe that the United States is going to be a firm partner. And I think the personal relationship with leaders in Western Europe is as good, if not better, than anytime in the last 20 or 30 years.

If you look to the Pacific, despite the problems in Vietnam, our relationship with Japan is the best in the history of this country. We have kept faith with other countries in the whole Pacific area, and they believe that the United States will stand in the future firmly for the freedom that they have and the opportunities for a better life for all of their people.

Let me just summarize, if I can, my New Year's resolutions so you won't have to ask the question. [*Laughter*] I am going to make as a New Year's resolution a dedication to the strengthening of spiritual and moral values among 215 million people. And I noticed yesterday we passed 215 million people, according to the Bureau of the Census.

I am going to resolve that we do everything possible to improve the economic circumstances, not only of ourselves—that being my prime concern—but the economic well-being of people throughout the world, because I think that contributes to stability, not only at home but worldwide.

And I, of course, will resolve that we have peace with ourselves in this country, but peace with the world as a whole.

So, why don't you ask questions.

Helen [*Helen Thomas, United Press International*].

## QUESTIONS

### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[2.] Q. Mr. President, why do you think that you are going to be able to defeat Ronald Reagan in his bid for the Presidency? And what do you see as the key differences in actual approach? I know he doesn't have Federal experience, but over and beyond that, where are your differences on the main issues?

THE PRESIDENT. As I have said before, Helen, I have never, as a candidate, attacked an opponent. And I don't intend to. I do feel that my thoughts, my programs for the future of this country would justify nomination as well as election.

I think we have a good economic program, and the results I have cited initially. I believe we have a good foreign policy. It is my judgment that I can give the right moral and spiritual leadership to this country. With those concrete things to talk about, I think I can say that experience will help to achieve those results.

It is my opinion that the 25 years in the Congress, roughly a year as Vice President, 2 years as President, gives to me in this office an opportunity to execute and implement those constructive programs that we have started that are producing results. I would rather talk on the affirmative side and convince the American people that that is what they want for a President in the future. Now, what other people say out as they campaign around the country—it is very easy on occasion, as I am sure all of you know, to say you can have a quick fix here and a new program there, and that is why an individual ought to be President. But we have a record. I think it is an improving record. It will be perceived in the months ahead as a constructive record. And I am going to run on it, and I am going to win on it.

Q. But in terms of Reagan's policies, do you see any major difference?

THE PRESIDENT. I think he will have to develop those. I am going to talk about my policies.

#### PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, if, as you say, things look as good right now both economically and in terms of foreign policy, why is it that the polls don't look better for you?

THE PRESIDENT. That's a good question. We have made some very tough decisions in the last 12 or 15 months. They haven't been necessarily popular. I think they have been right. I have had to veto some bills that had good labels, some had substance, but they were too expensive at the time. We had the tough decision to make—as an example, New York City. It was popular in some areas, not very popular in metropolitan New York City.

But when you make hard decisions, you inevitably antagonize individuals. They don't perceive at that time the beneficial results that will accrue from a right decision. But as you move along and the correctness of those judgments becomes more evident, I think you will see a change in public sentiment. And the real test comes not in late December of 1975, but in the months ahead.

## SOCIAL PROGRAMS

[4.] Q. Mr. President, some of your critics say that you have not been sufficiently humanitarian in your approach to the Presidency, to the poor, the needy, the oppressed, and so on. What is your response to that particular talk?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the best way to describe that, Bud [Godfrey Sperling, Jr., *Christian Science Monitor*], is to take an analogy. I have been criticized for vetoing 40-some bills, some of them, as I indicated earlier, had excellent titles and some had good substance, but were too expensive.

Let me use this analogy. If the various mayors of New York City over the last 10 years had managed that city better, had not been as generous in the handling of some of the fiscal problems, wage settlements, pension programs, the city would be a lot better off today. But if those various mayors had vetoed this and been firmer in other areas, those mayors would have been accused of being lacking in compassion. But the city of New York would have been a lot better off in 1975.

I think the decisions that I have made have been hard, that on the surface appear at this time to be lacking in compassion, those decisions, in the long run, are going to be recognized as right. So, it is a question of understanding at the moment that you have to take the long view, not the short view, in order to really indicate your compassion. And that is what I have tried to do.

Q. Are you really saying, Mr. President, that it is very difficult for a man who is at least largely viewed as a conservative to be also perceived to be humanitarian?

THE PRESIDENT. In the short run. In the long haul, I think those decisions will be perceived as compassionate. But the impression that comes out immediately could very easily and, in many cases, can be described as lacking in compassion. But I will guarantee you a lot of people in New York City wish there had been stronger leadership in that city, because they wouldn't be in the problem they found themselves in 1975 if there had been that kind of leadership.

## DÉTENTE

[5.] Q. Mr. President in 1972, we and the Russians signed a pledge in Moscow—

THE PRESIDENT. What year was that?

Q. In 1972, we signed a pledge with the Russians, both sides agreeing not to raise tensions anywhere in the world—détente. The Russians say that détente does not mean that the status quo around the world stays the same. We know



it isn't the same in Angola. Aren't they breaking the rules on détente there, and how do we stand?

THE PRESIDENT. Both Secretary Kissinger and I have spoken out very strongly against the Soviet activity in Angola, and I reaffirm it today. I think what is being done in Angola by the Soviet Union in conjunction with the Cubans is not constructive from the point of view of détente.

We couldn't be any firmer publicly than we have been in that regard. But I think we have an obligation to continue to work within the framework of détente because there are some other benefits that have accrued. I think SALT I was a step forward, and if SALT II can be negotiated on a mutual basis, it will be constructive within the framework of détente. But I reaffirm, Angola is an example of where I think détente has not worked the way it should work, and we strongly object to it.

Q. Is it possible, sir, that détente may simply end up being agreements on nuclear weapons and nothing else?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope not. I think it ought to have a far broader implication. I think détente can be helpful, just as an example, in the long-run solution in the Middle East. And there are some good signs that it is helping to moderate certain influences in the Middle East.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, your predecessor sat in this office and in May of 1970 warned against the United States of America becoming a pitiful, helpless giant. In a sense, our speaking out on Angola is about all we can do. The United States, seemingly operating within the framework of détente, seems to be powerless to do anything else other than speak out in offering statements by the President and by the Secretary of State. Have we, therefore, in effect, reached a kind of a status in the world where we are a pitiful, helpless giant in the continent of Africa?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think we are a pitiful, helpless giant in Africa. We have a great many countries that look to us and work with us and, I think, are sympathetic to what we are trying to do in conjunction with them. There are some African States that obviously don't look toward us, but look toward the Soviet Union.

I think we would have been in a stronger position to find a compromise in Angola if the Senate had not taken the action that it took. Nevertheless, despite that setback, we are maximizing the utilization of funds that are available, small as they are. And we are moving as strongly as possible in the area of diplomatic

initiatives with the OAU [Organization of African Unity], on a bilateral basis with African States, with other countries throughout the world that have an interest in Africa.

I certainly think, despite the handicap of the Senate action, we are going to do everything we possibly can. And we certainly are not a pitiful giant in this process.

#### GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, can I follow that one up?

THE PRESIDENT. Surely.

Q. You said you would do everything we possibly can. Would this include the use of—rethinking of the sales of grain as a political weapon or as a diplomatic tool?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the grain sale with the Soviet Union, the 5-year agreement, is a very constructive part of the policy of détente. It certainly is constructive from the point of view of American agriculture. We have a guarantee of 6 million tons a year with a top limit of some 8 million tons. It, I think, over the long haul, will be looked upon as a very successful negotiation. I see no reason at this time, certainly under the circumstances existing today, for any revision of that negotiated agreement.

#### CUBA

[8.] Q. Mr. President, why is it necessary for you to rule out any improvement in our relations with Cuba when what they are doing in Angola is essentially no different than what the Soviet Union is doing, or South Africa is doing. But especially, what evil have the Cubans done?

THE PRESIDENT. It is pretty hard for me to see what legitimate interest Cuba has in sending some 6,000 well-equipped, well-trained military personnel to Angola. I just don't see what their interest is. And it certainly doesn't help our relations with Cuba when they know that we think it is in the best interests of the three parties in that country to settle their differences themselves.

Q. You say it is not standing in the way of détente with the Soviet Union, it has not broken off our relations with South Africa and what they are doing there. Why is Cuba singled out for apparently a more strict treatment?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is very simple. We have had a period of what, 13 years of very few, if any, contacts with the Government of Cuba and many, many differences, and there were some prospects—I say were *some* prospects—for gradual improvement. But when we are trying to resolve differences in Angola, they are seeking to expand the conflict there with active military

personnel. It just is such a different view from our own. I don't see how, under those circumstances, we can feel that we can work with them in the future in this hemisphere or elsewhere.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

[9.] Q. Mr. President, it is quite likely that your proposals to Congress for changes in the CIA will differ quite a bit with what some Members of Congress are proposing. Could you give us a glimpse of what you are thinking about now for any reconstituting of the CIA? How early in the Congressional session will you be sending those to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not personally seen any of the specific recommendations that might be coming from either the Church committee or the Pike committee. I have a sizable book on the back of my desk there, of recommendations, not only from the Rockefeller Commission but from the Murphy Commission,<sup>1</sup> from the various departments in the Government.

Within the next week, I will make my decisions based on these recommendations. And early in the session, I will submit a comprehensive program to strengthen the intelligence community in our Government, at the same time insisting that the individual rights of citizens within this country will be adequately protected.

UNEMPLOYMENT

[10.] Q. Mr. President, you were talking about your success in dealing with the economy. The unemployment rate has come down slowly, but sticking to about 8½ percent. At the same time, you were talking, here in terms of your budget for next year, of one that puts a lid on additional domestic spending. How does putting a lid on that, how much does that threaten the improvement you see in unemployment? And is there some point, say if unemployment were still around 7¾ percent in June, would you then feel that we would need more stimulus and more spending of one sort or another?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the 395 spending figure for the budget of 1977 is a constructive effort in continuing the improvement in our economy, not an undercutting of the progress that we are making. I say that because incorporated with the 395 ceiling is a \$28 billion tax reduction, \$10 billion more than Congress passed, if you annualize the tax reduction for the next 6 months in 1976.

So, the 395 will give confidence, in my judgment, to the American people that we are getting a handle on the growth in Federal spending, and if you incorporate it with the tax reduction proposal, I think the stimulant to the economy

<sup>1</sup> The Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, chaired by former Ambassador Robert Murphy.

will be very significant and healthy. And I don't foresee with this combination—if we can sell the Congress on it—of any need in 1976 for significant increases in any spending area.

Q. Well, is there a point, though, with these forecasts from time to time being wrong—is there a point of progress in unemployment which would be so low that you wouldn't find it tolerable in terms of the progress in the economy and hardship that you talked about when you started?

THE PRESIDENT. That is speculation that I don't think is justified. Our plans are—and we think we have good advice and good statistics—that unemployment will continue downward, as it has, from the high of 9.3 several months ago. On the other hand, if any contingency arises, of course we will meet it. But the program based on the best advice, a program based on the best statistics, doesn't anticipate the kind of circumstances that you have indicated.

#### 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[11.] Q. Mr. President, could you summarize for us what you believe are the chief obstacles you face in winning the Republican nomination and being elected for a full term in office?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't foresee any serious obstacles. It will be a good struggle, but I think as the public perception of what we have done both at home and abroad comes across—and I think it will—then I think the nomination will be successful.

#### NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE

[12.] Q. If I could just follow up, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Surely.

Q. I am sure you are aware that in the press and other mass media news there is some perception of you as not quite capable of filling this office. And I wonder, sir, what your reaction to this is personally? Some of your aides say it really doesn't bother you at all.

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, I don't think that description is accurate. I think my record in public office disputes it very forthrightly. Some of the things you read or hear or see, you know, it kind of hurts your pride a little bit because you know it isn't true. But I have long felt that if you keep a high degree of composure and don't get rattled and have total confidence in yourself, that things work out pretty well.

I might add this: I was looking at some cartoons over the past year—years, I should say—of American political life, and the ones today are not any sharper than the ones in the past. Presidents have survived that kind of criticism. Those

that did had good programs and were right. And I think you have to have a sense of humor about this. You have to be a little thick-skinned, and I think that comes from some experience.

The main point that I would like to emphasize—and I said it at the outset—is that I don't think they are accurate. I have complete and total confidence in my own capabilities, and the record, I think, proves it.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[13.] Q. Mr. President, if you should run into early primary trouble and have some setbacks in New Hampshire and Florida, do you believe it would be good for the Republican Party, for other candidates, men who have been mentioned such as Mr. Richardson, Vice President Rockefeller, some of the others who are mentioned as possible Presidential material, then get in and challenge Ronald Reagan? Or do you believe it should be a two-man race straight to the convention in trying to reach a nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I ought to judge what others might do. I can only say what my intentions are, and I reiterate them today. I have said them consistently, that I intend to be in the ball game right down to the convention. I intend to win. I like a good struggle, a good fight, if that is necessary. And any speculation about me quitting in midstream is just inaccurate. And as I said yesterday, anyone who forecasts that I am going to quit in midstream doesn't know Jerry Ford.

Q. Mr. President, what is your prediction about New Hampshire and Florida? I think Mr. Callaway has predicted you will not just do well but will likely win those primaries.

THE PRESIDENT. I think we will do reasonably well and I intend to carry on the record that we have in order to convince a majority of the people in New Hampshire that my nomination is a good choice for the Republican Party and for the country.

Q. Well, are you not flatly predicting that you will win those primaries?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't like to get into a speculative situation there. I am confident that the policies are good. I know we have good people that are executing them. And I believe that the majority of the people in New Hampshire will agree with that. But to speculate beyond that I don't think is beneficial.

Q. Mr. President, this will be the first time that any Chief Executive has taken—first time in modern times—has taken the Presidency into the party primaries. I wonder if you have been able to sort of see in your own mind how this can be done in a way that will protect the dignity of the Presidency, protect

the advantage that you gained from the office, and so forth? Do you have any thinking on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that, Charlie [Charles L. Bartlett, *Chicago Daily News*], is easily answered. Continuing to work in this office and to work on the problems, to be President, is the best way to ensure that any campaign in any one of the 30 States is conducted in the proper way. And that is the way I expect to do it.

Q. Does that rule out the hand-to-hand kind of thing the “sheriff” campaigning would do?

THE PRESIDENT. We expect to make some appearances, obviously, in various States where there are primaries. But the main responsibility I have and the best way to preserve the dignity of the office and the best way, in my opinion, to convince the people that I ought to be the nominee and the President is to work at the job here.

Q. Why was so much time spent this past year, 1975, on the road in campaigning when in effect you are reversing procedures? In 1975, the year before the election, you were on the road a great deal and traveling, and in 1976, when the campaign begins, you are in the Oval Office.

THE PRESIDENT. I think the circumstances are quite different. In 1974 the Republican Party nationally took a very bad beating. We lost a number of House seats, a number of Senate seats, a number of governorships. The preservation of the two-party system in this country is of maximum importance, and the Republican Party in many States, organizationally speaking and financially, was in terrible circumstances. I think a President has an obligation to his party, and he certainly has an obligation to the preservation of a two-party system.

And my efforts in 1974, 1975, the kind of traveling you are talking about, was aimed at rebuilding the party, maintaining a two-party system. I think that job has been principally accomplished. The party across the Nation is in much better shape, organizationally speaking, financially speaking.

Now we come to 1976, and it becomes more personal because of the primaries for the President. I am going to do the job here. I think that is the best way to convince the people. We will make some appearances, obviously, but it won't be on the magnitude that I did in 1974 and 1975.

Q. Mr. President, did you sit down at some point in recent months with your associates and work out any kind of game plan for, first, winning the nomination, or is it sort of a week-to-week improvisation as it sometimes appears?

THE PRESIDENT. Obviously, we are in close consultation with Bo Callaway and the people that are associated with Bo on the purely political side.

On the other hand, we have advisers within and without the White House who are laying out policies and programs that are aimed not at the political side, but at the nonpolitical side, that will be helpful in getting the nomination and in being elected President. So, it is a combination, and it has been working over the months. And I think it will produce results.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Callaway says that he has no point of contact here at the White House other than yourself. Are you thinking of putting in some political operative here at the White House to handle some of this liaison?

THE PRESIDENT. I think he has had good contact with several of the top people on my staff. He does have access to me. I have met with him in the last 6 weeks about once a week. I get periodic reports—as a matter of fact, weekly reports from him. It is possible that we would have somebody of stature, well recognized, who might be a contact for him as the year 1976 progresses.

RONALD REAGAN

[14.] Q. Mr. President, you, I think yesterday, indicated that Ronald Reagan might be a Vice-Presidential candidate. I am wondering if that was in any way an offer to him. Would you be willing to accept him as your running mate, and do you have any indication that he would be willing to accept the Vice-Presidential nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I phrased it this way: I said it was premature to make any judgment as to any Vice-Presidential candidate. Then a follow-up question came, I believe from Lou or David<sup>2</sup>—I can't recall precisely how the question was asked—but I said it was not inconceivable that Ronald Reagan could be a Vice-Presidential running mate. It was a straightforward answer to a very direct question.

Q. Well, let me ask it more directly then. [*Laughter*] He has said, as I recall, that he did not want and would not accept the Vice-Presidential nomination. Do you have any reason to think that he might be willing to change his mind?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no reason to go beyond his own words.

MRS. FORD

[15.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think of your wife's candid remarks in terms of your election? And do you think that she has helped or hurt you? Are you going to muzzle her or tell her to keep on talking? [*Laughter*]

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<sup>2</sup>Lou Cannon and David S. Broder of the Washington Post interviewed the President on board Air Force One returning from Vail, Colo., on December 30. An account of the interview appears in the Washington Post of December 31, 1975.

THE PRESIDENT. I think she has been doing very well, Helen.

Q. She has been doing well for you?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so. I think she has done an extremely good job as First Lady, and her popularity, of course, is reflected in the polls. And the selection of her by Time magazine as one of the 10 [12] outstanding women in 1975—I am very proud of it. And I think she will be helpful. I think she has been over the years as well as in 1975.

#### DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

[16.] Q. Mr. President, assuming that you get your party's nomination, which Democrat would you rather run against and which one do you think you will run against?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me answer the last one first. I have said for a good many months I thought the Democrats would end up nominating Hubert Humphrey. And that prediction of better than a year ago looks better and better in December of 1975. I don't really have any choice as to the Democratic nominee. That is a little out of my prerogative, so I will let them make that decision.

Q. I know it is out of your prerogative or choosing, but if you could, who would you prefer to run against? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I really haven't given it any thought—[*laughter*]—because I guess when you come right down to it, regardless of the nominee, I think I can win.

#### TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

[17.] Q. Mr. President, you have said on several occasions, and you said again this morning, that the preservation of the two-party system is so important and that you have advised men like Senator Mathias and, by indirection, Governor Wallace to work for their goals through their party conventions, rather than setting up a third or fourth party candidacy. What can your party as well as the other party do to get back some of these voters who have been discontent or have been dissatisfied with the system and have gone the independent route?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I think they have to look at the record of nations where they have had multiple parties. And those countries that have had that experience or have it now don't have a political stability such as we have in America. I think they ought to learn that a two-party system is the best. It has worked well for us and the multiple-party system has worked badly for most other countries.



Number two, I think we have to convince these people who have disassociated themselves with both Democratic and Republican parties that they can achieve far more success working within the two parties. I have always found that it is better to be playing the game rather than sitting on the sidelines, and I think that is what these people—well-intentioned, dedicated individuals—have to realize. They can do more constructively for their country if they are working within the framework of the two-party system.

And there is enough breadth in the political philosophy of both major parties, I think, to permit most Americans to be a participant, either as a Democrat or a Republican. And I know they can get more done and contribute more significantly.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET

[18.] Q. Mr. President, you mentioned, at the beginning, your team—how proud you are of it. What if, during this year, some members of your Administration become an issue themselves and make it more difficult for you to get things through Congress? How would you then assess their value to your Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. Bonnie [Bonnie Angelo, *Time* magazine], I don't anticipate that. I think all of the Cabinet members have done an excellent job in their relations with the Congress, considering particularly the fact that the Congress was controlled by a better than 2-to-1 margin by the opposition party. It is a thought that never entered my mind.

Q. But you don't see Secretary Kissinger's problems on the Hill as being substantive?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't. I think his formulation of foreign policy as Secretary of State, his execution on my behalf of foreign policy has been good. And I do believe that the Congress, as we move in 1976, will appreciate the constructive efforts. And I don't foresee any problem in that regard or any of the other Cabinet people.

#### LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR 1976

[19.] Q. Mr. President, you have repeatedly asked us to look at your record and asked the voter to look at your record. I think on the Hill you generally earned a reputation as a man who thought that the less government there was perhaps the better it was. You have a State of the Union coming up in 2 or 3 weeks. Can we expect any new programs in that State of the Union or do you believe we are at a time in history where a Presidential candidate can run on

this theme that the less government, the better government; we are not going to offer new programs, we are going to offer less programs?

THE PRESIDENT. Aldo [Aldo B. Beckman, Chicago Tribune], I think it depends on how you define new programs. If you think I am going to send up a laundry list of liberal, expensive programs that will cost the taxpayers more and expand the Federal Government, the answer is categorically no. On the other hand, if you define a new program as a restructuring of an area within the government, the consolidation, for example, of services rendered by the Federal Government in a more efficient, more effective way, the probability is yes. And let me give you an illustration.

In 1974 on the recommendation of the then administration, the Congress passed the Community Development Act of 1974, which took, as I recollect, seven categorical grant programs to communities throughout the United States. And those seven programs were combined in one block grant program for municipalities all over the country. That was a new program in concept, and it has worked well. It has gotten greater participation among citizens in these communities, it has given more flexibility to the cities to meet their problems, and I think it, on a cost-plus basis, has been a good investment, far better than the other program.

I think that is a new program, and there is a distinct possibility that in the State of the Union we will recommend certain consolidations in areas where there have been so many categorical programs, so much overlap, so much inefficiency, so much unhappiness by mayors and Governors with the problems that they have with this multiplicity of programs.

If we can consolidate in three or four areas—and I think we can—I think the taxpayer will get a better return and the beneficiaries will get better service.

PRESS SECRETARY NESSEN. Mr. President, you have another meeting scheduled fairly soon.

THE PRESIDENT. Can I be the good guy? [*Laughter*]

MR. NESSEN. And let it go on longer? You always do that.

Q. Mr. President, can I follow that up with one question? Several weeks ago at one of Budge's [Godfrey Sperling, Jr., Christian Science Monitor] breakfasts, Mel Laird said that he thought that one thing you had to talk about was national health insurance. That very afternoon Vice President Rockefeller presented his report to you from his various town meetings around the country, and there is a paragraph in there that said national health insurance—I believe it said "mandatory"—it was a very strong word—recommending it. Might you include some discussion of national health insurance in your State of the Union Address?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we will try to improve the Federal part of health care to the American people. But I don't think I will go beyond that at this time, Aldo.

## VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

[20.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any ideas how you might fulfill this resolve to strengthen the moral and spiritual values of the country?

THE PRESIDENT. One way that I can do it personally is by my own conduct and to participate with spiritual leaders throughout the country, which I think is important, on a nondenominational basis. I think we are moving in that direction, and any inspiration I can give or cooperation that I can contribute, I certainly will do all I can.

## ANGOLA

[21.] Q. Mr. President, you have hinted at some progress with the Russians on Angola. Is that true? I mean, do you have some undercurrents?

THE PRESIDENT. I can only say that we have presented very forcefully our view that what is being done there is contrary to détente. I think there is a better solution. As I said yesterday and I will repeat today, we are maximizing our effort diplomatically, broadly as well as bilaterally.

## RONALD REAGAN

[22.] Q. Mr. President, could you say more about how decorous the struggle with Ronald Reagan is going to be—

THE PRESIDENT. How decorous?

Q. Yes, how polite?

THE PRESIDENT. I never heard that term used in politics before. [*Laughter*]

Q. I used it deliberately, because Ronald Reagan has proposed a \$90 billion cut in Federal outlays that will retire \$5 billion of the national debt and reduce our taxes 22 percent. He said now there are those who argue that the effect of that, say, would be an enormous increase in property and State and local taxes or a substantial cut in, say, the caliber of schools and teachers' salaries—this sort of thing. That seems to be a legitimate issue and perhaps a difference between Ford and Reagan. Will you take on and detail the possible drawbacks that you see in his proposal to cut Federal revenues by \$90 billion? Does that violate the rule that you will not attack your opponent?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the best answer to that is the one I gave the other day. I had met a day or so before with nine Governors—five Democrats and four Republicans, as I recall—and in the course of this 2-hour-plus discussion of the

problems of State government, it was very obvious to me that none of them, Democratic or Republican, were very sympathetic to the approach that you mentioned. And after all, they are Governors today, and they realize the problems if all of a sudden \$90 billion worth of extra cost was thrown upon their shoulders. And I respect their judgment. And I think their judgment of 9 is a reflection of the judgment of 50 Governors. And I think the American people will follow that line rather than——

Q. But you will leave it to Governors to make this argument, or will you say that that's a crackpot scheme? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. As I said at the very outset, I am going to campaign affirmatively, and if the Governors that were there and the other Governors raise objection, and I had some evidence that they did, I think that is a valid criticism for them to make of the program.

#### THE DOMINO THEORY

[23.] Q. Mr. President, you mentioned Vietnam at the beginning. I wonder whether we could have one more look back at that war. I am sure history is going to be asking this question. I think it will. Whatever happened to the domino theory, which I think you once espoused? Looking back, did it really ever have any validity or does it continue to have a validity?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it can have validity and the situation that developed in Laos, as you well know, the coalition government there has dissolved, been overcome. I know that there are countries in Southeast Asia that were fearful that it might be a reality. We were able to reaffirm our presence at the present time as well as in the future in the Pacific or Southeast Asia. And thus far we have been able to preclude what I honestly felt might have taken place.

Outside of some weakening in some countries, the domino theory has not taken place, and we are fortunate. I am glad that that theory has been disproven, but it took some strong action and, I think, some leadership by this country to handle the matter.

#### PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

[24.] Q. Mr. President, do you think that all candidates should make public their health records, financial records, and every other record concerning their personal lives?

THE PRESIDENT. Helen, if you go back to the hearings that I had on the Vice-Presidential nomination, I think you will find that I had my academic records, my military records, my health records, every record that I could imagine was put

on the record. And if you want to go back and look at it, kind of just go and see. I willingly cooperated with the committee. And I think it would be helpful for all candidates to do it in 1976.

I am healthy. I have never felt better, and I think the public has a legitimate interest in that. Now, Dr. Lukash has some reservations about that, but as far as I—

Q. He doesn't think that—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, he thinks—and I can understand it—that it might establish a bad precedent. But as far as I am concerned, I would throw whatever records are out on the table today. I think it would be a good idea.

Q. Do you think that someone who is not in good health should not run?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is for the American people to decide, not me.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to release—when you get to campaigning next year, do you plan to release formally your health records?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my understanding that some publications or some magazine or newspaper, or AP or UPI, are asking that and we have been asked. I think we should. But I repeat that my medical adviser thinks it is a bad precedent.

Q. Why?

THE PRESIDENT. Well—

Q. He is a doctor. [*Laughter*]

Q. I mean, why should it be a bad precedent for the American people to know the health of their President?

MR. NESSEN. Dr. Lukash, sir, has a problem with the doctor-patient relationship, not only in this case but in Mrs. Ford's case and previous cases. He believes it violates his medical ethics. But we are still working on the problem. It's the Medical World News which has requested it.

THE PRESIDENT. I think we can solve the problem, but as far as—in general, what I did before the Senate committee is the best indication of how I personally feel.

Q. Mr. President, do you think other candidates should release financial records as full as those you released before the committee? And do you plan to update the ones you released then?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, my financial records again are on the record up through, let's see, 1973, and I hadn't thought about it, but there hasn't been any significant change. And I would see no reason why I shouldn't, and I think it would likewise be constructive for other candidates.

## VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

[25.] Q. Mr. President, looking back on 1975, what has been your greatest disappointment this year, and what would you do differently?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the greatest disappointment was that I couldn't sit in this office and turn a switch and instantaneously stop the rate of inflation, stop the unemployment increases. It is frustrating to find that our society, our industrial society and society as a whole, is so complex that you can't just turn a switch and everything turns from darkness to sunshine.

I think any President—and the ones that I have known during my lifetime, I suspect, found that probably the greatest disappointment. I am sure Mr. Roosevelt, who struggled from 1933 until World War II, worked day and night trying to find an answer to the Depression. I am sure that he sat in this very office and wished he could turn a switch and get the 14- to 15-percent unemployment changed. But it just doesn't happen that way. And that is a hard lesson I think any President runs into. It is a disappointment, because you know there is hardship, you know there is disappointment throughout the country. From a personal point of view, that was the most disappointing thing.

Well, any more questions?

## 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

[26.] Q. May I ask one final question? It goes back to the matter of running. You say that those that think Gerald Ford may drop out of the race before the very end or should you be defeated simply don't know you. But in all your political life, 25 years or so, you have never sought the Presidency. The question goes to whether or not you have, since you have come into office, developed the all-consuming desire and drive it will take to win election. Do you feel that you have that now and the determination to do it?

THE PRESIDENT. No question in my mind. I have a vision of what I want America to be. I think it is a good vision for 215 million Americans—I have said it in one way or another in response to other questions here. At peace with ourselves, peace throughout the world, better economic conditions, the strengthening of individual freedom in this country, the protection of our environment as we try to move forward as a nation economically, control of the very difficult problem of crime—these are the things that I want done. I happen to believe that they are good for America. I strongly feel that I am qualified to implement and to achieve those goals, that vision.

So, I do have the drive, and I have said repeatedly—and I will say it once

more—I get up every morning and can't wait to get to this office to get to the problems. And I never go home at night feeling we haven't made some progress, not as much, but I look forward to the next day, because I think we will make more progress in the achievement of these goals and this vision.

May I just say one thing in conclusion. This is the second of these kind of informal, somewhat restricted get-togethers. I know that some in the press have felt that everybody should be here. As we move ahead, if you all like this approach, what I would like to do is to next week or next month, whenever the time comes, to have a different group, so that everybody feels they get included and that no one feels they get excluded. So, I say to those who are not here, we will try to get them in the next time around.

Have a good year.

MISS THOMAS. Thank you, and Happy New Year to you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

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## New Year's Day Message.

*December 31, 1975*

THE YEARS that are special in the lives of nations and individuals are those in which imagination produces action—action that offers hope, opportunity, a fresh start, and a vehicle for our optimism.

One of our great national characteristics is optimism. I can't even remember facing a new year with anything less than anticipation—and a few of those new years were difficult ones.

Some of us can remember new years in the great depression when the road to prosperity seemed closed—we can remember other new years spent in the midst of a world war that threatened our very survival.

But I can also remember new years in the late 1940's and throughout the 1950's when the future sizzled with promise and we led the world back to stability and greater achievement than it had ever known before. The road to prosperity was not closed—we had just been on a detour—our resolve, our determination and our ability had been tested—and we were not found wanting.

The new year we are now entering embodies the 200th anniversary of the founding of this great Republic. We look back with pride, but all of our national experience should prove to us that we must also look forward with eagerness to the unfolding years ahead.

We are Americans! We move into the future with the strength and confidence of 200 years of a proud heritage. Liberty is the most precious possession of our past and it is still our greatest promise for the future. The freedoms we have today must be preserved and extended.

I ask you to join me in a 1976 New Year's resolution to cherish and protect what we have achieved in America—and, with God's help, to build upon it in the years ahead.

A very Happy New Year to each of you.

GERALD R. FORD

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## Remarks on the Eve of the Bicentennial Year.

*December 31, 1975*

*Good evening.*

We stand tonight at a very important threshold. Within the next few hours, we will usher in not only a new year, not only the final quarter of the 20th century, but a fresh new chapter in American history—our third century as a nation.

Behind us lie 200 years of toil and struggle, 200 years of accomplishment and triumph. We remain, in Lincoln's words, "the last, best hope of earth." But what lies ahead? Shall we let the coming year slip into the record books virtually unnoticed and undistinguished except for the fanfare of a gigantic birthday party? Or shall we make 1976 the beginning of a very special time, a time that sparks a renaissance of the American spirit, a time of rededication to liberty and justice for all Americans, a time that revives and strengthens the universal human yearning for freedom all over the world.

This is the very central question that we face tonight. Let's each of us, in the days ahead, consider what answer we shall give in our own personal lives. Remembering the heritage of 200 years, let us ask what we must do to earn an honored place in the memories of the generations to come.

Then, let us resolve that 1976 shall be the year that Americans reunite in the age-old commitment to liberty for ourselves and for the peoples all over the world.

Thank you, and may God bless you with a Happy New Year.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:41 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His remarks were recorded for later use on radio and television.

On the same day, the President signed Proclamation 4411, proclaiming 1976 the Bicentennial Year.



## *Appendix A*—Additional White House Releases

NOTE: This appendix lists those releases which are neither printed as items in this volume nor listed in subsequent appendixes. If the text of a release was printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, the page number is indicated below. Page references are to Volume 11 of the Compilation unless otherwise indicated.

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16 Designation: David W. Belin as Executive Director of the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States . . .	55	28 Advance text: remarks at the annual Congressional breakfast of the National Religious Broadcasters . . . . .	...
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27 News briefing: on the meeting between President Ford and President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt—by Ron Nessen, Press Secretary to the President, and Tashin Bashir, Press Secretary to President Sadat.....	...	31 Appointment: Marshall L. Lind as a member of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education.....	1224
27 Advance text: toast at a dinner honoring Egyptian President Sadat.....	...	<i>November</i>	
28 Nomination: Peter D. Walther to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board.....	1199	3 Statement: on personnel changes in the Administration (included in the President's news conference of November 3) .....	...
28 Nomination: David W. Oberlin to be Administrator of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.....	1199	3 Biographical data: Donald H. Rumsfeld, Secretary-designate of Defense... ..	...
28 News briefing: on the meeting between President Ford and President Sadat of Egypt—by Ron Nessen, Press Secretary to the President, and Tashin Bashir, Press Secretary to President Sadat.....	...	3 Biographical data: George Bush, Director-designate of Central Intelligence.. ..	...
28 Advance text: toast at a dinner at Anderson House hosted by President Sadat. ....	...	3 Biographical data: Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.....	...
29 Nomination: Joseph A. Nardoza to be a member of the Board of Parole.....	1200	3 Biographical data: Richard B. Cheney, Assistant to the President.....	...
29 Nomination: Nathaniel Davis to be United States Ambassador to Switzerland .....	1201	3 Biographical data: Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary-designate of Commerce.....	...
29 Appointment: Edward C. Schmults as Deputy Counsel to the President.....	1201	4 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President to discuss tax and spending reductions, energy legislation, New York City, military assistance to the Middle East, and consumer protection—by Senator Robert P. Griffin and Representative John J. Rhodes.....	...
29 Advance text: remarks at the National Press Club on the subject of financial assistance to New York City.....	...	4 Nomination: Roger W. Hooker, Jr., to be Assistant Secretary of Transportation for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs .....	1242
29 Nomination: Mary S. Olmsted to be United States Ambassador to Papua New Guinea .....	1206	5 Fact sheet: summary of the report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Air Force Academy.....	...
29 Advance text: remarks at a Republican Party fundraising dinner in Los Angeles, Calif.....	...	5 News briefing: on Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's visit to the United States—by Joseph J. Sisco, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs....	...
30 Advance text: remarks at a Republican Party fundraising luncheon in San Francisco, Calif.....	...	6 Appointment: William W. Nicholson as Director of the Presidential Scheduling Office .....	1246

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7 Advance text: address before the New England Council in Boston, Mass.....	...	13 Fact sheet: the Administration's regulatory reform program.....	...
10 Advance text: remarks at ceremonies commemorating the bicentennial of the United States Marine Corps in Arlington, Va.....	...	13 Announcement: the President's trip to the Far East.....	1278
11 Nomination: William H. Walker III to be Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Rural Development.....	1264	14 Advance text: remarks at North Carolina Central University in Durham....	...
11 Nomination: Andrew W. Breidenbach to be Assistant Administrator for Water and Hazardous Materials, Environmental Protection Agency.....	1265	14 Nomination: three members of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation.....	1281
11 Appointment: 36 members of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations .....	1265	14 Advance text: remarks at a Republican Party fundraising dinner in Atlanta, Ga .....	...
11 Advance text: remarks at a Republican Party fundraising dinner in Charleston, W. Va.....	...	15 News briefing: on the Economic Summit Meeting in Rambouillet, France—by L. William Seidman, Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs....	...
12 News briefing: on the President's participation in the forthcoming Economic Summit Meeting in France—by L. William Seidman, Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs, and Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor of the Department of State.....	...	16 Statement: the Economic Summit Meeting—by the White House Press Secretary .....	...
12 Appointment: three members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.....	1271	16 News briefing: on the Economic Summit Meeting—by L. William Seidman, Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs .....	...
12 Fact sheet: establishment of advisory groups on science and technology.....	1271	17 Advance text: remarks at the conclusion of the Economic Summit Meeting. ....	...
13 Nomination: Bob Casey to be a Commissioner of the Federal Maritime Commission .....	1276	17 News briefing: on the Economic Summit Meeting—by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon.....	1295
13 Appointment: three members of the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science.....	1277	20 Advance text: remarks at the swearing in of Donald H. Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense.....	...
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21 Nomination: T. Vincent Learson to be Ambassador at Large, Special Representative, and Chief of the United States Delegation to the Law of the Sea Conference .....	1307	29 Advance text: remarks at a birthday party for Senator Ted Stevens in Anchorage, Alaska.....	...
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22 Statement: plans for a White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals (included in remarks at a White House meeting) .....	...	4 Nomination: William J. Porter to be United States Ambassador to Saudi Arabia .....	1336
22 Fact sheet: White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals.....	...	4 Advance text: toast at a banquet honoring Vice Premier Teng in Peking, People's Republic of China .....	...
22 Biographical data: members of the National Planning and Advisory Council of the White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals.....	...	4 News briefing: on the President's meetings with Chinese leaders in Peking—by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger .....	1342
26 Fact sheet: New York City's financial situation .....	...	5 Nomination: J. Charles Partee to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.....	1336
26 Statement: measures taken to improve the financial situation of New York City (included in the President's news conference of November 26).....	...	5 Nomination: Betty Jo Christian to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner...	1337
28 Statement: intention to nominate John Paul Stevens to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (included in remarks to reporters).....	...	5 Advance text: toast at a state dinner in Djakarta, Indonesia.....	...
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29 Advance text: remarks on departure for the Far East.....	...	7 Advance text: address at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu.....	...
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9 Nomination: Anthony C. E. Quainton to be United States Ambassador to the Central African Republic.....	1364	17 News briefing: on the findings resulting from the Public Forums on Domestic Policy—by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller .....	...
10 Nomination: Matthew J. Perry, Jr., to be a Judge of the United States Court of Military Appeals.....	1365	18 News briefing: on the President's meeting with nine Governors to receive a report on the state of the States—by Governors Robert D. Ray of Iowa and Philip W. Noel of Rhode Island.....	...
10 Announcement: disaster assistance for Oklahoma .....	1365	18 Announcement: disaster assistance for Alaska .....	1379
10 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President to discuss his trip to the Far East—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative John J. Rhodes.....	...	18 News briefing: on tax reduction and spending limitation legislation—by James T. Lynn, Director of the Office of Management and Budget.....	...
11 Nomination: Robert Ellsworth to be Deputy Secretary of Defense.....	1367	19 Nomination: Deane R. Hinton to be United States Representative to the European Communities.....	1382
11 Appointment: five members of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children; and designation of Chairman.....	1367	19 Statement: Senate action to prohibit United States assistance to Angola (included in remarks to reporters).....	...
11 News briefing: on the President's meeting with Senate leaders to discuss tax reduction and spending limitation legislation—by James T. Lynn, Director of the Office of Management and Budget. ....	...	19 Statement: Congressional action on tax reduction and spending limitation legislation—by the White House Press Secretary .....	1383
12 Fact sheet: Consumer Goods Pricing Act of 1975.....	...	22 Fact sheet: the Energy Policy and Conservation Act.....	...
12 Nomination: Frank A. Shrontz to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Installations and Logistics.....	1369	22 News briefing: on the Energy Policy and Conservation Act—by Frank G. Zarb, Administrator, Federal Energy Administration, and Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers .....	...
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## *Appendix B*—Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register

NOTE: The texts of these documents are also printed in title 3A of the Code of Federal Regulations, except as noted below. Texts of the proclamations and Executive orders are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents for the period covered by this volume.

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4343	Jan. 27	National Poison Prevention Week, 1975.....	4245
4344	Jan. 30	International Clergy Week in the United States.....	4891
4345	Jan. 30	Extension of amnesty program for Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters.....	4893
4346	Feb. 1	Enlargement of boundaries of Buck Island Reef National Monument, U.S. Virgin Islands.....	5127
4347	Feb. 1	Reservation of submerged lands adjacent to the Rose Atoll National Wildlife Refuge, American Samoa, for protection of marine life, and of submerged lands in Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands for national defense purposes..	5129
4348	Feb. 3	American Heart Month, 1975.....	5131
4349	Feb. 6	1974 Census of Agriculture.....	5739
4350	Feb. 6	Save Your Vision Week, 1975.....	5741
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4354	Mar. 4	Loyalty Day, 1975.....	10435
4355	Mar. 4	Import license fees for petroleum and petroleum products.....	10437
4356	Mar. 20	Earth Day, 1975.....	12985
4357	Mar. 25	Armed Forces Day.....	13293
4358	Mar. 26	Cancer Control Month, 1975.....	1405
4359	Mar. 28	Enlargement of boundaries of the Buck Island Reef National Monument, U.S. Virgin Islands.....	14565
4360	Mar. 29	Termination of military selective service registration procedures.....	14567
4361	Apr. 2	National Farm Safety Week, 1975.....	15063
4362	Apr. 5	World Trade Week, 1975.....	15861
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4364	Apr. 9	Law Day, U.S.A., 1975.....	16293

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4366	Apr. 11	Pan American Day and Pan American Week.....	16643
4367	Apr. 14	Small Business Week, 1975.....	16829
4368	Apr. 22	Mother's Day, 1975.....	17977
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4370	Apr. 30	Import license fees for petroleum and petroleum products.....	19421
4371	May 1	Older Americans Month, 1975.....	19419
4372	May 7	National Arthritis Month, 1975.....	20255
4373	May 7	Terminal date for entitlement of Vietnam era veterans to certain benefits.....	20257
4374	May 10	National Historic Preservation Week.....	20791
4375	May 22	Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, May 26, 1975.....	22529
4376	May 27	Father's Day, 1975.....	23427
4377	May 27	Import license fees for petroleum and petroleum products.....	23429
4378	May 28	Flag Day and National Flag Week, 1975.....	23431
4379	June 12	National Day of Prayer, 1975.....	25429
4380	June 23	White Cane Safety Day, 1975.....	26667
4381	June 27	Captive Nations Week, 1975.....	27637
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4383	Aug. 26	Women's Equality Day, 1975.....	39493
4384	Aug. 27	Citizenship Day and Constitution Week, 1975.....	39833
4385	Sept. 8	National Hispanic Heritage Week, 1975.....	41989
4386	Sept. 8	Norwegian-American Day, 1975.....	41991
4387	Sept. 9	Fire Prevention Week, 1975.....	42165
4388	Sept. 10	Columbus Day, 1975.....	42167
4389	Sept. 10	Veterans Day, 1975.....	42169
4390	Sept. 11	National Saint Elizabeth Seton Day <sup>1</sup> .....	42315
4391	Sept. 15	General Pulaski's Memorial Day, 1975.....	42725
4392	Sept. 15	Leif Erikson Day, 1975.....	42727
4393	Sept. 15	National School Lunch Week, 1975.....	42729
4394	Sept. 15	National Employ the Handicapped Week, 1975.....	42849
4395	Sept. 18	National Hunting and Fishing Day, 1975.....	43713
4396	Sept. 24	Child Health Day, 1975.....	44537
4397	Oct. 2	Japan-United States Friendship Days.....	45791
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<sup>1</sup> Proclamation 4390 is printed in full on p. 1364 of this volume as an example of the proclamation issued by President Ford in 1975.

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4402	Oct. 25	Country Music Month, October 1975 .....	50243
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4409	Nov. 10	American Education Week, 1975 .....	52583
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11827	Jan. 4	Continuation of certain Federal advisory committees .....	1217
11828	Jan. 4	Establishment of Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States ..	1219
11829	Jan. 6	Establishment of Hopi-Navajo Land Settlement Interagency Committee . . .	1497
11830	Jan. 9	Membership increase of Interagency Committee on Handicapped Employees.	2411
11831	Jan. 9	Federal executive salary schedule .....	2413
11832	Jan. 9	Establishment of National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975 .....	2415
11833	Jan. 13	Withholding of city income or employment taxes by Federal agencies .....	2673
11834	Jan. 15	Activation of Energy Research and Development Administration and Nuclear Regulatory Commission .....	2971
11835	Jan. 27	Amendments to Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1969 (Revised Edition) .....	4247
11836	Jan. 27	Transportation Cargo Security Program .....	4255
11837	Jan. 30	Extension of amnesty program for Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters .....	4895
11838	Feb. 6	Labor-management relations in the Federal service .....	5743, 7391
11839	Feb. 15	Amendments to civil service rules to except certain regional office positions from career service .....	7351
11840	Feb. 18	Waiver of statutes and limitations of authority for American Revolution Bicentennial Administration .....	7353

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11842	Feb. 28	Extension of amnesty program for Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters.....	8935
11843	Mar. 18	Federal executive salary schedule.....	12639
11844	Mar. 24	Designation of developing countries to receive trade preferences.....	13295
11845	Mar. 24	Delegation of Presidential authority to Director of Office of Management and Budget to prepare and transmit budget reports on impoundment of funds.....	13299
11846	Mar. 27	Administration of trade agreements program.....	14291
11847	Mar. 28	Exemption of Walter C. Sauer from mandatory retirement.....	14568
11848	Mar. 29	Extension of reporting date for Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States.....	14885
11849	Apr. 1	Establishment of Collective Bargaining Committee in Construction.....	14887
11850	Apr. 8	Renunciation of certain uses in war of chemical herbicides and riot control agents.....	16187
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11852	Apr. 16	Creation of emergency board to investigate railway labor-management dispute.....	17239
11853	Apr. 17	Functions of Hopi-Navajo Land Settlement Interagency Committee.....	17537
11854	Apr. 24	Waiver of certain provisions of the Trade Act of 1974 for Romania.....	18391
11855	May 1	Modification of membership of Energy Resources Council.....	19423
11856	May 7	Amendments to civil service rules to except certain regional office positions from career service.....	20259
11857	May 7	Authorization for increase in membership of Presidential Clemency Board...	20261
11858	May 7	Establishment of Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States, and Federal information-gathering functions.....	20263
11859	May 7	Inspection of tax returns by Senate Committee on Government Operations..	20265
11860	May 19	Establishment of President's Advisory Committee on Refugees.....	22121
11861	May 21	Federal executive salary schedule.....	22531
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11863	June 12	Withholding of city income or employment taxes by Federal agencies.....	25431
11864	June 13	Federal executive salary schedule.....	25579
11865	June 16	Membership increase of Executive Committee of President's Economic Policy Board.....	25663
11866	June 18	Designation of World Intellectual Property Organization as public international organization.....	26015
11867	June 19	Delegation of Presidential authority to Administrator of General Services to issue joint funding regulations.....	26253
11868	June 19	Establishment of President's Commission on Olympic Sports.....	26255
11869	June 24	Exemption of Arthur S. Flemming from mandatory retirement.....	26979



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11872	July 21	Federal executive salary schedule.....	30619
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11874	July 25	Delegation of Presidential authority to Director of Management and Budget Office to coordinate agency support functions for Legal Services Corporation.....	31737
11875	Aug. 9	Delegation of Presidential authority to Secretary of Transportation to study and prepare report on expansion of aviation war risk insurance.....	33961
11876	Sept. 2	Creation of emergency board to investigate railway labor-management dispute.....	40501
11877	Sept. 2	Federal executive salary schedule.....	40797
11878	Sept. 10	Termination of Presidential Clemency Board and transfer of certain functions to the Attorney General.....	42731
11879	Sept. 17	Delegation of Presidential authority to Secretary of Commerce to provide chemicals and substances for treatment of public water systems.....	43197
1880	Oct. 2	Designation of certain officers in the Commerce Department to act as Secretary of Commerce.....	46089
11881	Oct. 3	Delegation of Presidential authority to Civil Service Commission to establish standards and procedures for Federal agencies in the withholding of child support and alimony payments from employees wages.....	46291
11882	Oct. 6	Energy Research and Development Administration added to membership of river basin commissions.....	46293
11883	Oct. 6	Federal pay increases.....	47091
11884	Oct. 7	Design of coat of arms, seal, and flag of the Vice President of the United States.....	47469
11885	Oct. 15	Federal executive salary schedule.....	48491
11886	Oct. 17	Abolishment of Culebra Island Naval Defensive Sea Area in Puerto Rico....	49071
11887	Nov. 4	Amendments to civil service rules to except certain regional office positions from the career service.....	51411
11888	Nov. 24	Designation of developing countries and eligible articles for trade preferences.	55276
11889	Nov. 25	Continuation of National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975.....	54765
11890	Dec. 10	Simplification of security clearance procedures for U.S. citizens employed by United Nations.....	57775
11891	Dec. 15	Closing of Government departments and agencies on Friday, December 26, 1975.....	58792
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11892	Dec. 31	Membership increase of Federal Regional Councils.....	751
11893	Dec. 31	Transfer of certain functions from General Services Administration to Office of Management and Budget.....	1040

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Jan. 14	Notice: International trade negotiations and articles which may be affected by such negotiations <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	2659
Jan. 29	Memorandum: Sale of common stock of Student Loan Marketing Association . . . . .	4631
Jan. 30	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	5630
Mar. 24	Presidential Determination: List of developing countries eligible for trade preferences . . . . .	15377
Mar. 26	Notice: Articles which will be considered for designation as eligible articles for trade preferences <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	13456
Mar. 31	Presidential Determination: Sale of wheat to Egypt . . . . .	18393
Apr. 24	Presidential Determination: Waiver of certain provisions of the Trade Act of 1974 for Romania . . . . .	20605
Apr. 24	Presidential Determination: United States-Romania trade agreement . . . . .	20607
Apr. 25	Presidential Determination: Funds for evacuation of Southeast Asian refugees from South Vietnam . . . . .	20609
May 8	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	21644
May 9	Memorandum: Designation of certain officials in Nuclear Regulatory Commission to classify national security information . . . . .	21927
May 9	Presidential Determination: Military assistance for Spain . . . . .	23433
May 20	Presidential Determination: Military assistance for African countries . . . . .	24887
May 20	Presidential Determination: Military assistance for Kenya . . . . .	24889
May 22	Presidential Determination: Sale of SIDEWINDER missiles to Brazil . . . . .	24891
June 26	Presidential Determination: Foreign military sales credits for Ethiopia . . . . .	31199
June 30	Presidential Determination: Waiver of ineligibility provisions for foreign military sales for Ecuador . . . . .	31201
June 30	Presidential Determination: Sale of sophisticated weapons systems to Korea and Jordan . . . . .	31203
June 30	Presidential Determination: Sale of F-5 aircraft to Ethiopia and Kenya . . . . .	31205
July 1	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	29000
July 25	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	32042
Aug. 5	Presidential Determination: Military assistance for Fiji . . . . .	37205
Aug. 17	Memorandum: Designation of certain officials in the Commerce Department to classify national security information . . . . .	30139
Sept. 10	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	42696
Sept. 24	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	44742
Oct. 3	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	47438

<sup>2</sup> Printed in full only in the Federal Register.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full only in the Federal Register. Texts of the messages to the Congress transmitting the budget rescissions and deferrals are printed as items in this volume.

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Oct. 23	Presidential Determination: Sale of tobacco and wheat to Egypt . . . . .	53223
Nov. 18	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	54192
Nov. 24	Memorandum: Consumer representation plans <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	55092
Nov. 29	Special message to Congress: Budget rescissions and deferrals <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	56802
		<i>41 F.R.</i>
Apr. 16	Presidential Determination: Sale of rice to Syria . . . . .	6233
June 5	Presidential Determination: Sale of wheat to Egypt . . . . .	6235
Nov. 10	Presidential Determination: Eligibility of Somalia and Turkey for trade preferences . .	2627



## *Appendix C*—Presidential Reports to the 94th Congress, 1st Session

NOTE: The following is a listing of those Presidential reports required by statute to be transmitted to the Congress at fixed intervals.

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Availability of Government Services to Rural Areas (5th annual)...	H. Doc. 31..	Jan. 16....	.....
Office of Alien Property (fiscal year 1973).....		Jan. 23....	.....
Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970 (final).....		Jan. 27....	Jan. 27
National Cooley's Anemia Control Act:			
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Economic Report.....	H. Doc. 2..	Feb. 4....	Feb. 4
Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act (2d annual).....		Feb. 6....	Feb. 6
Balance of payments deficit incurred under the North Atlantic Treaty:			
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Corporation for Public Broadcasting (fiscal year 1974).....	H. Doc. 58..	Feb. 21....	.....
National Science Foundation (24th annual).....	H. Doc. 65..	Feb. 28....	Feb. 28
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (14th annual).....		Mar. 3....	Mar. 3
Department of Housing and Urban Development (9th annual).....	H. Doc. 81..	Mar. 14....	.....
Cash Awards to Members of the Armed Forces and the Coast Guard (fiscal year 1974).....		Mar. 18(S) Mar. 19(H)	Mar. 18
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Regulating Nuclear Exports—Domestic and International Safeguards.....	H. Doc. 131.	May 6....	May 6
Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970 (4th annual).....		May 8....	.....
National Advisory Council on Adult Education (fiscal year 1975)...	H. Doc. 143.	May 13...	.....
National Council on Educational Research (1st annual).....		May 14...	May 14
National Heart and Lung Advisory Council (2d annual).....	H. Doc. 152.	May 15...	May 15
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Administration on Aging (fiscal year 1974).....	H. Doc. 167.	May 27...	May 27
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National Endowment for the Humanities (9th annual).....		June 12...	June 1
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National Endowment for the Arts and the National Council on the Arts (fiscal year 1974).....		June 23...	June 23
Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975: <sup>1</sup>			
1st report.....		June 23...	June 23
1st supplementary report.....		Sept. 25...	.....
2d supplementary report.....		Dec. 20...	.....
Administration of Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968 (7th annual).....		June 27...	June 27
Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (3d annual).....	H. Doc. 115.	June 27...	June 27
National Heart and Lung Institute (2d annual).....		June 27...	June 27
U.S.-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program under the International Health Research Act of 1960 (8th annual).....	H. Doc. 205.	July 8....	July 8
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National Corporation for Housing Partnerships (6th annual).....		July 22....	.....
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<sup>1</sup> Transmitted to the House Committees on the Judiciary, Appropriations, and International Relations, and the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations, Appropriations, and Judiciary.

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International Atomic Energy Agency.....		Sept. 3....	Sept. 3
St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation (1974).....	H. Doc. 242.	Sept. 8....	Sept. 8
Federal Prevailing Rate Advisory Committee (2d annual).....	H. Doc. 247.	Sept. 10...	Sept. 10
National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity (8th annual).....	H. Doc. 250.	Sept. 11...	Sept. 11
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Progress in Negotiations of Cyprus Conflict (1st report).....	H. Doc. 317.	Dec. 8....	Dec. 8
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<sup>2</sup> Transmitted to the Speaker of the House and the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Appropriations.





## Appendix D—Rules Governing This Publication

NOTE: These rules are reprinted from the Federal Register of November 4, 1972 (37 FR 23607), and title 1 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

### TITLE 1—GENERAL PROVISIONS

#### CHAPTER 1—ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FEDERAL REGISTER

##### SUBCHAPTER C—SPECIAL EDITIONS OF THE FEDERAL REGISTER

#### PART 10—PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS

AUTHORITY: 44 U.S.C. 1506; sec. 6, E.O. 10530, 19 FR 2709; 3 CFR 1954–1958 Comp. p. 189.

##### SUBPART A—ANNUAL VOLUMES

#### § 10.1 *Publication required.*

The Director of the Federal Register shall publish, at the end of each calendar year, a special edition of the FEDERAL REGISTER called the "Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States." Unless the amount of material requires otherwise, each volume shall cover one calendar year.

#### § 10.2 *Coverage of prior years.*

After consulting with the National Historical Publications Commission on the need therefor, the Administrative Committee may authorize the publication of volumes of papers of the Presidents covering specified years before 1957.

#### § 10.3 *Scope and sources.*

(a) The basic text of each volume shall consist of oral statements by the President or of writings subscribed by him, and selected from—

- (1) Communications to the Congress;
- (2) Public addresses;
- (3) Transcripts of news conferences;
- (4) Public letters;
- (5) Messages to heads of State;
- (6) Statements released on miscellaneous subjects; and
- (7) Formal executive documents promulgated in accordance with law.

(b) In general, ancillary text, notes, and tables shall be derived from official sources.

#### § 10.4 *Format, indexes, and ancillaries.*

(a) Each annual volume, divided into books whenever appropriate, shall be separately published in the binding and style that the Administrative Committee considers suitable to the dignity of the Office of the President of the United States.

(b) Each volume shall be appropriately indexed and contain appropriate ancillary information respecting significant Presidential documents not printed in full text.

#### § 10.5 *Distribution to Government agencies.*

(a) The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States shall be distributed to the following, in the quantities indicated, without charge:

(1) *Members of Congress.* Each Senator and each Member of the House of Representatives is entitled to one copy of each annual volume published during his term of office, upon his written request to the Director of the Federal Register.

(2) *Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court is entitled to 12 copies of each annual volume.

(3) *Executive agencies.* The head of each executive agency is entitled to one copy of each annual volume upon application to the Director.

(b) Legislative, judicial, and executive agencies of the Federal Government may obtain copies of the annual volumes, at cost, for official use, by the timely submission of a printing and binding requisition to the Government Printing Office on Standard Form 1.

#### § 10.6 *Extra copies.*

Each request for extra copies of the annual volumes must be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, to be paid for by the agency or official making the request.



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